

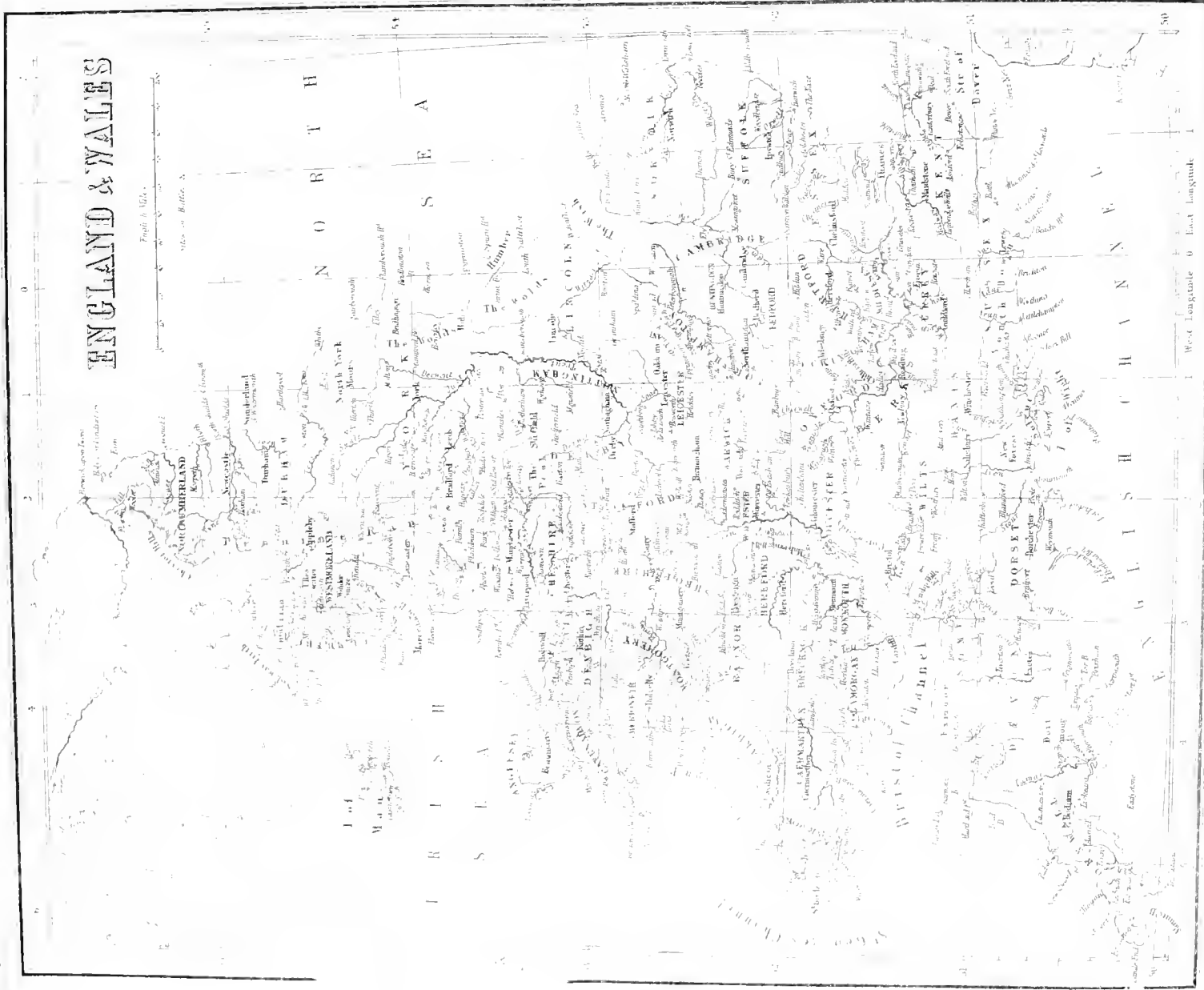
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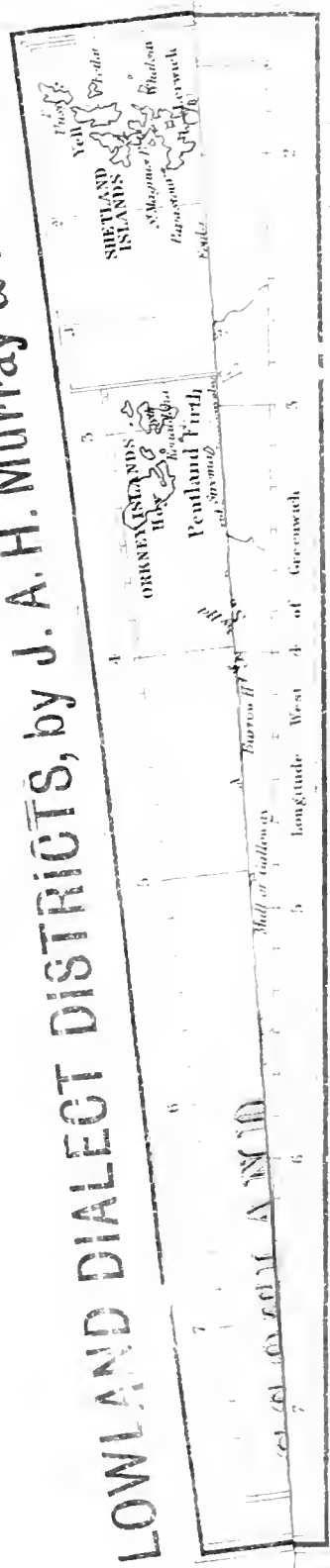
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ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, by Alexander J. Ellis, 1887.



To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS,"
and "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, by J. A. H. Murray & A. J. Ellis.



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and "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

George Philip & Son, London E.C.

ON

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON PERIOD TO THE EXISTING RECEIVED AND DIALECTAL FORMS, WITH A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF SPOKEN SOUNDS BY MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521, ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

F.R.S., F.S.A., F.C.P.S., F.C.P.,

VICE-PRESIDENT, TWICE PRESIDENT, OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
MEMBER OF THE MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY, FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE, B.A., 1837.

PART V.

[pp. 1*-88*, 1433-2267.]

EXISTING DIALECTAL AS COMPARED WITH WEST SAXON
PRONUNCIATION.

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98

With two Maps of the Dialect Districts.

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THE
EXISTING PHONOLOGY
OF
ENGLISH DIALECTS

COMPARED WITH THAT OF WEST SAXON SPEECH.

FORMING PART V. OF "EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION."

E R R A T A .

- p. 20, l. 20, *read* or *l'*.
- p. 32, l. 5, *read* La (*u*_o).
- „ dt. par. 1, *read* eba'ut dat.
- p. 37, l. 19 from bottom, under *Do.*, *for* *Blandford *read* *Cranborne.
- p. 45, par. 6, last word, *read* aks)er.
- p. 47, note 6, first line, *read* the (d).
- p. 57, line 3 from bottom, No. 904, *read* váyLĀT.
- p. 58, line 3, *read* 923*.
- p. 65, par. 0. l. 8, *for* Potter *read* Trotter.
- „ par. 10. l. 3, *read* but (*win*:ikē).
- p. 66, l. 1 and 2, *for* Potter, *read* Trotter.
- p. 80, East Dorset ewl., l. 2, *read* Cranborne, and l. 5 *dele* and.
- p. 85, joke on (æt) last line, *read* ɛd)ɛjɑ:d.
- p. 94, l. 10, *read* — L (*mu*:ni).
- p. 109, l. 6, *read* Miss M. A. Firth.
- p. 111. *Authorities*, *Np.* *add* †Daventry, †Farthinghoe, †Helmdon, †Long Buckley, †Silverstone, °Slapton, †Syersham, †Towcester, †Watford, †Weedon, †Wood Bureote, †Woodford.
- p. 113, paragraph B, line 1, *read* a nonagenarian widow about 94; line M, *read* Malvern Wells.
- p. 114, l. 30, *read* CLAVERDON, WA. (5 w. Warwick).
- p. 129, l. 15 from bottom, *read* may have possibly.
- p. 131, l. 4, *read* Pasingworth.
- „ l. 6, *read* °Shadoxhurst.
- p. 133, dt. par. 3, *read* ɛ)de rəq.
- p. 136, last line but one, *read* Rev. J. W. Rummy.
- p. 140, No. 422, *read* 'vomited.'
- p. 157, l. 9, *read* Mr. Shelly's
- p. 162, No. 646, *read* bə'y₁⁵.
- p. 163, l. 2, *read* MEE'k)'n.
- p. 175, *Arca*, l. 2, *after* Br., *add* outlying parts of Wo.
- p. 183, l. 2 from bottom, *read* drə'undd.
- p. 186, No. 702, *read* uth.
- p. 194, line B, *read* Chackmore, *and* line T, *read* Tyrningham.
- p. 199, line S, *read* n-by-w.
- p. 201, *for* 125 *oni*, *read* 194 *oni*.
- p. 217, l. 23, *read* H. F. Tollemache.
- p. 222, l. 31, *read* degradation.
- p. 225, l. 6, *read* de''un.
- p. 235, l. 3, *read* Henley-on-Thames in *Ox.* and l. 4, *read* Penn, *Bu.* (3 e-by-n. High Wycombe).

- p. 248. note, col. 2, lines 1 and 2, *read* plêis, *meed*.
- p. 249. l. 10, *read* 10 s.
- p. 253. note, col. 2, l. 1, *read* of which Li. has (ν_1) and Nf. (ν_2).
- p. 255. l. 4, *read* — Pt.: *notes*, col. 2, l. 1, *read* was also.
- p. 278. l. 1, *read* s.Nf.
- p. 279. l. 3, *read* Tuddenham.
- p. 315. *Boundaries*, l. 5, *read* Featherbed: l. 7, *read* Mam Tor, *and Authorities*, Ch. l. 2, *read* Tintwistle: *La.* l. 2, *read* Koyton.
- p. 332, under *Leyland*, *for* 1887 *read* 1877.
- p. 345, under *Chorley*, *read* 10 nw.Bolton.
- p. 347, No. 222, *add at end.* or from old Fr. *hure*, head of a man or an animal, especially a shaggy boar's head.
- p. 352, l. 11 from bottom, and *Authorities*, *La.* l. 2, *read* Goosnargh.
- p. 354, col. 2, l. 9 from bottom, *read* dier v.
- pp. 360, 361, 362, and 363, *read* Lezayre.
- p. 362. notes to Lezayre dt., par. 1, *read* or (vba'ut).
- p. 363. l. 3 from bottom, *read* — P periket.
- p. 375. l. 10 from bottom, 13. vii. *read* noon, *corrected* on p. 405, notes, par. 13.
- p. 387, l. 12, last word, *read* Bradley.
- p. 409, l. *Authorities*, *St.*, l. 2, *after* Longport *insert* †Longton.
- p. 421. West and South Cheshire cwl., l. 1, *dele* Churton.
- p. 425. l. 8 from bottom, *read* Db.
- p. 435, l. 4, *add* ,, *under* t', and in lines 12 and 13 from bottom, that is, in Nos. 4 and 5, *transpose* A *and* the ,, *above* it.
- p. 436, par. 15, Nos. 1 and 3, *read* ta'ud, ta'ul.
- p. 442, No. 39, *read* kja'um.
- p. 443, par. I-. l. 1, *read* — B gji.
- p. 445. l. B. *for* 3 e. *read* 6 e.
- p. 447, last line, *read* veen.
- p. 449. l. 2. *for* 71, *read* 76.
- p. 472, l. 8, *after* *Coalbrookdale* *for* *St.* *read* *Sh.*
- p. 524. No. 331, *read* final t,.
- p. 529. l. 2, *insert* J. *after* Rev.
- p. 567, l. 4 from bottom, *read* varv.
- p. 572. l. 4, *read* itself.
- p. 606, l. 7 from bottom to No. 49, *add* —.
- p. 607, in par. xl, l. 7, second No. 9, *add* —
- p. 718, under U: *for* sneb *read* sneb.
- p. 738. note 46, last number, *read* 153.
- p. 747. line 1, *read* 12 sw.
- p. 748. in title, and l. 1 of poem, *for* GREY *read* GRAY.
- p. 755, l. 5 from bottom, *read* Ke.
- p. 824, last line but one of small print, *read* of I, Y,

In the CONSONANTAL INDEX there are a few evident displacements, and the following misprints, *read* under G- 13 gnagan, under SC- 220 scaephirðe, under -T- cetel, under -W 371 streaw. Omit 90 bláwan under -Ð.

There are possibly many other slight errors which have escaped observation. For the comparative correctness of a text of such great complexity as the present, I am much indebted to the vigilance of the printer's reader, Mr. Wood, who also read the four preceding Parts, and, in many districts, the scrupulous care of Mr. T. Hallam.

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Var. i. Huddersfield and neighbourhood, 377-382. Introd. 377. Notes to Huddersfield es. 378. Marsden dt. 379. Upper Cumberworth dt. 380. Huddersfield and neighbourhood cwl. 380.

Var. ii. Halifax and neighbourhood, 382-384. Introd. 382. Halifax cwl. from Crabtree, 383. Elland dt. 384. Notes to Halifax es. 384.

Var. iii. Keighley, 384-388. Introd. 384. Extracts from es. by TH. and CCR. compared, 385. Notes to es. 386. Keighley cwl. 387.

Var. iv. Bradford, 388-394. Introd. 388. Windhill dt. 389. Calverley dt. 390. Notes to Bradford es. 390. Bradford and Windhill cwl. 391.

Var. v. Leeds and its neighbourhood, 394-402. Introd. 394. Comparison of Bradford and Leeds, 395. Leeds refined form, 396. Notes to Leeds es. 396. Leeds and neighbourhood cwl. 397-400. Notes to Leeds cwl. 400. Wakefield cwl. 401. Wakefield printer's orthography, 403.

Var. vi. Dewsbury, 402. Barnsley dt. 403. Notes to Dewsbury es. 404.

Var. vii. Rotherham and surrounding villages, 404. Notes to Rotherham es. 404

Var. viii. Sheffield and neighbourhood, 405.

Var. ix. Doncaster, 405. Doncaster cwl. 406-408.

D 25=w.MM.=western Mid Midland, 408-424.

Introd. 408. Four Interlinear dt. from Bickley, Sandbach, Leek, and Combs, 411. Notes to these dt. 412. Four Interlinear es. and with variants in a fifth, from Tarporley, Middlewich, Shrigley, Goyt (variants), and Burslem, 413-420. Notes to these es. 420. West and South Cheshire cwl. 421. North Staffordshire cwl. 422. South Cheshire or Bickley, cwl. 422-424.

Phonetic Version of Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 4.

D 26=e.MM.=eastern Mid Midland, 424-447.

Introd. 424. Eight Interlinear Derbyshire es. from 1 Bradwell, 2 Taddington, 3 Ashford, 4 Winstar, 5 and 6 Ashbourne (two), 7 Brampton, 8 Repton, 426-438. Seven Interlinear Derbyshire and east Staffordshire dt. from 1 Eckington, 2 Barlborough, 3 Bolsover, 4 South Wingfield, 5 West Hallam, 6 Brailsford, 7 Flash, St., 438-441. Further Examples, all observed by TH. from 1. Middleton-by-Wirksworth, 2. Wirksworth, 3. Idridgehay, 4. Flash, 5. Alstonefield, 6. Hartington, 7. Bolsover, 441-442.

Var. i. Northern South Peak cwl. 442.

Var. ii. Western Derbyshire and East Staffordshire cwl. 444.

Var. iii. Eastern Derbyshire cwl. 445.

Var. iv. Southern Derbyshire cwl. 446.

D 27=EM.=East Midland, 447-451.

Introd. 447. Nottinghamshire dt. 448. Other Examples dictated to TH. at Bingham and Mansfield, 449. Fragments of two Bingham es. 449. Nt. cwl. 450.

D 28=w.SM.=western South Midland, 451-459.

Introd. 451. Four Interlinear dt. from 1. Ellesmere, 2. Whixall, 3. Haumer, 4. Farndon, 452-454.

Var. i. North Shropshire cwl. 455.

Var. ii. Detached Flint cwl. 456.

Var. iii. South Cheshire cwl. 457.

Var. iv. Welsh Flint and Denbigh cwl. 458.

D 29=e.SM.=eastern South Midland, 459-493.

Introd. 459-463. Forms of negatives, 461. Table of varieties, 462. Five Interlinear es. from 1. Cannock Chase, 2. Dudley, 3. Atherstone, 4. Waltham, 5. Enderby variants, 463-471. Eight Interlinear dt. from 1. Edgmond, Sh., 2. Eceleshall, St., 3. Burton-on-Trent, St., 4. Lichfield, St., 5. Wellington, Sh., 6. Coalbrookdale, Sh., 7. Darlaston, St., 8. Belgrave, Le., 471-476. Additional Illustrations from Market Drayton, Sh., Edgmond, Sh., Eccleshall, St., Haughton, St., Burton-on-Trent, St., Barton-under-Needwood, St., Darlaston, St., Walsall, St., 476-478.

Var. *ia*. North-east Shropshire and North-west Staffordshire cwl. 478.—Var. *ib*. West Mid Shropshire cwl. 480.—Var. *ic*. East Mid Staffordshire cwl. 482.

Var. *ii**a*. Mid East and South East Shropshire cwl. 483.—Var. *ii**b*. South Staffordshire cwl. 484.—Var. *ii**c*. North Worcestershire cwl. 485.

Var. *iii**a*. East Warwickshire cwl. 487.—Var. *iii**b*. West Warwickshire cwl. 488.

Var. *iv**a*. Leicester cwl. 489-493.

V. THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, 494-680.

Introd. 494.

D 30=EN.=East Northern, 495-537.

Introd. 495. Variations described, 497. Market Weighton and Marshland contrasted, 497. Ten Interlinear es. from 1. Mid Yo., 2. South Ainsty, 3. North Mid Yo., 4. New Malton, 5. Lower Nidderdale, 6. Washburn River, 7. South Cleveland, 8. North-East Coast, 9. Market Weighton, 10. Holderness. Introd. 499-502. Text, 502-513. Notes, 513-519. Four Interlinear dt. from 1. Danby, 2. Skelton, 3. Whitby, 4. The Moors,

with notes, 519–521. Three Interlinear dt. for South-East Yorkshire, viz. 1 East Holderness, 2 Sutton, 3 Goole, 522.

Var. i. Mid Yorkshire cwl. 523–526.

Var. ii. North-East Yorkshire cwl. 527–528.

Var. iii*a*. Market Weighton cwl. 529–532.

Var. iii*b*. Holderness and Var. iv. Snaith cwl. 532–537.

D 31=WN.=West Northern, 537–637.

Introd. 537. The Edenside Speech-sounds, 539–543. Varieties, 543.

Var. i. Craven, etc. 544–549. Introd. 544. Comparison of CCR. and JGG.'s versions, 544–547. Chaucer's "Strothir," 547. Three Interlinear dt. for 1. Hurst, 2. Giggleswick, and 3. Skipton, 548.

Var. ii. Lonsdale. Introd. *to* and *at* before infinitive, 549. Peacock's and Stockdale's Song of Solomon, chap. ii. Interlinear, 550–553. Broughton-in-Furness dt. and Phrases, 553. The transition from (*u*₂) to (*u*), 554.

Var. iii. Westmorland s. of the Watershed, 555.

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Twenty-Two Interlinear es.; from D 30, 1 Mid Yorkshire; from D 31, Var. i. 2 Muker, Yo.; 3 Hawes, Yo.; from Var. ii. 4 Cartmel, La.; 5 Coniston, La.; from Var. iii. 6 Casterton, We.; 7 Dent, Yo.; 8 Sedberg, Yo.; 9 Kendal, We.; 10 Long Sleddale, We.; 11 Orton, We.; from Var. iv. 12 Kirkby Stephen, We.; 13 Crosby Ravensworth, We.; 14 Temple Sowerby, We.; 15 Milburn, We.; 16 Langwathby, Cu.; 17 Ellonby, Cu.; from Var. v. 18 Keswick, Cu.; 19 Clifton, Cu.; 20 Abbey Holme, Cu.; from D 32, Var. i. 21 Carlisle, Cu.; 22 Knaresdale, Nb. Introd. 557–563. Text, 563–594. Notes, 595–602. Traditional Names of Places in Edenside, 602–607. *Seward's Dialogue* for Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yo., Introd. 608. Text, 608–615. Notes, 615. Weardale and Teesdale, namely, Stanhope dt. and variants, 617–619.

Var. i. Form *a*. North Craven cwl. from Burton-in-Lonsdale, Chapel-Dale, Horton-in-Upper-Ribblesdale, with Muker for comparison, 619 to 623.—Form *b*. North-West Horn of Yo. 624.

Var. iii*a*. North La. cwl. Lonsdale south of the Sands, 626.

Var. iii*b*. Furness and Cartmel, Lonsdale north of the Sands, 627–629.

Var. iii. Dent and Howgill cwl. 630–633.

Var. iv. Edenside cwl. 633.

Var. v. West Cumberland cwl. 634.

Var. vi. Weardale and Teesdale cwl. 634–637.

D 32=NN.=North Northern, 637–680.

Introd. 637. Varieties, 640. The Burr, 641 to 644. Three Interlinear es. for 1 South Shields, 2 Newcastle-on-Tyne, and 3 Berwick-upon-Tweed, 645 to 652. Twenty-Two Interlinear dt.; for Var. ii. 1 Edmondbyers; 2 Lanchester; 3 Annfield Plain; 4 Bishop Middleham; 5 Kelloe; 6 Sunderland; for Var. iii. 7 and 8 Hexham (two); 9 Haltwhistle; for Var. iv. 10 Stamfordham; 11 Whalton; 12 Newcastle; 13 North Shields; for Var. v. 14 Rothbury; 15 Snitter; 16 Harbottle; 17 Warkworth; 18 Alwick; 19 Whittingham; 20 and 21 Embleton (two); for Var. vi. 22 Wooler, 653 to 669. The Notes to No. 17, Warkworth, include *Ned White*, a yarn, 666.

Var. i. Brampton, Cu., cwl. 669–672.

Var. ii. South Shields, Du., cwl. 672–674.

Var. iii. and iv. contrasted in s.Nb. cwl. 674–677.

Var. v. Warkworth Nb. cwl. 678–680.

VI. THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING
CHIEFLY THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND, 681-820.

Introd. 681-709. Eight Interlinear es. for 1 Bewcastle, Cu.; 2 Hawick, Rx.; 3 Edinburgh, Ed.; 4 Stranraer, Wg.; 5 Arbroath, Fo.; 6 Keith, Ba.; 7 Wick, Cs.; 8 Dumrossness, Sd., 682-697. Five Interlinear versions of Ruth, chap. i., for 1 Teviotdale; 2 Ayr; 3 Buchan; 4 s.Cheshire; 5 w.Somerset, 698-709.

D 33 = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*,
709-723.

Introd. 709. Phonetics, 710-712. Unaccented syllables, 712. Bewcastle es. 682, 684. Hawick es. 682, 684. Teviotdale Ruth, chap. i. 698. Melville Bell's Teviotdale sentences, 714. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, 715. Hawick cwl. 716-721. Liddesdale Head cwl. 721-723.

D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife*, 723-728.

Introd. 723. Melville Bell's Lothian sentences, 724; his Fife sentences, 725; and Lothian and Fife numerals, 726. Chirnside dt. 726. Mid Lothian cwl. 726.

D 35 = w.ML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale*,
728-747.

Introd. 728. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences, 730. Kyle, Ay., dt. 731. *Tam o' Shanter*, edited from photolithographed facsimile of MS., phonetically transcribed and annotated, 731-741. Western Mid Lowland cwl. 742-746. Loch'winnoch notes, 747.

D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick*, 747-751.

Introd. 747. Phonetic transcription of Burns's *Duncan Grey*, 748. Southern Mid Lowland cwl. 749.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Highland Border*, 751-755.

Introd. 751. North-West Fifeshire dt. 752. Neighbourhood of Perth dt. 753; ditto cwl. including words from *Enga*, 753.

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland = Dr. Murray's *North Eastern Group*, 755.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Angus*,
755-763.

Introd. 755. Arbroath es. 684. Two Interlinear dt. from 1 Dundee, and 2 Glenfarquhar, 758. Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases, 759. Notes to Glenfarquhar dt. 759; ditto to Dundee dt. 760. Glenfarquhar cwl. 760-763.

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen*, 763-785.

Introd. 763. Peculiar use of (ái, á'i, é'i), 766.

Pronunciation in Cromár, 766-768. On (*i*₁₁), 767. Cromár Examples by Mr. Innes, 1. *The Meeting*, 769; 2. *Yule-tide*, 770; 3. *The Fight*, 773. Notes to 2 and 3, 775.

Melville Bell's sentences, 777. Rev. W. Gregor's Notes and Phrases, 777. Mid North Lowland cwl. 779-785.

D 40 = n.NL. = northern North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Caithness*,
786-788.

Introd. 786. Wick *cs.* 683, No. 7. Wick *cwl.* 787.

D 41 and 42 = IL. = Insular Lowland, 788-790.

Introd. 788. Representation of (th, dh), 789.

D 41 = s.IL. = southern Insular Lowland, 790-814.

Introd. 790. Mr. Dennison's PAETY TORAL'S TRAVELLYE *pal.* and translated, 791-798; annotated, 798-802. JOHN GILPIN translated into the oldest existing form of Orkney by Mr. Dennison, 802-809; annotated, 810. Orkney *cwl.* 812-814.

D 42 = n.IL. = northern Insular Lowland, 814-820.

Introd. 814. PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON translated by Mr. Laurenson, 816. PARABLE OF THE SOWER translated by Dr. L. Edmondstone, 817. Shetland *cwl.* 818-820.

A FEW RESULTS, 821-835.

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NOTICE.

After fourteen years' delay I am at last able to produce Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, containing the relation of the present to the past pronunciation of our language as exhibited in "The Existing Phonology of the English Dialects." A glance at the Table of Contents, the Alphabetical County List, p. 32*, and the Alphabetical List of Informants, p. 67*, will I trust sufficiently explain the cause of the delay. The work I found myself involved in was far greater than I had contemplated, and the difficulty of obtaining intelligible information on which reliance could be placed far exceeded my anticipations. The list of Informants will shew how large a number of persons came forward to help me. It will also shew that I am more especially indebted to a very few of these, whom I have mentioned on pp. 4 and 5, and far the foremost among them as regards the number of places from which information was obtained (over 500), accuracy of report in the system of notation here adopted, trustworthiness of detail and length of time during which he worked, was Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. Without his unflagging diligence, and his many excursions to gain phonetic knowledge during nearly twenty years, the account I have been able to give of the Midland Division and its adjacent regions would have been very deficient, instead of presenting remarkable fullness of detail. Next in order, and though far inferior in the number of places, in no respect inferior in the importance of his contributions, and in correctness of detail obtained by extraordinary diligence, was Mr. J. G. Goodchild, whose work in D 31, comprising Cumberland, Westmorland, and North-west of Yorkshire, leaves scarcely anything to be desired in minute accuracy and repeated careful verification.

I have endeavoured in the lists of 1145 places from which, and 811 persons from whom, I obtained information and assistance, to specify every case, but I cannot hope to have been perfectly successful. To every one, however, named and unnamed, and especially to the natives themselves, from whom the information was ultimately obtained, but whose names are only occasionally mentioned, I tender my grateful thanks. To them is

due the value of the present volume as an authentic document, for future philologists to consult.

Finally I have sincerely to thank the three Societies—the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society—and in connection with them Dr. F. J. Furnivall, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the first and Director of the other two, and of other literary societies, who is so well known by his labours in Early English, for enabling me to print and publish these researches. The extent and the consequent expense of my work have greatly exceeded my anticipations. I have in every instance studied brevity and compression, and I believe the results could not have been legibly printed in smaller space, while it seemed important in the interests of philology generally, and English philology in particular, to secure the information obtained, which is becoming rapidly irreplaceable. It might perhaps have been possible with a few years more work to reduce the bulk of this volume, but considering that I was 75 on 14 June, 1889, I did not think it safe to delay. If however health and strength allow, there will be a brief Part VI. containing a summary of the whole work, a consideration of the observations of other scholars, and an index of such matters as have not been otherwise indexed.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

- 1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being *Duncan Gray*, p. 748.
- 1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englyſhe and Welſh—wherevnto is prefixed a little treatyfe of the englyſhe pronuociacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on *Early English Pronunciation* (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology. See III. 743-794.
- 1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.
- 1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the Pronunciation of English in the xvth century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.
- 1868, Aug. First dialectal information for this book written from dictation at Norwich, pp. 275-7.
- 1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see I. 277 and 291.—Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.
- 1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the Alphabet in my *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.
- 1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a *Notice* starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of

- this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.
- 1872, April and May. Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (*cs.*), p. 7*, used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation. Of this I have printed below 104 translations.
- 1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1875, March. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of *cs.*
- 1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sept. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.
- 1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (*wl.*) suggested by the last paper. Of this I have printed below 112 rearrangements as a *cwl.* or classified word list.—Nov. and Dec. Obtaining dialectal information at Whitelands Training College.
- 1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test. Of this I have printed below 116 translations.—April and May. Two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.
- 1880, Oct. Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to Working Men's College.
- 1880, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.
- 1881, June. Obtaining supplementary dialectal information from Whitelands Training College.
- 1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Paper on the "Delimitation of English and Welsh" (that is, the present Celtic Border, p. 12) to the Cymrodorion Society.
- 1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Repeat Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Mainland) to the Ph. S.
- 1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.
- 1885, May. A Report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.
- 1886, May. First (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.
- 1887, May. Second (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.—Nov. First proofs of this Part V. received, the first draft having been completed.
- 1888, May. Short report to the Ph. S. on the state of the work.
- 1889, May. Final report to the Ph. S. announcing the practical completion of Part V. at press.—June. Last proof of Part V. received.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881

two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381-413); in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works re-

quiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

15 June, 1889.

PRELIMINARY MATTER.

- I. THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.
- II. KEY TO THE MAPS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.
- III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN (cs.).
- IV. DIALECT TEST (dt.) AND NOTES.
- V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST (cwl.). WITH INDEX.
- VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.
- VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST, AND INDEX TO ALL THE NAMES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.
- VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

I. NOTE ON THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, Part V, Chapter XI. continued. § 3. *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects.*

The above gives the true relation of the present investigation, forming Part V. of my 'Early English Pronunciation,' to the four preceding parts.

In 1874, when the portion of Chapter XI. § 2, *Natural English Pronunciation*, contained in Part IV. pp. 1243-1432, was printed, it was intended to include in it the present § 3. But my subsequent labours have resulted in such a development of the whole subject that what was originally meant to be merely a brief illustration, occupying only 30 pages of manuscript in the original draft of my *Early English Pronunciation*, made in 1867, before any part was printed, has become a substantive and unexpectedly complete treatise, which must therefore bear a separate title.

This again has conditioned many changes. In Part IV. § 2, No. 3, p. 1248, I gave a sketch of the proposed arrangement of § 2, which in 1874 had already much increased in extent and character from the jejune table of contents of Chapter XI. prefixed to Part I. This whole arrangement, and hence also the allusions to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's versions of the Song of Solomon, p. 1246 *c*, and p. 1374 *a*, must be considered as cancelled. The versions of the Song of Solomon published by the Prince, and written by the best authorities he could procure, were admirable when made, as opening out the whole question of English Dialects in a comparative form; but when I endeavoured to utilise them for the present investigation, I found it impossible to determine the pronunciation from the orthography with any approach to the necessary accuracy, and hence I have been reluctantly compelled to pass them by altogether.

The Dialectal Alphabet, § 2, No. 3, Part IV. pp. 1252-1265, was also premature. This section is practically superseded 1) by the new table of Dialectal Palaeotype, that is, the modification of palaeotype which the experience of dialectal work has shewn to be necessary, with little or no reference to foreign languages, which will be given at the end of this preliminary matter, and 2) by the table of Approximative Glossic prefixed to my abridgment of this treatise, made for the English Dialect Society, and called *English Dialects,—their Sounds and Homes*; in which Glossic is used as an approximate representation of dialectal sounds sufficient for readers, who, not having made a study of phonetics, are contented with general conceptions, instead of the scientific accuracy aimed at in palaeotype.

Even the section on Vowel Fractures and Junctures, Part IV., pp. 1307-1317, although mostly sound, requires slight modification after my subsequent far wider experience, as will appear in detail hereafter.

Hence I erect Part V. into an independent treatise, under its own separate title, "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS."

II. KEY TO THE MAPS OF THE ENGLISH AND LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

The MAPS themselves are loose, and kept in pockets in the cover, for greater ease of reference.

The BOUNDING LINES OF THE DISTRICTS are drawn in red over Philip & Son's convenient little maps, but on account of the smallness of the scales (that of England being about 57 miles to the inch, and that of Scotland about 42 miles to the inch), the boundaries could be only roughly laid down. They had been, however, all previously traced out on maps of 4 miles to the inch, and will hereafter be indicated in words as accurately as the information hitherto obtained allows.

The COUNTRY CONSIDERED lies east and south of the CELTIC BORDER marked CB, commencing in Ireland, and passing through Wales and Scotland.

The six principal DIVISIONS, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern and Lowland, are bounded by thick lines, and, being sufficiently indicated by these positional names, are, to prevent overloading the maps, not further marked.

The forty-two DISTRICTS, in each of which a sensible similarity of pronunciation prevails, are bounded by continuous lines, numbered with bold figures, in the order in which they will be treated, and are named positionally in the following list.

VARIETIES, or parts of Districts separately considered, are not entered on the map, but are numbered with small Roman numerals, named and roughly located on the next two pages.

The CHARACTERS, principally phonetic, by which Districts and Varieties are distinguished, are fully detailed and illustrated in the following pages.

The TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, passing from sea to sea, and limiting certain dialectal usages, are represented on the map by broken lines, which, when the Transverse Lines coincide during any part of their length with the boundaries of Divisions or Districts, are expressed by small cross-lines. The Transverse Lines are numbered with small figures in (), and when two or more of them are partially coincident with one another, all the corresponding numbers are annexed as (1. 2), (4. 5), (8. 9. 10).

The names of these ten lines are as follows :

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) the north <i>sum.</i> | (6) the south <i>hoose.</i> |
| (2) the south <i>sööm.</i> | (7) the north <i>tee.</i> |
| (3) the reverted <i>w.</i> | (8) the south <i>sum.</i> |
| (4) the south <i>teeth.</i> | (9) the north <i>sööm.</i> |
| (5) the north <i>theeth.</i> | (10) the south Lowland. |

The meaning of these names is fully explained in a special section below.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING LIST.

B, b. Border.	E, e. East-ern.	N, n. North-ern.
C Celtic.	I Insular.	S, s. South-ern.
D District.	L Lowland (Scotch).	V Variety.
Div. Division.	M, m. Mid, Midland.	W, w. West-ern.

TWO-LETTER ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES OF COUNTIES CONSIDERED.

Ab. Aberdeenshire.	Fi. Fife.	Nt. Nottingham.
Ar. Argyll.	Fl. Flint.	Or. Orkney Isles.
Ay. Ayr.	Fo. Forfar.	Ox. Oxford.
Ba. Banff.	Gl. Gloucester.	Pb. Peebles.
Bd. Bedford.	Gm. Glamorgan.	Pm. Pembroke.
Be. Berks.	Ha. Hampshire.	Pr. Perth.
Br. Brecknock.	Hd. Haddingtonshire.	Rd. Radnor.
Bt. Bute.	He. Hereford.	Rf. Renfrew.
Bu. Bucks.	Ht. Hertford.	Rt. Rutland.
Bw. Berwickshire.	Hu. Huntingdon.	Rx. Roxburghshire.
Cb. Cambridge.	Kb. Kireudbright.	Sc. Scilly Isles.
Cc. Clackmannan.	Ke. Kincardine.	Sd. Shetland Isles.
Cd. Cardigan.	Ke. Kent.	Se. Selkirk.
Ch. Cheshire.	Kr. Kinross.	Sf. Suffolk.
Co. Cornwall.	La. Lancashire.	Sg. Stirling.
Cr. Cromarty.	Le. Leicester.	Sh. Shropshire.
Cs. Caithness.	Li. Lincoln.	Sm. Somerset.
Cu. Cumberland.	Lk. Lanark.	Sr. Surrey.
Db. Derby.	Ll. Linlithgow.	Ss. Sussex.
Df. Dumfries.	Ma. Isle of Man.	St. Stafford.
Dm. Dumbarton.	Mg. Montgomery.	Wa. Warwick.
Dn. Denbigh.	Mi. Middlesex.	We. Westmorland.
Do. Dorset.	Mo. Monmouth.	Wg. Wigtonshire.
Du. Durham.	My. Moray.	Wi. Isle of Wight.
Dv. Devon.	Na. Nairn.	Wl. Wiltshire.
Ed. Edinburghshire.	Nb. Northumberland.	Wo. Worcester.
El. Elgin.	Nt. Norfolk.	Wx. Wexford.
ER. East Riding of Yo.	Np. Northampton.	WR. West Riding of Yo.
Es. Essex.	NR. North Riding of Yo.	Yo. Yorkshire.

LIST OF DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS AND VARIETIES, WITH THEIR NAMES.

I. S. Div.	v. Uchland.	D 8. s.BS.
D 1 to 12.	Merriott, Montacute, and about a dozen villages between the railways w. of Yeovil sm., where the personal pronoun I is called <i>utch</i> .	Containing s. London and suburbs in Be. Sr. and ne.Ke.
D 1. w.CS.	vi. n. and e. Sm.	D 9. ES.
That is, S on C ground, shewn on the map by the CB pointing to l in margin, representing the position of the se. of Wx. in Ireland, opposite Aberystwith Cd. Dialect in existence a century ago, but now extinct.	D 5. e.MS.	V i. e.Ss.
D 2. m.CS.	V i. Ox.	ii. n.Ke.
In sw. Pm.	ii. Be.	iii. e.Ke.
D 3. e.CS.	iii. Ha. and Wi.	D 10. n.WS.
In sw. Gm.	iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss.	In w.Sm. and ne.Dv.
D 4. w.MS.	D 6. n.BS.	D 11. s.WS.
V i. Wl.	V i. Wo.	V i. n.Dv.
ii. Gl.	ii. s.Wa.	ii. s.Dv.
iii. e.He.	iii. Banbury.	iii. e.Co.
iv. Do	iv. sw.Np.	D 12. w.WS.
	D 7. m.BS.	In w.Co. and Sc., modern, varied, not dialects proper.
	In m. and s. Ox.	II. W. Div.
		D 13 and 14.

- D 13. SW.
In Mo. He. Rd. and s.Sh.
D 14. NW.
In m. and se.Sh.

III. E. Div.

D 15 to 19.

- D 15. WE.
In m. and n.Bu.
D 16. ME.
V i. Ht.
ii. Bd.
iii. Hu.
iv. m.Np.
v. Es.
D 17. SE.
Containing n. London and
snburbs in Bu. Mi. and Es.
D 18. NE.
V i. Cb.
ii. ne.Np.
iii. Rt.
D 19. EE.
V i. nw.Nf.
ii. ne.Nf.
iii. s.Nf.
iv. e.Sf.
v. w.Sf.

IV. M. Div.

D 20 to 29.

- D 20. BM.
The whole eo. of Li.
V i. s.Li.
ii. m.Li.
iii. n.Li.
D 21. s.NM.
V i. se.La.
ii. nw and n. Peak of
Db.
D 22. w.NM.
V i. Ormskirk.
ii. Bolton and Wigan.
iii. Chorley & Leyland.
iv. Blackburn.
v. Burnley.
vi. Old Colne Valley.
D 23. n.NM.
V i. The Fylde in m.La.
ii. Ma.
D 24. e.NM.
Mostly in WR.
V i. Huddersfield.
ii. Halifax.
iii. Keighley.
iv. Bradford.
v. Leeds.

- vi. Dewsbury.
vii. Rotherham.
viii. Sheffield.
ix. Doncaster.
D 25. w.MM.
V i. e.Ch.
ii. m.Ch.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. n.St.
D 26. e.MM.
V i. s.Peak of Db.
ii. w.Db.
iii. e.Db.
iv. s.Db.
D 27. EM.
The whole eo. of Nt.
D 28. w.SM.
V i. nw.Sh.
ii. detached or Eng-
lish Fl.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. Dn. and se. of
main or Welch Fl.

- D 29. e.SM.
V *ia.* ne.Sh. and nm.St.
b. wm.St.
c. em.St.
ii. a. me. and s.Sh.
b. s.St.
c. n.Wo.
iii. a. e.Wa.
b. w.Wa.
iv. Le.

V. N. Div.

D 30 to 32.

- D 30. EN.
Mostly in NR. and ER.
V *ia.* m.Yo.
b. York Ainsty.
c. Northallerton.
d. New Malton.
e. Pateley Bridge.
f. Washburn River.
ii. a. s.Cleveland.
b. ne. Coast and
Whitby.
iii. a. Market Weigh-
ton.
b. Holderness.
iv. Goole & Marsh-
land.

- D 31. WN.
In WR. Cu. and We.
V i. n. Craven and nw.
Mining Dis-
tricts of Yo.
ii. a. s.Lonsdale.

- ii.* b. n.Lonsdale.
iii. s.We
iv. Edenside.
i. e. basin of River Eden in
Cu. and We.
v. w.Cu.
vi. s.Du.
D 32. NN.
V i. n.Cu.
ii. n.Du.
iii. Hexham or sw.
Nb.
iv. Coalfields or se.
Nb.
v. m.Nb.
vi. n.Nb.

VI. L. Div.

Chiefly after Dr. Murray,
whose names of districts
are given in Italics.

D 33 to 42.

- D 33. SL.
Southern Counties.
With a different s. bound-
ary.
V i. English.
In n.Cu. and nw.Nb.
ii. Scotch.
In e.Df., Se. and Rx.
D 34. e.ML.
Lothian and Fife.
In Bw. Ce. Ed. Fi. Hld. Kr.
Ll. and Pb.
D 35. w.ML.
Clydesdale.
In Ar. n.Ay. Bt. e. and s.
Dm. Lk. Rf.
D 36. s.ML.
Galloway and Carrick.
In s.Ay. w.Df. Kb. Wg.
D 37. n.ML.
Highland Border.
In nw.Fi. w.Fo. w.Sg.
e.Pr.
D 38. s.NL.
Angus.
In e.Fo. and m. and s.Kc.
D 39. m.NL.
Moray and Aberdeen.
In Ab. Ba. e.Cr. El. n.Kc.
n.Na.
D 40. n.NL.
Caithness.
In ne.Cs.

The following were not
treated by Dr. Murray.

- D 41. s.II.
The Orkneys.
D 42. n.II.
The Shetlands.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS IN FREQUENT USE.

abl.	ablative.	pf. t.	perfect tense.
acc.	accented, accusative.	pl.	plural.
adj.	adjective.	pp.	past or passive participle.
adv.	adverb.	pre.	preposition.
AJE.	A. J. Ellis, the author.	pro.	pronoun.
ans.	answers.	pron.	pronounce-d, pronunciation-s.
aq.	answers to questions.	prp.	present participle.
art.	article.	prt.	present tense.
b.	border, (preceding a date) born.	pt.	past tense.
CCR.	Mr. C. Clough Robinson.	pwl.	partial wl., one in which less than half the words had their pron. assigned.
cs.	comparative specimen-s.	rec.	received.
co.	county.	ro.	received orthography, or that commonly used.
cwl.	classified word list.	rp.	received pronunciation, or that of pronouncing dictionaries and educated people.
d.	(preceding a date) died.	rs.	received speech, with the grammar as well as pron. that educated people speak.
p.	Dutch.	sb.	substantive.
dat.	dative.	sg.	singular.
def. art.	definite article.	sim.	similarly.
dia.	dialect-s-al.	so.	some kind of systematic orthography.
dict.	dictate-d, dictation.	sp.	speech
diff.	differ-ent-ence.	spec.	specimen-s
diph.	diphthong-s-al.	TH.	Mr. Thomas Hallam.
dp.	dialectal pronunciation.	unacc.	unaccented.
ds.	dialectal speech, or speaker-s.	v.	version-s, or translation-s of cs. or dt. into dialectal speech or pron.
DSS.	Dr. J. A. H. Murray's Dialects of the South of Scotland.	vb.	verb-s, verbal.
dt.	dialect test-s.	vn.	verbal noun.
EEP.	Early English Pronunciation.	vv.	vivâ voce.
ex.	example-s.	wd.	word-s.
freq.	frequently.	wl.	word list, as issued in Oct. 1877.
gen.	generally, genitive.	Ws.	Wessex, and West Saxon, both the country and language, literary Anglo-Saxon of the Southern type.
gl.	glossic, or written in glossic.	wn.	words noted from speakers, chiefly by TH. in his travelling note books.
imp.	imperfect.	y.	(following a number) years, as 10 y. = ten years acquainted with the dialect.
imp. t.	imperfect tense.		
imper.	imperative.		
ind.	indefinite.		
indic.	indicative.		
inf.	infinitive.		
io.	informant's orthography.		
JAHM.	Dr. James A. H. Murray.		
JGG.	Mr. J. G. Goodchild.		
LLB.	H. I. H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.		
lw.	list of words (as distinguished from the wl. and cwl.).		
n.	old Norse.		
nom.	nominative.		
nwl.	numbered word list, that is with sounds expressed by the numbers sent with the wl.		
obs.	observe-d. observation-s.		
occ.	occasional-ly:		
orig.	original.		
orth.	orthography.		
pal.	palaeotype-d.		
par.	paragraph.		
pe.	post card, with an answer to the question it contained.		
pf.	perfect.		

To shew where places no. on the Maps of the Dialect District are to be found, they are referred to places on those maps, thus :

4 nw. Lancaster = 4 miles measured in a northwesterly direction from Lancaster, and so in other cases.

III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN.

referred to in the following pages as es.

This was constructed in Sep. 1873 by JAHM. and AJE., for the purpose of obtaining dia. renderings of familiar words in various connections and some characteristic constructions. A second edition was prepared in June 1875. It has been broken up into 15 short numbered paragraphs, and a title (0.), for convenience of rapid reference. The present copy in ro. will serve as a key to the numerous versions and extracts which follow. The paragraphs cited are always numbered to correspond with this copy.

(0.) WHY JOHN HAS NO DOUBTS.

(1.) Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

(2.) Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

(3.) Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

(4.) *I* am certain I heard them say—some of those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, safe enough,—

(5.) that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it *was* so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would*.

(6.) And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—

(7.) leastways she told it *me* when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

(8.) Well as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband.

(9.) She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

(10.) He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret.

(11.) And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes to dry on a wasting day,

(12.) while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday.

(13.) And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

(14.) And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't be so quick to erow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t'other.

(15.) It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good b'ye.

IV. DIALECT TEST.

referred to in the following pages as dt.

This was constructed in Feb. 1879, in order to have a short specimen which contained an example of almost all the Ws. categories in the following cwl. No V., in which all the words occur separately. Here every word is numbered, and to each are added long notes, especially addressed to persons not much acquainted with phonetics, shewing the special points to which attention should be paid, and how to give the information required. These notes are here retained as forming a succinct and unsystematic conspectus of the principal varieties of English dialectal pron. In printing the versions, the numbering of the words has been abandoned, but the whole has been broken up into 7 short paragraphs to facilitate comparison. It is here printed in ro. to serve as an interpretation of all the v. that follow.

(1.) So¹ I² say,³ mates,⁴ you⁵ see⁶ now⁷ that⁸ I⁽²⁾ am⁹ right¹⁰ about¹¹ that¹² little¹³ girl¹⁴ coming¹⁵ from¹⁶ the¹⁷ school¹⁸ yonder.¹⁹

(2.) She²⁰ is²¹ going²² down²³ the⁽¹⁷⁾ road²⁴ there²⁵ through²⁶ the⁽¹⁷⁾ red²⁷ gate²⁸ on²⁹ the⁽¹⁷⁾ left³⁰ hand³¹ side³² of³³ the⁽¹⁷⁾ way.³⁴

(3.) Sure³⁵ enough,³⁶ the⁽¹⁷⁾ child³⁷ has³⁸ gone³⁹ straight⁴⁰ up⁴¹ to⁴² the⁽¹⁷⁾ door⁴³ of⁽³³⁾ the⁽¹⁷⁾ wrong⁴⁴ house,⁴⁵

(4.) where⁴⁶ she⁽²⁰⁾ will⁴⁷ chance⁴⁸ to⁽⁴²⁾ find⁴⁹ that⁽¹²⁾ drunken⁵⁰ deaf⁵¹ shrivelled⁵² fellow⁵³ of⁽³³⁾ the⁽¹⁷⁾ name⁵⁴ of⁽³³⁾ Thomas.⁵⁵

(5.) We⁵⁶ all⁵⁷ know⁵⁸ him⁵⁹ very⁶⁰ well.⁶¹

(6.) Won't⁶² the⁽¹⁷⁾ old⁶³ chap⁶⁴ soon⁶⁵ teach⁶⁶ her⁶⁷ not⁶⁸ to⁽⁴²⁾ do⁶⁹ it⁷⁰ again,⁷¹ poor⁷² thing!⁷³

(7.) Look!⁷⁴ Isn't⁷⁵ it⁽⁷⁰⁾ true?⁷⁶

Notes.

* * The number of the wd. in the following cwl. is put at the end of each note, preceded by —.

1. **So.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Note whether *o* has a vanishing *oõ* after it as in London. Mark the various fracture sounds, frequently used in the north, as *ee*, *ay*, or *oo*, followed by *a* in China.—1, 73.

2. **I.** Attempt in a note to indicate the first element of this diphthong, the second is almost always *ēē*. The first may be the sound of the *italic* letters in *father*, *pass*, *pat*, *pēt*, *nut*, *evr*, *pull*, *call*, *pop*, or some foreign sound. Reference to any named European language will be intelligible. Or this pronoun may not be a diphthong at all, but the simple vowel in *father*, *fall*, *folly*. These distinctions are all characteristic. Also note if *ic*, *itch*, *itchu*, *utch*, *utchy*, 'ch (as 'ch *am*, 'ch 'ould, 'ch 'ill = *I am*, *I would* *I will*), *ise*, *es*, *us*, have ever been heard for *I*. They

all occur in older books, but at present only *utch*, *utchy*, have been recorded at Merriott and Montacute, near Crewkerne, S. Somerset-hire.—452.

3. **say.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *Zo I do say*, this is general when *s* becomes *z*; and then observe the vowel in *do*, which is generally unemphatic as *a* in China. Note whether *ay* has or has not a vanishing *ēē* after it as in London. Note whether it is pronounced with *a* in *father*, followed by *ēē*, that is, as the English-Greek *ai*, German *ai*, French *aī*, or English *ane* = *yes*. Mark if the *ay* be very broad like *c* in there. Mark if *say* is sounded like *see*, or almost like *sēer* without a trill, or almost like the first syllable of *Sar-ah* also without a trill.—261.

4. **mates.** Use *mates*, *makes*, *mar-*

rows, soce, bo's, butties, boys, chums, according to the district, but select the word most familiarly used in a good sense as companion or fellow-worker. In *mates* or *makes* mark the long *a*, which may have all the varieties of *ay* in *say*, noted in No. 3. which see. *Soce* and *bo's* offer no difficulty, but in *butties* or *chums* mark (by an accent, as *û*, to be explained) whether the sound is between *u* in *but* and *u* in *put*, so that *but* nearly rhymes to *foot*. This is the Lancashire *û*, see No. 15. In *boys*, the diphthong requires attention, it may have its usual sound, or rhyme to *pies* (in which case it must be treated as *I* in No. 2), or be made up of *oo* and *ëë*.—737.

5. **you.** Note whether *you*, *ye*, or *'e* is used. If *you*, whether it rhymes to *too*, *toe*, or *now*. *You* is here plural, note whether it is also commonly used for the singular, or whether *thou* is commoner and if so, whether *thee* is used as the nominative), or whether *thou* is used to some classes and *you* to others. Usage differs much.—435.

6. **see.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *you do see*, which is generally the case when *z* is used; see No. 3. Note whether *ee* has quite a uniform sound or whether it seems to begin with *i* in *set* and then to glide up to *ee*. Note if it is sounded like *say*, with or without a vanishing *ëë*. The form of *eh!* very closely united to *eë*, is common. Mark whether it is followed by *ä* as in *seer* without a trill.—428.

7. **now.** A word of very numerous forms. The *ow* may be a simple vowel, as in *too*, *tar*, *tair*, or may even be as in *near*, *ne'er*, without the trill. It is commonly a diphthong in which the last sound is *öö* and the first the vowel in *father*, *pass*, *pat*, *pet*, *pate*, *nat*, *our*, *pot*, *toll*, or some foreign sound. The second element may also be *eë*, while the first is *a* in *täther*. The second element may even be French *u*, and then the first may be *u* in *our*, or broad French *eü*, German *ö* nearly. The *ow* is also very often a triphthong, a short sound of *i* or *ë* or *äi* being prefixed as *nïow*, *neow*, *naiow*.—643.

8. **that.** Observe that the word is unemphatic and must be pronounced accordingly, the emphatic form No. 12 is reckoned as a different word. The unemphatic vowel is generally like *a* in *China*, or *ø* in *pocket*, or *a* in *principal*,

ocean, or *i* in *it*. Note whether the *th* is entirely omitted. Also whether it is replaced by *d*.—177.

9. **am.** Use *am*, *is*, *are*, or *be*, according to the habit of the district, always selecting an uneducated person, such as an old native man or woman, because all young people have been *taught* to use *am*. If *am* or *is* is used, it generally reduces to *-m*, *-z*, being run on in the same word with *I*, which may have all the sounds of No. 2; but in case *-m* is used, *I* is very often pronounced as *a* in *tall* or *o* in *tolly*. Note particularly the districts where *I are* occurs, and observe where it is used emphatically, as "I *are* to wait," or in answers, as "Are you to do it? Yes I *are*." Note whether the *r* is pronounced, or whether the whole word is not like *a* in *for*. When unemphatic, as *I're*, note whether the whole sound does not rhyme to *fire* without a trill. Especially note the use of *be*, and whether *he be* is also used. Note whether the several forms are all occasionally used in the district, and if so which is the most frequent. Note whether *we am*, *you am*, are ever used, as *we'm*, *you'm*, especially when followed by *to* as "you'm to go home." Note the use of the negative forms *I aint*, *I baint*, *bee'out*, etc., *it baint*, *it aint*, *'taint*, *tent*, *tyent*, *chent*, etc. Note whether *we is*, *you is*, *they is*, are used. All these forms are highly characteristic.—391.

10. **right.** First mark the *r*, whether it is trilled with the tip of the tongue as in Scotch or Italian, or whether the tip of the tongue is merely raised without being trilled as frequently in London and Spain. Note if the effect is produced by a rattle of the uvula at the back of the mouth as in Paris, or else by the same accompanied by a considerable closure of the lips as in Northumberland. Note also if the effect is produced by turning the tongue up so as almost to point down the throat as in Dorsetshire, or by retracting the tongue very much as in Oxfordshire, both sounds being very harsh and but slightly if at all trilled. Then as to *igh*, note whether *gh* is pronounced as a guttural, as in Scotch, and if so whether the guttural is the German *ch* in *ich* or that in *ach*, or the last with the lips much closed, and if the *i* is then as in *nïek* or *nëck*. If the *gh* is not pronounced, note if the *i*

has any one of the sounds of *I* No. 2, or of the vowels in *see* No. 6, as any such sound may occur.—459.

11. **about.** Note the *a* unaccented, whether it is like *a* in *China*, *idea*, or whether it is distinctly the short of *a* in *father*, as in Italian. Note that the *ou* may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, and when it sounds like *oo*, note whether the vowel is long or short, or of middle length.—650.

12. **that.** The word is here emphatic. See No. 8. Note whether the *a* is as in London *cat* or *pass*, or *a* in *father*, or the same short or of middle length. Note whether *th* has its usual sound, or is *t* (often the case after the *t* of *about*) or *d*, or is omitted altogether.—177.

13. **little.** Note whether *t* or *d* is used, or the *tt* omitted altogether as *lile*. If *tt* is omitted, note the sound of *i* either as one of the diphthongal forms of No. 2, or as *a* in *father*. Note, when *tt* is sounded as *t* or *d*, whether *i* is as in *skittle*, or as *ee* in *needle*, or as *a* in *father*.—682.

14. **girl.** The word *girl* is common, but in some districts is replaced by *wench*, *lass*, *maid*, *mauther*, or is not so frequently used as any one of these words. Note which word is most common and use it, but give also the pronunciation of the other words, if used. For *girl*, note whether the *r* is trilled or is pronounced as in one of the ways named in *right* No. 10; if not, note whether it rhymes to *sal* or *sell*, or *earl*, *pearl*; and if the *r* is the Dorsetshire *r* (see No. 10), note whether it rhymes to *hurdle*, with inserted *d*. For *wench* note if it rhymes to *drench*, *pinch*, *branch* (with *a* in *cat*). For *lass* note if it rhymes to *gas* or *pass*. For *maid* note especially if it has the sound of *a* in *father* followed by *ëë*, very distinctly, or any other sound of *ay* in No. 3. For *mauther*, note if *th* is sounded as in *rather*, or omitted altogether.—758.

15. **coming.** For first syllable, note if it rhymes to *hum*, or *loom* or *loom*, or is the short sound of the two last, or something between these two short sounds, nearly *u* in *pull*, but thicker (Lancashire *û*). For the second syllable (and all participles in *-ing*) note whether *ny* has its received sound of *ny*, or whether another *y* seems to be added, or whether it sounds as the words *ink* or *in*; if it ends in *n* (as is

usual), note whether the *i* is like *i* in *in*, *e* in *woollen*, *o* in *motion*. ☞ In the phrase "They were dancing and such dancing I never saw," note whether the two *ings* would be pronounced alike; they are sometimes different, and that is very characteristic.—603.

16. **from.** For *f* note if it is ever or generally *v*, or *th* as in *throw*. If *th* is used, note whether *-om* rhymes to a very broad *â* sound like French *ê*, German *ä*, or almost *a* in *cat*. If *f* remains, note whether *-rom* be not pronounced as the last vowel described, or whether the word sounds like *fy* in *stuffy*, or like *fië*, *fay*. If *f* becomes *v*, note if the *v* does not become the Dorset *r* described in No. 10. If *fr*, *vr* remain in any form, note whether *-om* (as the word is unemphatic) rhymes to the last syllable of *bottom*. Note also its emphatic form, and whether in either form *m* is not often omitted as *frô'*.—58.

17. **the.** The definite article is very characteristic. Note whether *th* remains as usual, or becomes *d*, or is omitted altogether. In each case note the sound of *e* like *a* in *China*, or *y* in *pithy*, or *ee* in *prithve*; and note especially if the latter vowels are used when *th* is omitted. Note particularly whether the vowel is omitted altogether, and then whether *th* keeps its usual sound before a following vowel as in *th-arm* for *the arm*, or becomes *th'* in *th'in* (as it is convenient to write the acute sound), forming a hiss before consonants, as *th'-man*, in one word. In these latter cases note whether the *th* or *th'* is not assimilated to *d* or *t* after a word ending in *d* or *t*, causing a suspension of the *t* or *d*, by the tongue remaining a sensible time against the palate, which may be conveniently written *d'* or *t'*, as *at t' door*. Note also particularly whether *the* does not always become a suspended *t'* when it is possible, as when it follows another word, as *from-t' school*, or, when this is not possible, whether it becomes just perceptible by a dull kind of minute thud, due to trying to speak without moving the tongue from the palate, as *t' man*, *t' ass* (not *tass*) = *the ass*. This is the regular form in Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham and Yorkshire. See examples in the Test after *from* 16, *down* 23, *through* 26, *on* 29, *of* 33, before *child* 37, after *to* 42, before *old*

63. The proper marking of the definite article is important.—231.

18. **school.** Note whether the initial letters are always sounded as *sk*, or sometimes as *sh*. Note whether the vowel is as usual *ōō*, or becomes *yoo*, or French *u*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*, or *ee* or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*. Note whether the usual *oo* is begun with the mouth open, giving the effect of a high *a* in *China* preceding the *oo*; this sound may be conveniently written *óó* as *skóól*. Note whether *oo* does not receive one of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, like the word *scowl*. Note also whether the *ool* does not become *wiel* or *will*, so that the word sounds like *squeal* or *squill*.—560.

19. **yonder.** Note if this word is ever used as *yonder*, *thonder* (with *th* in *then*), or *inder*. If not, use *out there*, and treat *out* as in *about* No. 11, and *there* as No. 25. Also if the *school yonder* is not used, employ *you school*, and then notice whether *you* is pronounced with *y* or *th* in *then*, or acute *th'* in *th'in*, as *th'on* (see No. 17). The form *inder* should be especially noted, if ever heard in the district, even occasionally.—394.

20. **She.** The feminine personal pronoun is very important. It usually has *sh* preserved, with *ee* when emphatic, as in *sheet* (with one of the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, or *au* in *say* No. 3), but when unemphatic becomes *shy* in *slushy*, or *chia* in *fuchsia*, and the vowel is frequently entirely omitted in rapid speech, so that only the *sh* of *hush*! remains. But the forms *shoo*, *oo*, *ow*, *uh*, generally written *shoo*, *loo*, *how*, *her*, are also used. For *shoo* note whether it ever sounds like *shoe*, *shoh*, *shuh*. For *loo* note whether *h* is ever heard unless the word is very emphatic, and whether the *oo* is not the *óó* explained in No. 18. For *how* or *ow* note which of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7 is used. For *her* or better *uh* (the *u* in *cur* without any trill of an *r* after it), note whether it is ever pronounced with an *r* after it, even before a vowel, as *uh iz*, not *uh r'iz*, with emphatic *iz*. Note also if *h'm iz* or *mee iz* are ever said. Note also when the form *she* is used, whether *sh* ever changes to *zh* or *s* in division (French *j*), when the word is emphatic.—412.

21. **is.** First note the use of the forms *is*, *be*, *are*, see No. 9. Next see

whether in unemphatic forms the *i* or *a* are not omitted, as *she's*, *she're*. Give the emphatic forms also.—482.

22. **going.** First note whether *a-* is commonly inserted, as *she's a-going*, where this *a-* is pronounced as in *a-bout* No. 11. Note whether the form *go* or *gang* or *gan* is used. For *go* note the *o*, whether it rhymes to *toe* or *too* or *hay*, and for the second syllable *-ing*, not only see No. 15, but observe if the two syllables *go-ing* do not coalesce, sounding like *g* prefixed to *wine* (with any sound in No. 2), or *wain* (with any sound in No. 3), or *w'in*, very short.—67.

23. **down.** This may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, or *ou* in *about* No. 11. It is a very characteristic word, especially when *ow* has the sound of *a* in *father* or *a* in *cat* lengthened, followed or not by short *ěě* or short *ōō*, or *a* in *China*.—658.

24. **road.** For the *r* consult *right* No. 10. The *ou* may be pronounced with a short *ōō* after it, as it is often in London, and then the *oo* may be lengthened and the *oh* shortened till the word sounds like *rōh-ōōd* or nearly *rowd*, and then the *ow* may receive any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7. These are London forms. It is more common to add a short *ū* or *a* in *China* as *roh-ūd*, and then the *oh* is sometimes broadened to French *o* in *homme* or to *awr* in *awed* as *raw-ūd*. But also very commonly the *oh* falls into *oo* followed by this *ū*, as *roōūd*. And the sound is still more complicated by inserting a *w* as *rwōōūd*. Note what form is used, and whether simple *roh'd* *raud* *rah'd* or short *rō'd* are employed, and sometimes one of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4. The word is very variable and characteristic.—104.

25. **there.** First for *th*, note if it has its usual sound, or if it falls into *d*, and occasionally into *t* after a word ending in *t*. Then as to *r* final, observe whether it is trilled strongly as in Scotland or weakly as mostly in England. Also whether it is not trilled at all, and then whether it is a mere vowel as often in London, or a raised stiff tongue, or a Dorset or Northumberland untrilled *r*, see No. 10. The vowel varies much. It often becomes a very thin *ay*, almost an *ee*, rhyming nearly to *wear* or *seer*. Sometimes it rhymes to *tar*. With the Northumberland *r* it may become *ū*,

and with the Dorset *r* it may become *uh* in *cur*.—223.

26. **through.** First for *thr*, note whether *tr* is used with a trilled *r*, and next whether *dr* is used with a reverted or retracted *r*, as explained in No. 10. Also observe if *fr* is used, generally with *e* in *there*. Next note whether the *gh* is a guttural, or is replaced by *f*. Then note the vowel whether simple as *oo* in *too*, *oe* in *toe* or *u* in *cut*, or Lancashire *û* (No. 15), or diphthongal having one of the sounds of *ow* in No. 7.—634.

27. **red.** Note the *r* as in No. 10. Note the vowel, which may be usual, or as *red* spoken long or short, or *rid*, or like *raid* or *rud-dy*. Particularly note whether the vowel is transposed and an aspirate prefixed, like *herd* with the Dorsetshire *r*, No. 25. Or if the aspirate is prefixed to the same *r* without transposition as *hred*.—352.

28. **gate.** Note all the changes of vowel as in *mates* No. 4. The word is generally very characteristic. It may also be *yate*, *yat* or *yet*.—346.

29. **on.** This does not vary much, but note the vowel when usual or like French *o* in *homme*, or like the short of *one* in *bone*, or like *an*, with the *a* of father shortened.—543

30. **left.** Observe whether *t* is pronounced. Note whether the vowel is *e* in *pet*, or *a* in *pat*, or *i* in *pit*.—749.

31. **hand.** First note whether the aspirate is used, and make a note as to the habits of the district in using or not using the initial aspirate both at right and wrong times. Next note the *d*, sometimes *t*, and often omitted. Lastly see if the vowel is *a* in *eat*, *u* in father at full length or shortened, *aw* in *awn*, or *o* in *on*.—43.

32. **side.** The long *i* may have any of the sounds of No. 2. Note especially whether it is *a* in father, or a diphthong consisting of *uh* in *cur*, followed by short *əp*.—492.

33. **of.** Note whether *f* is preserved: it is usually *r*, but is not unfrequently entirely omitted, especially before *the*, so that *of the* becomes *ū-thū*, or even simply *ūth*, or *ūth'* with acute *th'* (No. 17). Often the word is a short *oh*, as *ŷh thū* or *ŷh əz*.—525.

34. **way.** Note whether the *w* ever becomes *v*. Observe the same possible varieties of *ay* as for *say* No. 3. The sound of *ay* in *say* is however often

different from that of *ay* in *way* in the same district.—262.

35. **sure.** Note whether *s* remains or becomes *sh*. Note the *r* as for *there* No. 25. Observe the vowel, whether as *oo* in *poor*, *you* in *your*, *ew* in *ever*, French *u*, or French *eu*, or whether it becomes one of the *ow* diphthongs as in *now* No. 7.—969.

36. **enough.** Note also the form *enow*, and say whether in this district *enough* is used with singular and *enow* with plural nouns, as *bread enough*, *apples enow*, or whether one form is always used, and if so which. For *enow* note the different forms of *now* No. 7, and also the use of *enew*, or the French *u* or French *eu*. For *enough*, first note whether the guttural remains or is changed into *f*. If *gh* is German or Scotch *ch* in *loch*, observe the vowel, whether simple as *u* in *cut*, *o* in *cot*, or the same preceded by *y*; or whether *ew* in *ever*, or distinct *ee* followed by indistinct *o* in *cot*, or the French *u* or *eu*. For *f* observe whether the vowel is *u* in *snuff*, *ew* in *ever*, or French *u* or *eu*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*, or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*.—579.

37. **child.** Note whether *child* or *bairn* is ever used when speaking of a girl merely. If not, use in the translation some of the words in No. 14, but if *child* is used in the district in any sense, observe its pronunciation. First note the *ch*, whether as in *cheese*, or *chaise*, that is *sh*, the last is very characteristic. Next observe whether *d* is omitted. Then see if the vowel is diphthongal, having one of the forms of No. 2, or simple, as in *chilled*, or *shield*. In all cases note the form of the plural, *chibler*, *childern*, *chööldern*, *children* or *chillern*, with the pronunciation of *ch* and vowel as before. If only *bairn* is used, note the sound of *air* as in *there* No. 25.—466.

38. **has.** This is in the unemphatic form, and hence probably omits *ha*, sounding simply as *-z* hung on to the preceding word. Note however also the emphatic form, and whether *h* is pronounced (see *hand* No. 31), and if *s* is ever *s* or always *z*. Then note the value of the vowel, as *a* in *mazzard*, *u* in *buzzard*, *i* in *lizard*, *e* in *fez*. Also note particularly whether it is customary in the district to say *the child have*, and if so note the *h* and vowel of *have* especially. Please con-

jugate as in the district: *I have, thou hast, he has, we, you, they, have*, and the same negatively.—159.

39. **gone.** Notice especially whether *a-* is inserted, as *the child has a-gone*, as this is very characteristic. It so, note whether this *a* is pronounced as *a* in *China*. For *gone* note the vowel as *o* in *on*, or *aw* in *awn*, or as in *in*, *pen*, *been* (short), or with *y* prefixed to these vowels, or as very short *i* in *in* followed by very short *a* in *China*. Or again with *a* in *father* or the same very short. Also observe if the habit of the district is to use *has gone-ed, has went, has been and gone*, or *been* simply without either *has* or *gone*.—121.

40. **straight** First observe whether the guttural *gh* is heard as Scotch or German *ch* in *loch*. Next as to the initial *str*, observe the *r* as in *right* No. 11, but especially whether the *t* is pronounced thickly by bringing the tip of the tongue quite against the teeth as for *th*, forming the dental *t*, which may be written *st'v*, a pronunciation highly characteristic in words beginning with *str*, or *tr*, or ending with *-ter* as *wa'ter*, *but'ter*, and if this is usual in the district, it should be noted carefully. Note also whether *t'* passes quite into acute *th'* No. 17, as *sth'raight, wath'er, buth'er*, or whether in the last two words it is not altogether omitted as *wāh-er, bū-er*. Then for the vowel in *straight*, note the forms of *a* in *mat's* No. 4, or *ay* in *say* No. 3, and especially the diphthongal form of *a* in *father* followed by short *ě*.—265.

41. **up** The vowel may be as usual or somewhat thicker, but note the Lancashire *ū* (see No. 15), which is highly characteristic. Note also French *eu*. ☞ It is particularly necessary to distinguish *u* in *dull* from *u* in *full*, or from Lancashire *ū* (No. 15). Dialect writers, following the usual orthography, use *u* for all three sounds. Great confusion thus arises. It is believed that *u* in *dull* is never found within the district bounded on the south by a line from the N. of Shropshire to the S. of Lincolnshire, and on the north by a line from Silloth in Cumberland to Hartlepool in Durham, but information is much wanted for the districts adjacent to these boundaries. The distinction has strong dialectal significance.—632.

42. **to.** Note if *at* is ever used for

to before the infinitive, see No. 67. Note the vowel, as *oo* in *too*, *oe* in *toe*, *ew* in *tew*, French *u* or *eu*, all especially when emphatic, or in *to and fro, where are you going to*; and the unemphatic form of *a* in *China*. Observe also how it coalesces with the following *the*.—556.

43. **door.** Note the *r* as in *there* No. 25. Note the *oor* as in *oar*, as in *drawer*, or as in *nor*, or as *mower, poor*, or the same shortened, or as *ever*, or as in *deer, ewr*, or French *sūr* or *sœwr*, or with the Lancashire *óó*, No. 18, or as *ow*.—606.

44. **wrong.** First as to *wr-*, note if the *w* is omitted (as is generally the case) or is pronounced as *wū* with the *a* in *China*, or as a *v* as *vrang*. Next as to *rg*, note if another *g* is added on to the end as *ngg*, or whether the word ends in *uk*. The vowel is very characteristic, note the usual *o* in *wrong*, or the short of *a* in *father*, or *a* in *eat*, or *u* in *rung*, or Lancashire short *ū* (No. 15). This word with the next is sufficient to determine whether the district is to the N. or S. of a line passing from Cockermonth in Lancashire to the mouth of the Humber in Yorkshire—64.

45. **house.** First notice the aspirate, whether it is used, No. 31. Particularly notice the vowel in all the forms of *ou* in *about* No. 11, and *ow* in *now* No. 7. This and *home* are the most characteristic words we have. How is *home* pronounced? See sounds of Nos. 22, 39, 58, 62.—663.

46. **where.** Note the *wh* especially, and say whether the *h* is ever pronounced before or after the *w*, as it is very desirable to determine the limits of the pronunciation of *wh* proper. Next notice whether when *h* is not pronounced, *w* ever falls into *v*, as is often asserted to be the case. Lastly note where *wh* becomes *f*. For the *r* see *there* No. 25. For the vowel, determine whether it is in *air, ear, far, nor, drawer*.—224.

47. **will.** Being unemphatic this will probably be run on to the preceding word as simple *-l*, thus *she'll*. But also note which of the emphatic forms as *wīl* or *wūl*, and perhaps *wōl* or *wōōl*, or even *ōōl*, is used in the district.—469.

48. **chance.** Very possibly this word may not be used in such a phrase in the district. Use the word employed,

as *hap* or *happen* or *mobby* (may be) for *chance to*. The *h* and *a* in the first two words treat as in *hand* No. 31. But the word *chance* is sure to be used in some sense, so please to note its sound, and especially if *ch* is as in *cheese* or *chaise*. The *-ance* may be variously pronounced, as *a* in *father* long or short, *a* in *pass* long or short, *a* in *cat* long or short, all these six sounds being heard from educated people. But *a* may also be as in *all*, or have one of the sounds of long *i*, No. 2.—841.

49. **find.** First as to the final *d*, often omitted, see *hand* No. 31. Notice whether the word is like *find*, with one of the sounds of long *i*, No. 2, or like *finned*; it may be also like *fund* or *fund*, *fun* or *fun*, with *a* as in *hand* No. 31, or *u* as in *up* No. 41, or with *o* in *fond*.—477.

50. **drunken.** Notice the form *drucken*, much used in Scotland. Notice whether *dr-* is pronounced with the tongue against the teeth as for *th*, thus *d'r*, see *straight* No. 40 for a similar *t'r*. Notice also whether this is common in the termination *-d'er* as *rid'er bludd'er*, and whether it passes into *th* as *blather* in the district. These are very characteristic pronunciations. As to the vowel, observe whether it is *u* in *sun*, or the Lancashire *û*, Nos. 15 and 41. In some districts, where every one is in the habit of drinking, the word *drunken* is objected to. Then use the common word, but as *I have drunk* must be used, also give the sound of *drunk*.—804, 613.

51. **deaf.** Note the vowel as usual or rhyming to *veef*, *stiff*, or fractured as *ee* or *ay* followed by the *a* in *China*.—355.

52. **shrivelled.** This may not be a common word, and may be unknown to the informant in the dialect, although it is sure to be known in other connections. In this case *wizened*, *wenzen*, *withered*, or *dried up* may be used. But if *shrivelled* cannot be given, take any word beginning with *shr-* as *shrammed*, *shred*, *shrewnouse*, *shriek*, *shrike*, *shrell*, *shrimp*, *shrink*, *shroud*, *shrub*, *shrug*, and state whether *shr-* or *sr-* is used in speech. It is particularly desirable to know how far the sound of *sr-* extends. For the *r* see *right* No. 10.—760

53. **fellow.** Note whether *f* or *r*. For the last syllable note whether the

word ends in a distinct *oh* or rhymes to *seller*, with the *r* merely a vowel, see *there* No. 25, or whether it is like the Egyptian *fellah*.—297.

54. **name.** The vowel may have any of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *gate* No. 28. The word is also often like *neam*, *neeam*, *nyem*, or even *nem*.—21.

55. **Thomas.** Use whatever name is commonest in the district. If *Thomas* is kept, note whether *th-* is ever different from *t*. For the first syllable note whether the vowel is that in *pot*, *ham*, or the Lancashire *u* Nos. 15 and 41. For the second whether it is ever different from *us* in omnibus.—770.

56. **We.** This vowel may have all the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, and the sound like very short London *way* should be especially noted. Note if *we* is ever used for *us* in the district, as *after we* (John Gilpin), *laughed at we*, *give it we*. Note also if *us* is used for *we*, as *us saw she*, *us told he*, for *we saw her*, or *we told him*.—293.

57. **all.** Note if the *ll* is omitted. Note the vowel as in *fall* or *father*, or *ay* followed by *a* in *China*, or whether the word sounds like *yell*.—335.

58. **know.** As this is plural, *we* being the nominative, note whether it has the plural in *-n* as *we known*, or in *-s* as *we knows*, and explain which is used in the district, or if *we know* is commonest. Similarly note *you* and *they know*, *knows*, or *known*. *We known* is sometimes used for *we have known*, or *we knew*. This must not be confused with *we known*, meaning *we know*. But it is best to note whether it is used. For the initial *kn-* note whether *k* is ever sounded as *h*, or ever indicated by using an *h* or *t* or *d*, instead of *k*, or is entirely omitted. Then note the vowel, whether as in *owe*, *ave*, *father*, *fate*, or *o* followed by short *ö*, or the *ave*, *ah*, *ay*, followed by short *a* in *China*. Note whether *do* is inserted between *we* and *know* as *we do know*, and if so, how *do* is pronounced, see end of notes on *say* No. 3, and see No. 6. The use of *we doh know* for *we don't know*, should be noted, but not confused with *we do know*. Note also whether the word *know* is superseded by *ken*, and the sound of the vowel in *ken*. In this case take some other word beginning with *kn-* as *knufe*, *knuckle*, and ascertain whether

k is entirely omitted or pronounced, or indicated by *h* or *t* or *d*.—92.

59. **him**. Note particularly whether the form *en* or *um* or simple 'n is used, as *we do know 'n*. If *him* is used, note if *h* is ever heard, 1) when the word is unemphatic, 2) when emphatic. Note the vowel, whether *im*, *em*, *um*. Note if *we know 'im*, or *we knows 'm*, could mean indifferently *we know him*, and *we know them*.—470.

60. **very**. Note particularly whether the *r* changes into *w*. If possible, ascertain whether it is a perfect *w*, or rather a *r* spoken without allowing the underlip to touch the upper teeth. The *r* between the two vowels also requires attention. Note if it is entirely omitted as *ve-y*, *va-y*, or only represented by raising the stiffened point of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth without touching it, or slightly advancing the uvula; both forms occur, and it is desirable to know how far they extend. If the *r* is trilled, note which of the *r*'s in *right* No. 10 is used. The first vowel may be as in *sherry*, or *Harry*, or *father*, and the second may be as in *sherry* or *China*.—885.

61. **well**. Note whether the *w* becomes *v*. Note the vowel whether as in *tell*, or *wheel* rather shorter, or whether a short *a* in *China* or *y* in *sherry* is inserted after either of these.—266, not 244.

62. **won't**. Note if *o* is pronounced as in *don't*, *hunt*, *awe*, *taint*, or *o* in *don't* followed by *a* in *China*, or *oo* followed by *a* in *China*, or *ee* so followed. Note also if the forms *winna*, *winnad* (before a vowel), *winna*, *wonna*, *winnut*, are employed. Note if *w* is entirely omitted, thus 'ōn't or 'ōōn't. Note also the various forms of *don't*, which includes those of *on't* in *won't* and also *div'nt*, etc.—541.

63. **old**. Note whether both *l* and *d* are pronounced or either *l* or *d* omitted. Vowel as in *owed*, *hole*, *got*, *awe*, *father*, *ee* followed by *a* in *China*. Or whether *o* has not one of the sounds of *now* No. 7.—326.

64. **chap**. This word is pretty sure to be used, but, if not, use *man*. Observe whether *ch* is as in *cheese* or *chaise*, and whether the vowel is as in *eat*, in *father* or the same shortened, or in *got*.—364.

65. **soon**. Observe whether *s* or *z*, or even *sh*. Observe the vowel especially, which may be *ee*, *yoo*, French *u* or *eu*,

or *ee* followed by *ō*, or by *a* in *China*, or *u* in *dull* or French *eu*.—564

66. **teach**. Observe vowel as in *reach*, or *aitch*. If, as is very commonly the case, *learn* would be used in this sense, mark the vowel as in *urn* or *darn* or *ay* followed by short *o*, and note the *r* (No. 26). If *teach* is not used in this sense, *teacher* will certainly be known, and its pronunciation should be given.—183.

67. **her**. Observe whether *h* is pronounced, and what is the nature of the *r*, see *there* No. 25. See also the *her* for *she* No. 20, and note whether *she* is not used in its place as *won't he teach she*. Observe if the usual sound of *her* in *teach her* or *learn her* is the same as *er* in *teacher* or *learner*, and note if it is *a* in *China*, or how it differs from it.—447.

68. **not**. Note vowel as in *pot*, *pat*, *put*, or *nut*, and whether the *t* is sometimes *d*.—110, ii.

69. **do**. Note vowel as in *too*, *toe*, *new* or French *u*, or *ee* followed by French *u*. Observe whether *div* is used before *it*, as *div it*, or whether *do* and *it* are not contracted into one word as *dit* or *dil*. Note whether *to* before the infinitive *do* is sometimes *at*, pronounced *āt*, especially in such phrases as *I am the man that was able to or at do it*, *something at eat*, *go at see him*, and write the pronunciation of these phrases. This use of *at* is highly characteristic.—586.

70. **it**. Observe whether, when not run on to *do* (No. 69), *it* becomes *et*, *ut*, *hit*, *het*, *hid*. Also state whether *its* is ever used, as in *over its* or *it eyes*, or *over the eyes of 'un*.—489.

71. **again**. Note the last vowel as in *gain*, or *hen*, *in*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*.—144.

72. **poor**. Note *r* as in *there* No. 25, and vowel as usual or as in *our*, or like French *u* or *eu*.—866.

73. **thing**. Note whether acute *th'* in *th'in*, see No. 17, or flat *th* in *then*, or *t* simply is used. Note the vowel as in *in* or *hen*. Note *ng* as pure, or with an extra *g* added, as *nk* or as *n*. If the simple *n* is not used in *thing* alone, note whether it is not used in *nothing*, *something*, and write pronunciation of these words.—480.

74. **look**. Note the vowel as in *soon*, No. 65, or else as long *oo* in *loose*, or long *oh*, or short *u* in *full* or *u* in

dull. Note also such phrases as *loo' thee* for *look thou*. — 558.

75. *isn't*. Note whether any of the forms *beant*, *aint*, *ar'n't*, *izna*, *iznad*, *innut*, etc., is used. — 482.

76. *true*. Observe *tr* as in *straight* No. 40. The vowel may be *oo* or *you* or *ee* followed by *oo* or French *u*, or some variety of these sounds. — 436.

V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST

referred to in the following pages as cwl.

Finding that the *es.* did not contain sufficient examples of some categories, and that the few examples of rather important cases were often ingeniously evaded by my informants, I constructed a "List of Words of which the pron. is wanted," and issued large numbers of it to clergymen in different villages where information was wanted. The greater number of these were not returned, but sufficient reached me to be of much service. This old word list is referred to as *wl.* and should be distinguished from the present *cwl.* It was stated to be a selection from the word lists in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*, and was arranged in his order, which, however, was found inconvenient for reference in practice. It was printed widely on 7 quarto pages, leaving space for informants to write in the pron. Half of the 8th page was occupied with questions on idioms and intonation. These are reproduced at the end of the *cwl.* as shewing the chief points beyond pron. on which it was attempted to gather information.

The following *cwl.* then contains all the words in the *wl.*, *es.* and *dt.* and a very few others. Those marked * did not occur in the original *wl.* Those marked † were in the *es.*, and those marked ‡ in the *dt.* The words are numbered throughout for ease of reference.

Many other words were given to me by kind informants, most of which will be introduced hereafter. But on making out a complete list for my own use, it became so unwieldy that it appeared better to confine the *cwl.* within the above limits. As much difficulty will undoubtedly be felt by many readers, (judging by the difficulty I have myself experienced,) in assigning any given word to its class, an index is added containing the English words in the usual alphabetical order of dictionaries, with the number of the *wd.* in the *cwl.* annexed.

All the old *wl.* and all the local *lw.* which I have used will be reduced to this order. The pron. is throughout given in *pal.* and, when the words considered occur in this list, their numbers are prefixed as sufficient explanation. When they do not, they are placed in the position they would have occupied, if they had occurred in the *cwl.*, and — is prefixed to shew that they have no number, and then the ordinary spelling is annexed in [], in which also any explanation or observation is included.

The order and classification, which differ considerably from those in the original *wl.*, are arranged on the following principle. The lists are divided into three sections, headed I. WESSEX AND NORSE, II. ENGLISH, III. ROMANCE. The words in each list are grouped in classes dependent on the vowel of the original language in what corresponds to the accented syllable in received English. The words in each class are arranged in order of the letters which *follow* that vowel. Only when all these letters are the same in two or more words are the preceding letters taken into account, and then the order is reckoned from the vowel backwards. Strictly alphabetical order is followed for these letters, for which purpose *f*, *ð* will each be taken as the *two* letters, *t*, *h*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE, Nos. 1 TO 712.

This section contains only such words as can be referred with considerable certainty to prototypes existing in Wessex literature, (that is, books in the language of King Alfred, as distinguished from the Northumbrian forms,) or in Norse as represented by Icelandic. To the latter a small capital *x* is subjoined.

When no such prototypes are known, or when there is difference of opinion respecting the etymology, even when the class of words is clear, the words are placed in Section II., ENGLISH.

The Wessex or Norse words are placed first in Roman letters, and the arrangement is by the vowels they contain, which are placed in *capitals* at the head of each class, long vowels being distinguished by a following acute accent. As the change which takes place in the vowel depends frequently upon its occurrence in an open or closed syllable, as presently defined, these are distinguished thus: A- open short A; A: closed short A; A'- open long A; A': closed long A. The vowel, by a mechanical rule which is sufficiently, but not absolutely correct, is said to be in an *open* syllable, 1) when it is final, and 2) when it is followed by a *single* consonant which is itself *followed by a vowel*, and to be in a *closed* syllable, 3) when it has *one or more* consonants after it at the end of a word, and 4) when it has *two or more* consonants between it and a following vowel in the middle of a word. In the Wessex words the orthography of Prof. Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary is usually followed, but when his differs from Ettmüller's (except in that author's peculiarities) the latter is sometimes preferred. I disclaim all responsibility for the orthography, which I could not verify by documents. Conjectural forms are excluded. Hence I have not, with Dr. Sweet, distinguished two forms of Æ, E, O.

The Wessex and Norse forms, placed first, are printed in Roman letters, followed by a comma; the corresponding English is in italics. But some little words as *a, the, to, I he we, was, had* are occasionally prefixed, and *thou* subjoined, in Roman letters, to shew the part of speech or part of the verb, and only when these are insufficient is the part of speech subjoined in Roman letters. Verbs are generally cited by their infinitive moods, but occasionally other parts are introduced either in their proper order, or placed in [] after the infinitives. Such parts are sufficiently shewn by these prefixes, which of course do not form part of the translation. Sometimes the English word is still so ambiguous that a synonym or explanation has to be prefixed or subjoined, also in Roman type.

A-	26 wanian, to <i>wane</i>	51 mann, a <i>man</i>
	27 enapa, a <i>knave</i>	52 wann, a <i>wan</i>
1 swa, so thus * †	28 hara, a <i>hare</i>	53 canna, a <i>can</i>
2 gemaca, a <i>make</i> companion	29 aron, we or they <i>are</i> * †	54 wanta x, to <i>want</i> †
3 bacan, to <i>take</i>	30 caru, a <i>car</i> *, see 320	55 ascan, <i>ashes</i> of a fire
4 tacan, to <i>take</i>	31 i. late, ii. læte, <i>late</i> adv.	56 wascan, to <i>wash</i> †
5 macian, to <i>make</i> †	32 baðian, to <i>bathe</i> *	57 assa, an <i>ass</i>
6 gemacod, was <i>made</i>	33 hraðor, <i>rather</i>	
7 sacu, the <i>sake</i>	34 latost, <i>last</i> †	A: or O:
8 hafa, <i>have</i> thou †	35 awel, an <i>awl</i>	
9 behafa, <i>behave</i> thou	36 þawian, to <i>thaw</i>	58 i. fram ii. from, <i>from</i> † †
10 haga, a <i>haw</i>	37 clawa, a <i>claw</i>	59 i. lamb ii. lomb, <i>lamb</i>
11 maga, the <i>mar</i>		60 i. lang ii. long, <i>long</i>
12 saga sagu, a <i>saw</i>	A:	61 on i. gemang ii. gemong, <i>among</i>
13 gnagan, to <i>gnaw</i>	38 also, as* †	62 i. strang ii. strong, <i>strong</i>
14 dragan, to <i>draw</i>	39 cwam, he <i>came</i> †	63 i. geþrang ii. geþrong, <i>through</i>
15 agi x, <i>ave</i>	40 camb, a <i>comb</i>	64 i. wrang ii. wrong, <i>wrong</i> † †
16 dagian, to <i>dawn</i>	41 þancian, to <i>thank</i>	65 i. sang ii. song, a <i>song</i>
17 lagu, the <i>law</i> †	42 and, <i>and</i> * †	66 i. þwang ii. þwong, a <i>thong</i>
18 kaka x, a <i>cake</i>	43 hand, a <i>hand</i> †	
19 talu, a <i>tale</i> told	44 land, the <i>land</i>	
20 lama, <i>lame</i>	45 wand, a <i>want</i> mole, animal*, see 114, 769	
21 nama, a <i>name</i> † †		
22 tama, <i>tame</i>	46 candel, a <i>candle</i>	A'-
23 same, <i>same</i> similarly	47 wandrian, to <i>wander</i>	
24 scamu, <i>shame</i>	48 sang, he <i>sang</i>	67 ie gá, <i>I go</i>
25 manar, of the <i>mane</i> of an animal, gen. of mön x	49 hangan, to <i>hang</i> * †	68 má, <i>more</i> in number*
	50 tange, the <i>tongs</i>	

- 69 ná, *no* never, see 122
 nán
- 70 tá, a *toe*
- 71 wá, *woe*
- 72 hwá, *who* interroga-
 tive †
- 73 swá, *so* like as † ‡
- 74 twá, *two* †
- 75 strácian, to *stroke*
- 76 táde, a *toad*
- 77 hláford, a *lord*
- 78 ágan, to *owe* = to own
- 79 ágen, his *own* †
- 80 hálíg dæg, a *holiday*
- 81 i. láne ii. lone, a *lane* †
- 82 ánes, *once* * †
- 83 mánian, to *moan*
- 84 mára, *more* in size
- 85 sáre, *sore* sorely
- 86 áte, *oats*
- 87 eládas, *clothes* †
- 88 eláðian, to *clothe*
- 89 báðir x, *both* †
- 90 bláwan, to *blow* as wind
- 91 máwan, to *mow*
- 92 enáwan, to *know* † ‡
- 93 snáwan, to *snow*
- 94 cráwan, to *erow* †
- 95 þráwan, to *throw*
- 96 sáwan, to *sow* seed
- 97 sáwel, the *soul*
- 98 enáwen, has *known*
- 99 þráwen, has *thrown*
- 100 sáwen, has *sown* seed
- A':
- 101 áe an *oak*
- 102 áesian, to *ask* †
- 103 áesóde, he *asked* * †
- 104 rád, a *road* †
- 105 rád, he *rode*
- 106 brád, *broad*
- 107 hláf, a *loaf*
- 108 dág, *dough*
- 109 lág, *low*
- 110 i. náht náuht, *naught*,
 ii. nát, *not* † ‡
- 111 áhte, he *ought* †
- 112 hál, *hale*
- 113 hál, *whole* †
- 114 mál, *mole* a body
 mark, not the
 animal, see 45, 769
- 115 hám, a *home* †
- 116 hwám, *whom*, interro-
 gative only
- 117 án, a † *one* *
- 118 bán, *bone*
- 119 gán, to *go* * †
- 120 ágán, *ago*, i.e. past
 by * †
- 121 gegán, has *gone*
- 122 nán, i. *none*, ii. *no* adj.
- 123 nán þing, *nothing*
- 124 stán, a *stone*
- 125 ánlíce, *only* †
- 126 ár, an *oar*
- 127 hás, *hoarse*
- 128 þás, *those*
- 129 gást, a *ghost*
- 130 bát, a *boat*
- 131 gát, a *goat*
- 132 hát, *hot*
- 133 wrát, I *wrote*
- 134 áð, an *oath*
- 135 cláð, a *cloth*
- 136 áwðer = áhwæðer, i.
either, ii. *or*, see
 213 æ'gðer
- 137 náwðer = náhwæðer,
 i. *neither*, ii. *nor* * †,
 see 214 nægðer
- Æ-
- 138 fæder, a *father* †
- 139 draege (in draege-net),
 a *dray*
- 140 hægel, the *hail*
- 141 nægel, a *nail*
- 142 snægel, a *snail*
- 143 tægel, a *tail*
- 144 onrægen, *again* † ‡
- 145 slægen, is *slain*
- 146 mægen, *main* strength
- 147 brægen, the *brain*
- 148 heger, *fair* adj. [not
fair sb., Fr. foire,
 after 921, from
 Lat. feria, after
 887.]
- 149 blæse, a *blaze*
- 150 lesest, *least* †
- 151 lætan, to *let* or hinder
- 152 wæter, *water*
- 153 sæterdæg, *Saturday*
- Æ:
- 154 bæc, the *back* * †
- 155 þæc, the *thatch*
- 156 glæd, *glad* *
- 157 hrafn, a *raven*
- 158 æfter, *after*
- 159 hæfð, he *has* * †
- 160 æg, an *egg*
- 161 dæg, a *day* †
- 162 tó dæg, *to-day* * †
- 163 læg, he *lay*
- 164 mæg, he *may* †
- 165 sægde, he *said*
- 166 mægden, a *maid*
- 167 dæl, a *dale*
- 168 tælg, *tallow*
- 169 hwænne, *when* †
- 170 hærfest, *harvest*
- 171 bærlie *barley*
- 172 gars, *grass*
- 173 wæs, he *was* †
- 174 æse, an *ash* tree
- 175 fæst, *fast*, firm
- 176 æt, *at* * †
- 177 þæt, *that* * † ‡
- 178 gnæt, *gnat*
- 179 hwæt, *what* †
- 180 bæð, *bath*
- 181 pæð, a *path*
- Æ'-
- 182 sæ', the *sea*
- 183 tæ'can, to *teach* †
- 184 læ'dan, to *lead*
- 185 ræ'dan, to *read*
- 186 bræ'do, *breadth*
- 187 læ'fan, to *leave*
- 188 hne'gan, to *neigh*
- 189 wæ'gan, to *weigh*
- 190 cæ'ge, a *key*
- 191 hæ'lan, to *heal*
- 192 mæ'nan, to *mean*
- 193 clæ'ne, *clean*
- 194 æ'nig, *any* * †
- 195 mæ'nig, *many*
- 196 wæ'ron, we *were*
- 197 cæ'se, a *cheese*
- 198 læ'tan, to *let* allow,
 see 288.
- 199 blæ'tan, to *bleat*
- 200 hwæ'te, *wheat*
- 201 hæ'ðen, the *heathen*
- 202 hæ'ta, *heat*
- Æ':
- 203 spræ'c, *speech*
- 204 dæ'd, *deed*
- 205 þræ'd, *thread*
- 206 ræ'dd, he *read*
- 207 næ'll, a *needle*
- 208 æ'fre, *ever* * †
- 209 næ'fre, *never* * †
- 210 clæ'g, *clay*
- 211 græ'g, *grey*
- 212 hwæ'g, *whew*
- 213 æ'gðer = æhwæder,
either, see 136
 áwðer

- 214 næ'gðer, *neither** †, see 137 nāwðer
 215 tæ'hte, he *taught*
 216 dæ'l, a *deal* portion
 217 æ'lc, *each*
 218 scæ'p, a *sheep*
 219 slæ'p, a *sleep*
 220 scæ'phirðe, a *shepherd** †
 221 fæ'r *fear* sb.
 222 hær, the *hair*
 223 fæ'r, *there* † †
 224 hwær hwar, *where* † †
 225 flæ'se, *flesh*
 226 mæ'st *most*
 227 wæ't, *wet* †
 228 swæ't, *sweet*
 229 bræ'ð, *breath*, pro-
 perly = odour
 230 fæ'tt, *fat*, adj.

E-

- 231 þe, *the** † †
 232 breacan, to *break*
 233 sprecan, to *speak* †
 234 cneðan, to *knead*
 235 weðan, to *weave*
 236 fefer, a *fever*
 237 blegan, a *chil-blain*
 238 hege, a *hedge*
 239 segel, a *sail*
 240 gelegen, has *lain*
 241 regen, *rain*
 242 twegen, *twain*
 243 plegian, to *play*
 244 wela, *well*, argumen-
 tative adv.* †, see
 266.

- 245 melu melo, *meal* flour*
 246 cwene cwén, i. *queen*
 ii. *quan*
 247 wenian, to *wean*
 248 mere, a *mare*
 249 werian, to *wear*
 250 swerian, to *swear*
 251 mete, *meat*
 252 cetel, a *kettle* †
 253 netele, a *nettle*
 254 leðer, *leather*
 255 weðer, a *wether* sheep

E:

- 256 streccan, to *stretch** †
 257 ecg, an *edge*
 258 secg, *sedge*
 259 weeg, *wedge*
 260 leegan, to *lay*
 261 seegan, to *say* † †

- 262 weg, a *way* † †
 263 on weg, *away** †
 264 eglan, to *ail*
 265 streht, *straight* † †
 [see 923, to which
 dia. forms seem to
 be related].
 266 wel, *well*, adv. in a
 good manner* †,
 see 244.
 267 geldan, to *yield*
 268 eldest, *eldest*
 269 self, *self** †
 270 belg, i. *bellows*, ii.
belly
 271 tellan, to *tell** †
 272 elm, an *elm*
 273 men, *men* †
 274 bene, a *bench*
 275 stene, a *steneh*
 276 þencan, to *think* †
 277 drenčan, to *drench*
 278 wencle, a *wench*
 279 wended, he *went** †
 280 endlufoñ, *eleven*
 281 lengð, *length*
 282 strengð, *strength*
 283 merg, *merry*
 284 þerscan, to *thresh*
 corn
 285 cerse, *crass* vegetable
 286 herwe, a *harrow*
 287 besm, a *besom* broom
 for sweeping
 288 lettan læ'tan létan, to
let permit, see 198.

E'-

- 289 gé, *ye*
 290 hé, *he* †
 291 þé, *thee*
 292 mé, *me* †
 293 wé, *we* †
 294 féðan, to *feed*
 295 bréðed, was *bred*
 296 geléfan, to *believe*
 297 íélagi s, a *fellow** †
 298 íélan, to *fiel*
 299 gréne, *green*
 300 eépan, to *keep*
 301 gehéran, to *hear*
 302 gemétan, to *meet*
 303 swéte, *sweet*
 304 bétel, a *beetle* mallet,
 see 499

E':

- 305 i. héh ii. heáh, *high*
 306 héhðe, *height*

- 307 i. néh ii. neáh, *nigh*
 308 néd, *need* sb.
 309 spéd, *speed* sb.
 310 hél, a *heel*
 311 tén, *ten*
 312 hér, *here*
 313 hérénian to *hearken*. †
 See 695 hyrenian
 314 gehérde, he *heard*
 315 fét, *feet*
 316 néxt, *next*

EA-

- 317 fleagan, to *fly*
 318 hleahen, has *laughed** †
 319 geapian, to *gape*
 320 cearian, to *care* †, see
 30 caru

EA:

- 321 geseah, he *saw* †
 322 hleahhan, to *laugh*
 323 feaht, has *fought*
 324 eahta, *eight*
 325 wealcān, to *walk*,
 properly to full
 326 eald, *old* † †
 327 beald, *bold*
 328 ceald, *cold*
 329 fealdan, to *fold*
 330 healdan, to *hold* †
 331 sealde, he *sold*
 332 tealde, he *told* †
 333 cealf, a *calf*
 334 healf, *half*
 335 eall, *all* † †
 336 feallan, to *fall*
 337 weall, a *wal*
 338 ceallian, to *call** †
 339 eam, I *am**
 340 geard geord, i. a court
 yard † ii. a *stick*
 341 mearh, *marrow** †
 342 earm, an *arm*
 343 wearm, *warm*
 344 bearn, *baire** †
 345 dearr, I *dare*
 346 geat a *gate*, door-way,
 not road = gata s

EA'-

- 347 heáfod, the *head*
 348 eáge, the *eye* †
 349 feáwa, *few* †

EA':

- 350 deád, *dead*
 351 leád, *lead* metal

352 reád, *red* †
 353 breád, *bread*
 354 sceát, *sheaf*
 355 deát, *deaf* †
 356 leáf, *leaf*
 357 þeáh, *though* †
 358 neáh, *nigh*. See 307
 ii. néh
 359 neáhgebúr, *neigh-*
 bour †
 360 teám, a *team*
 361 beán, a *bean*
 362 sleán, to *slay*
 363 ceáp, *cheap*
 364 ceápman, *chap* * †
 365 neár, *near*, compara-
 tive of 358 neáh,
 nigh
 366 gréat, *great* †
 367 þreát, *threat*
 368 deáð, *death*
 369 sleáw, *slow*
 370 hreáw, *raw*
 371 streáw streaw streów
 streu streá, *straw*

EI-

372 ei n, *aye* †
 373 þei n, *they* †
 374 nei n, *nay*
 375 reisa n, to *raise*
 376 beita n, to *bait*

EI:

377 steik n, a *steak*
 378 veikr n, *weak*
 379 heill n, *hail*
 380 þeim n, *them* * †
 381 sveinn n, a *swain*
 382 þeirra n, *their*

EO-

383 seofan, *seven*
 384 heofon, *heaven*
 385 beneoðan, *beneath*
 386 eowe, a *ewe*
 387 i. neowe, ii. niwe,
 new †

EO:

388 meole, *milk*
 389 geolea, *yolk of eggs*
 390 sceolde, *should* †
 391 eom, I *am* * † †
 392 geond, *yon* * †
 393 begeondan, *beyond*

394 geonder, *yonder* * †
 395 geong, *young* *
 396 i. weore ii. were,
 work, sb. See 694
 wyrca, vb.
 397 sweord, a *sword*
 398 steorfan, to *starve* =
 be cold
 399 beorht, *bright* †
 400 eornest, *earnest*
 401 geornian, to *yearn*
 402 leornian, to *learn* †
 403 feorr, *far*
 404 steorra, a *star*
 405 heorð, the *hearth*
 406 eorðe, the *earth*
 407 feorðling, a *farthing*
 408 cneow, he *knew* †

EO'-

409 beó, a *bee*
 410 heó, *hoo, she* La * † †
 411 þreó fem. and neut.,
 þri mas., *three* †
 412 seó, *she* † †
 413 deófol, the *devil*
 414 fleóga, a *fly*
 415 leógan, to *lie, fib*
 416 deóre, *dear* adj. and
 a *deer*
 417 ceówan, to *chew*
 418 breówan, to *brew*
 419 eówer, *your* * †
 420 feówer, *four*
 421 feówertig, *forty*

EO':

422 seóc, *sick* ill * †
 423 þeóh, *thigh*
 424 hreóh, *rough*, see 654*
 425 leóht, *light*
 426 feóhtan, to *fight*
 427 beón, to *be* †
 428 seón, to *see* †
 429 feónd, a *fiend*
 430 freónd, a *friend*
 431 beór, *beer*
 432 feórða, *fourth*
 433 breóst, *breast*
 434 beót, he *beat*
 435 eów, *you* † †
 436 treów, *true* †
 437 treówð, *truth*

EY-

438 deyja n, to *die* †

EY:

439 treysta n, to *trust* †
 I-
 440 i. wieu wice ii. wuce,
 a *week* †
 441 sife, *sieve*
 442 iifg, *ivy*
 443 frigadæg, *Friday*
 444 stigel, a *stile*
 445 higian, to *hie*
 446 nigon, *nine* †
 447 hire, *her* * †
 448 þise, *these* †
 449 gitan, to *get* obtain
 450 tiwesdæg, *Tuesday*
 451 siwian, to *sew*

I:

452 ic, I † †
 453 cwic, *quick* * †
 454 wicce, *witch*
 455 liegan, to *lie* down †
 456 gif, *if* * †
 457 miht, the *might*
 458 niht, the *night* †
 459 riht, *right* †
 460 wiht, a *weight*
 461 gelihtan, to *alight*
 462 gesiht, the *sight*
 463 til n, *till* * †
 464 hwile, *which*
 465 i. swile, ii. swyle,
 such †
 466 cild, a *child* † †
 467 wilde, *wild*
 468 cildru, *children*
 469 willan, to *will* * †
 470 him, *him* * †
 471 timber, *timber*
 472 scrincan, to *shrink*
 473 blind, *blind*, adj.
 474 rind, the *rind*
 475 wind, the *wind*
 476 bindan, to *bind*
 477 findan, to *find* †
 478 grindan, to *grind*
 479 windan, to *wind*
 480 þing, a *thing* * † †
 481 finger, a *finger*
 482 is, *is* * † †
 483 his, *his* * †
 484 þis, *this* †
 485 þistel, a *thistle*
 486 gist, *yeast*
 487 gistrandæg, *yesterday*
 488 git, *yet*
 489 hit, *it* * †

- I'-
- 490 bí, *by* near †
 491 sían, to *sigh*
 492 síde, a *side** †
 493 drífan, to *drive*
 494 tíma, *time* †
 495 hwinan, to *whine** †
 496 íren, *iron*
 497 arísau, to *arise*
 498 wrítan, to *write*
 499 bítel, a *beetle* insect*,
 see 304
- I:
- 500 gelíc, *like* †
 501 wíd, *wide*
 502 fíf, *five*
 503 líf, *life*
 504 cníf, a *knife*
 505 wíf, a *wife*
 506 wífman, a *woman* †
 507 wímen, *women*
 508 míl, a *mile*
 509 hwíl, *while*
 510 míu, *mine* my* †
 511 wín, *wine*
 512 spír, a *spire* steeple
 513 wír, a *wire*
 514 ís, *ice*
 515 wís, *wise*
 516 wísdom, *wisdom*
 517 íw, a *yew*
- O-
- 518 bodíg, a *body** †
 519 ofer, *over** †
 520 boga, a *bow* weapon
 521 fola, a *foal* horse
 522 open, *open*
 523 hopian, to *hope*
 524 woruld, the *world*
- O:
- 525 of, i. *of** † †, ii. *off** †
 526 cohettan, to *cough*
 527 bohte, he *bought*
 528 þohte, he *thought*
 529 brohte, he *brought*
 530 wrohhte, he *wrought*
 531 dohtor, a *daughter* †
 532 col, a *coal*
 533 dol, *dull*
 534 hol, a *hole*
 535 folc, *folk** †
 536 gold, *gold*
 537 molde, *mould* earth
- 538 wolde, *would*
 539 bolla, a *bowl* cup
 540 hollegen, *holly*
 541 wol nát, *won't** † †
 542 bolt, *bolt*
 543 on, *on** † †
 544 þonne, i. *than* ii.
*then** †
 545 hoppán, to *hop*
 546 for, *for** †
 547 bord, a *board*
 548 ford, a *ford*
 549 hord, a *hoard* treasure
 550 word, a *word* †
 551 storm, a *storm*
 552 corn, *corn*
 553 horn, *horn*
 554 kross n, a *cross*
- O'-
- 555 scó, a *shoe*
 556 tó, to †
 557 tó, *too* †
 558 lócian, to *look* †
 559 módor, *mother*
 560 scóla, a *school** †
 561 blónna, a *bloom* flower
 562 móna, the *moon*
 563 mónandæg, *Monday*
 564 sóna, *soon* †
 565 nósu, *nose*
 566 óþer, *other*
 567 þæt óþer, *t'other** †
 568 bróðor, *brother**
- O':
- 569 bóc, a *book*
 570 tóe, he *took*
 571 góð, *good* †
 572 blóð, the *blood*
 573 flód, a *flood*
 574 bród, *brood*
 575 stóð, he *stood*
 576 wódnedæg, *Wednes-*
day
 577 bóg, a *bough*
 578 plóg n, a *plough*
 579 genóg, *enough* † †
 580 tóh, *tough*
 581 sóhte, he *sought*
 582 cól, *cool*
 583 tól, *tool*
 584 stól, *stool*
 585 bróm, *broom*, the
 plant, not 287
 586 dón, to *do* †
 587 gedón, *done* †
 588 nón, *noon*
- 589 spón n, a *spoon*
 590 flór, the *floor*
 591 mór, a *moor*
 592 swór, he *swore* †
 593 móste, he *must*
 594 bót, *boat*
 595 fót, *foot*
 596 rót, *root*
 597 sót, *soot*
 598 sóð, *sooth*
- U-
- 599 ábufan, *above*
 600 lufu, *love* sb.
 601 fugol, a *fowl*
 602 sugu, a *sow* pig
 603 cumán, to *come* † †
 604 sumor, the *summer** †
 605 sunu, a *son* †
 606 duru, the *door* †
 607 butere, *butter*
- U:
- 608 ugglig n, *ugly*
 609 full, *full* †
 610 wull, *wool*
 611 bulluca, a *bullock*
 612 sunn, *some* †
 613 druncen. has drunk † †,
 see 804
 614 hund, a *hound*
 615 pund, a *pound* weight
 616 grund, the *ground* †
 617 gesund, *sound* in
 health
 618 wund, a *wound*
 619 funden, was *found* †
 620 grundén, was *ground*
 621 wunden, was *wound*
 622 under, *under*
 623 fundon, they *found** †
 624 grundon, they *ground**
 625 tunge, the *tongue*
 626 hungor, *hunger*
 627 Sunandæg, *Sun-*
*day** †
 628 nunne, a *nun*
 629 sunne, the *sun*
 630 wunnen, was *won*
 631 þunnresdæg, *Thurs-*
day
 632 upp, *up* † †
 633 cuppa, *cup*
 634 þurh, *through* † †
 635 wurð weord, *worth*
 636 furðor, *further*
 637 tuse, a *task*

638 <i>busea</i> <i>n</i> , to <i>busk</i> make ready	662 <i>ús</i> , <i>us</i>	690 <i>gecynd</i> , a <i>kind</i>
639 <i>dust</i> , <i>dust</i>	663 <i>hús</i> , <i>house</i> † ‡	691 <i>mynd</i> , the <i>mind</i>
	664 <i>lús</i> , a <i>louse</i>	692 <i>gyngest</i> , <i>youngest</i> * †
	665 <i>mús</i> , a <i>mouse</i>	693 <i>synn</i> , a <i>sin</i>
U'-	666 <i>húsbónda</i> , <i>husband</i> †	694 <i>wyrca</i> <i>wyreca</i> , to <i>work</i> vb. See 396
640 <i>eú</i> , a <i>cow</i>	667 <i>út</i> , <i>out</i> †	<i>weore</i> , sb.
641 <i>hú</i> , <i>how</i> †	668 <i>prút</i> , <i>proud</i>	695 <i>hyrcnian</i> , to <i>hearken</i> †.
642 <i>þú</i> , <i>thou</i>	669 <i>uncúð</i> , <i>uncouth</i>	See 313 <i>hércnian</i> ,
643 <i>nú</i> , <i>now</i> † ‡	670 <i>búð</i> <i>n</i> , <i>booth</i>	and 710 <i>hyrcnian</i>
644 <i>súcan</i> , to <i>suck</i>	671 <i>múð</i> , <i>mouth</i>	696 <i>gebyrd</i> <i>gebeord</i> , <i>birth</i>
645 <i>dúfa</i> , a <i>dove</i>	672 <i>súð</i> , <i>south</i>	697 <i>bebyrgan</i> , to <i>bury</i>
646 <i>búgan</i> , to <i>bow</i> , bend		698 <i>myrgð</i> , <i>mirth</i>
647 <i>úle</i> , an <i>owl</i>	Y-	699 <i>wyrhta</i> , a <i>wright</i>
648 <i>úre</i> , <i>our</i>	673 <i>mycel</i> , <i>much</i> †	700 <i>wyrsa</i> , <i>worse</i>
649 <i>þúsand</i> , <i>thousand</i>	674 <i>dýde</i> , he <i>did</i> †	701 <i>fyrsta</i> <i>first</i>
650 <i>ábútan</i> , <i>about</i> * †	675 <i>drygan</i> , to <i>dry</i> †	702 <i>wyð</i> , <i>with</i> * †
651 <i>wiðútan</i> , <i>without</i> * †	676 <i>lyge</i> , a <i>lie</i> falsehood	703 <i>pytt</i> , a <i>pit</i>
652 <i>eúðe</i> , <i>could</i>	677 <i>dryge</i> , <i>dry</i> adj. *	704 <i>fyxen</i> , a <i>vixen</i>
653 <i>búton</i> , <i>but</i> = <i>be út</i>	678 <i>dýne</i> , a <i>din</i>	
	679 <i>cýrice</i> , a <i>church</i>	Y'-
U':	680 <i>hýsig</i> , <i>busy</i> †	705 <i>sey'</i> <i>n</i> , the <i>sky</i>
654 <i>scrúd</i> , a <i>shroud</i>	681 <i>hýsign</i> , <i>business</i> * †	706 <i>hwy'</i> , <i>why</i> †
654* i. <i>rúh</i> , ii. <i>rúg</i> , iii. <i>rúw</i> , <i>rough</i> , see 424	682 <i>lytel</i> , <i>little</i> † ‡	707 <i>þreóty'ne</i> , <i>thirteen</i>
655 <i>fúl</i> , <i>foul</i> dirty	Y:	708 <i>áhy'rian</i> , to <i>hire</i>
656 <i>rúm</i> , <i>room</i>	683 <i>myeg</i> , a <i>midge</i>	
657 <i>brún</i> , <i>brown</i>	684 <i>bryeg</i> , a <i>bridge</i>	Y:
658 <i>dún</i> , <i>down</i> † ‡	685 <i>hryeg</i> , a <i>ridge</i>	709 <i>fy'r</i> , a <i>fire</i>
659 <i>tún</i> , a <i>town</i> any in-closure	686 <i>byegan</i> , to <i>buy</i>	710 <i>hyrcnian</i> , to <i>hearken</i> †.
660 <i>búr</i> , a <i>bower</i> = room	687 <i>flyht</i> , a <i>flight</i>	See 313 <i>hércnian</i> ,
661 <i>scúr</i> , a <i>shower</i>	688 <i>byldan</i> , to <i>build</i>	and 695 <i>hyrcnian</i>
	689 <i>ynce</i> , an <i>inch</i>	711 <i>ly's</i> , <i>lie</i>
		712 <i>my's</i> , <i>mice</i>

II. ENGLISH, Nos. 713 to 808.

This section contains words of which the precise prototype in Wessex or Norse is unknown: words of disputed origin; words derived from foreign sources, except Romance; words formed within the language itself, of which the origin can only be conjecturally, or cannot even be probably, assigned; slang or familiar words, etc. For want of a better plan, these have been arranged according to the vowel (or if several, the first vowel) they contain in the accented syllable, following the received orthography. Then the rest of the arrangement is alphabetical as in Section I. The differences of long and short, open or closed, are of course unnoted, as the original form is unknown. The headings of classes are in Roman capitals as before, but are distinguished from the last by a following period (.), and the absence of the hyphen (-) and colon (:), marking open and close.

A.	720 a <i>fag</i>	730 a <i>canter</i>
713 <i>bad</i>	721 to <i>fag</i>	731 <i>wanton</i>
714 <i>lad</i>	722 a <i>drain</i>	732 <i>happen</i> * †
715 <i>pad</i>	723 a <i>dairy</i>	733 to <i>scare</i>
716 <i>adlle</i> , i. adj. and ii. vb.	724 <i>bald</i>	734 to <i>darn</i>
717 a <i>jade</i>	725 a <i>sale</i>	735 <i>smash</i>
718 <i>trade</i>	726 to <i>talk</i> * †	736 a <i>lass</i> * †
719 a <i>tadpole</i>	727 <i>jam</i> preserve	737 a <i>mate</i> †
	728 <i>sham</i>	738 to <i>prate</i> †
	729 a <i>frame</i>	739 <i>mauther</i> girl

740 a <i>wave</i>		O.	786 to <i>douse</i>
741 a <i>maze</i>			787 to <i>souse</i>
742 <i>luzzy</i>			788 to <i>flout</i>
		761 a <i>load</i>	789 a <i>row</i> noise
	E.	762 <i>oakum</i>	790 a <i>gown</i>
		763 <i>roam</i>	791 a <i>boy</i> *
		764 to <i>coddle</i>	
743 to <i>scream</i>		765 <i>John</i> * †	
744 the <i>meusles</i>		766 <i>moidered</i> bewildered	U.
745 to <i>cheat</i>		767 a <i>noise</i> †	
746 to <i>breathe</i>		768 <i>coke</i>	792 a <i>squabble</i>
747 to <i>endeavour</i>		769 a <i>mole</i> animal*, same	793 a <i>hug</i>
748 i. <i>fledged</i> ii. <i>unfledged</i>		as 45, not 114	794 a <i>jug</i>
749 <i>left</i> * †		770 <i>Thomas</i> * †	795 a <i>shrug</i>
750 to <i>beg</i>		771 <i>fond</i>	796 <i>blue</i> *
751 <i>pert</i>		772 a <i>bonfire</i>	797 <i>squacking</i> * †
752 <i>fret</i> , peevish fit * †		773 a <i>donkey</i>	798 <i>queer</i> * †
	I. and Y.	774 a <i>pony</i>	799 <i>scull</i> of head
		775 a <i>booby</i>	800 <i>scull</i> of boat
		776 <i>goodbye</i> *	801 <i>rum</i> liquor
		777 <i>shop</i>	802 <i>rum</i> queer
753 to <i>tickle</i>		778 <i>afford</i>	803 to <i>jump</i>
754 a <i>pig</i> animal		779 <i>orts</i> remnants	804 <i>drunken</i> adj. accus-
755 a <i>filbert</i> nut		780 to <i>jostle</i>	tomed to get drunk*,
756 a <i>shrimp</i>		781 a <i>bother</i> †	see 613.
757 <i>tiny</i>		782 a <i>pothor</i>	805 <i>curds</i>
758 a <i>girl</i> † ‡		783 <i>poultry</i>	806 <i>fuss</i>
759 <i>fit</i> , suited		784 to <i>bounce</i>	807 <i>puss</i>
760 <i>shrivelled</i> * †		785 to <i>louige</i>	808 to <i>put</i>

III. ROMANCE, Nos. 809 to 971.

This section comprises words taken from the French, Latin or any language derived from the Latin. Properly speaking the arrangement should have been by the Anglo-Norman forms of words, that is, those used in England by speakers of Norman-French. Failing this, the old French forms should have been adopted. But in both cases insuperable difficulties presented themselves. The late Mr. H. Nicol endeavoured to arrange the words by their English sounds in the xvth century, but this would have had to be conjectured in many words. Hence I have adopted the modern French forms in almost all cases; for the few old French forms which I could not avoid, I am indebted to Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, and disclaim the responsibility for them. Latin, and in one case, Spanish, forms have also been given. The arrangement is by the vowels as in the former sections, the Romance word coming first, is followed by (..) if modern, and (...) if old French, (—) if Latin, and (-) Span. if Spanish. The class headings are in capitals followed by (..). No distinction of long and short, open and closed, could be made with any certainty, and hence no such distinction has been attempted.

A ..	818 <i>âge</i> .. <i>age</i>	828 <i>aigu</i> .. <i>ague</i>
809 <i>habile</i> .. <i>able</i>	819 <i>rage</i> .. <i>rage</i>	829 <i>gain</i> .. <i>gain</i>
810 <i>face</i> .. a <i>face</i>	820 <i>gai</i> .. <i>gay</i> *	830 <i>train</i> .. <i>train</i>
811 <i>place</i> .. a <i>place</i>	821 <i>délaï</i> .. <i>delay</i>	831 <i>destraindre</i> .. to <i>dis-</i>
812 <i>lacet</i> .. a <i>lace</i>	822 <i>mai</i> .. <i>May</i>	<i>train</i>
813 <i>bacon</i> .. <i>bacon</i>	823 <i>baie</i> .. <i>bay</i> of the sea	832 <i>maire</i> .. a <i>mayor</i>
814 <i>maçon</i> .. a <i>mason</i>	824 <i>chaiere</i> ... a professor's	833 <i>paire</i> .. a <i>pair</i>
815 <i>facta</i> — <i>facts</i> †	and hence any <i>chair</i>	834 <i>chaise</i> .. a <i>chaise</i>
816 <i>fade</i> adj .. to <i>fade</i>	825 <i>gaif</i> .. <i>waif</i>	835 <i>raison</i> .. <i>reason</i> †
817 <i>radis</i> .. <i>radish</i>	826 <i>aigle</i> .. an <i>eagle</i>	836 <i>saison</i> .. <i>season</i>
	827 <i>aigre</i> .. <i>eager</i>	837 <i>laisse</i> .. a <i>lash</i>

- 838 traiter .. to *treat*
 839 balle .. i. a *bale* ii. a *ball*
 840 chambre .. a *chamber*
 841 chance .. a *chance* ‡
 842 planche .. a *plank*
 843 branche .. a *branch*
 844 tranchée .. a *trench*
 845 ancien .. *ancient*
 846 chandelier .. *chandler*
 847 danger .. *danger*
 848 changer .. to *change*
 849 étranger .. a *stranger*
 850 danse .. a *dance*
 851 tante .. an *aunt*
 852 napperon .. an *apron*
 853 bargaigner .. to *bar-*
gain
 854 baril .. a *barrel*
 855 carotte .. a *carrot*
 856 part .. a *part*
 857 cas .. a *case* †
 858 bras .. *brace*
 859 chasser .. to *chase* hunt
 860 pâte .. *paste*
 861 tâter .. to *taste*
 862 sauf .. *safe* †
 863 chauffer .. to *chafe*
 864 à cause .. *because* †
 865 faute .. *fault*
 866 pauvre .. *poor* ‡
- E ..
- 867 thé .. *tea*
 868 geai .. a *jay*
 869 veau .. *veal*
 870 beauté .. *beauty*
 871 agréer .. *agree*
 872 chef .. *chief*
 873 effrei ... a *fray*
 874 reine ... a *rein* of a
horse
 875 feinte .. a *faint*
 876 deintie ... a *dainty*
 877 heir .. *heir*
 878 céleri .. *celery*
 879 femelle .. *female*
 880 exemple .. *example*
 881 sens .. *sense*
 882 pensée .. *pansy*
 883 dent de lion .. *dande-*
lion
- 884 apprenti .. *apprentice*
 885 vrai .. *very* * † ‡
 886 frère .. *friar*
 887 clergé .. *clergy*
 888 certain .. *certain* †
 889 cesser .. to *cease*
 890 bête .. *beast* †
 891 fête .. *feast*
 892 neveu .. *nephew*
 893 fleur .. *flower* in garden
 894 décevoir .. *deceive*
 895 recevoir .. *receive*
 896 bevre *bever* la-
bouurer's drinking
time
- I .. and Y ..
- 897 délice .. *delight*
 898 nice ... *nice*
 899 nièce .. *niece*
 900 prier .. *pray*
 901 fin .. *fine*
 902 mine .. a *mine*
 903 dîner .. i. to *dine*, ii. a
dinner
 904 violette .. a *violet*
 905 riote ... a *riot*
 906 vipère .. a *vipér*
 907 tris- Spanish *trice*
 908 avis .. *advice*
 909 brise .. *breeze*
 910 gîte .. *joist*
 911 citerne .. *cistern*
 912 riz .. *rice*
- O ..
- 913 coche ... a *coach*
 914 broche .. a *brooch*
 915 étoffe .. *stuff*
 916 ognon .. *onion*
 917 rogue .. *rogue*
 918 foible .. *fioble*, adj.
 919 oignement ... *ointment*
 920 point .. *point* †
 921 accointer .. to *acquaint*
 922 boisseau .. *bushel*
 923 étroit .. *strait*, see 265
 923* moite .. *moist*
 924 choix .. *choice*
 925 voix .. *voice* †
- 926 spolier ... to *spoil*
 927 tronc .. a *trunk*
 928 once .. an *ounce* weight
 929 concombre .. *cucumber*
 930 longue .. a *loin*
 931 jongleur .. a *juggler*
 932 à mont .. *amount*
 933 front .. *front*
 934 bonté .. *bounty*
 935 contrée .. *country*
 936 fonts .. baptismal *font*
 937 coq .. a *cock*
 938 cornière .. *corner* †
 939 clos .. *close* i. adj. ii.
adv. † iii. sb.
 940 cotte .. *coat* †
 941 fou .. *fool*
 942 boucher .. *butcher*
 943 toucher .. to *touch*
 944 allouer .. to *allow*
 945 vouer .. to *vow*
 946 mouiller .. to *moil*
 947 bouillir .. to *boil*
 948 boule .. a *bowl* ball
 949 moule .. a *mould* or
form, not 537
 950 souper .. *supper* †
 951 couple .. *couple*
 952 course .. i. *coarse*, ii.
course
 953 cousin .. *cousin*
 954 coussin .. *cushion*
 955 doute .. *doubt* †
 956 couvrir .. to *cover*
 957 employer .. to *employ*
 958 froyer .. to *fray*
 959 convoier .. to i. *con-*
vey, ii. *convoy*
- U ..
- 960 quai .. *quay*
 961 gruau .. *gruel*
 962 mue .. *meux* stables
 963 quietus—*quiet* †
 964 suif .. *suet*
 965 huile .. *oil*
 966 fruit .. *fruit*
 967 suite .. *suit*
 968 huître .. *oyster* † ‡
 969 sûr .. *sure*
 970 juste .. *just* * †
 971 flûte .. *flute*

NOTES ON CONSTRUCTIONS AND INTONATION, APPENDED TO THE
ORIGINAL W^L.

[The informant was requested to underline the grammatical form which is common in his district; disregarding pronunciation.]

I am. thou am. he am. we am. you am. they am.—I are. thou art. he are. we are. you are. they are. we ar'n. you ar'n. they ar'n. [The three last were intended for the West Midland verbal plural in *en*, but were generally confused by informants with *arn't*.]—I be. thou bist. he be. we be. you be. they be. we bin. you bin. they bin. [The three last referred to the Sh. plural *bin* for *are*, but were generally confused with *been* used for *have been*.]—I is. thou is. he is. we is. you is. they is.—I was. thou was. he was. we was. you was. they was.—I were. thou wert. he were. we were. you were. they were. we wer'n. you wer'n. they wer'n.—we ha'n. you ha'n. they ha'n. [The six last referred to the West Midland verbal plural in *-en*, but were generally misunderstood.]—him is. him be.—they goes. we goes.—he does. he doth. he do. he walketh. he live there.—thou (underline if used generally, and distinguish by underlining whether it is used to children, husband and wife, servants, friends, lovers).—I do walk. I have a-walked. I be or am a-going.—she was washing on a washing day (underline the two *-ings* if distinguished)—these thick (=this, that, of shaped things). this that (of shapeless things).—dat man dere (=that man there).—t' man. th' man. 'e man.—theirselves. theirsells. theirsens.—I doh (*for* I don't). I will (*for* I shall). he shall (*for* he will). I would (*for* I should). he should (*for* he would).—to can. to could (*as* he won't can do it. he didn't used to could). he didn't ought.—at eat [meaning the Danishism in parts of D 31, for to eat]. to home.

Try to characterise the nature of the singsong of the speech, underlining as may be, rough, smooth, thick, thin, indistinct, clear, hesitating, glib, whining, drawling, jerking, up and down in pitch, rising in pitch at end, sinking at end, monotonous.

Give any singular pronunciations of words not mentioned; and any information respecting your dialect that you will have the kindness to impart.

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CONSONANTAL INDEX TO THE WESSEX AND NORSE DIVISION OF THE
CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

The preceding index will generally, but not always, suffice to refer to the numbers which in any future cwl. point out a dialectal alteration, if any, of the initial consonant or consonantal combinations, but not so for medial or final combinations. Hence the following index has been constructed to shew a few of the initial, and most of the medial and final combinations which may be required for study. Only the most interesting cases are cited.

Only Ws. and Norse consonants are given, and the words are cited only in the original spelling.

The Capital Initials mark the consonants selected, and hyphens are used thus C- initial, -C- medial, -C final, in this order.

C- 190 cæ'ge. 197 cæ'se. 285 cerse. 300 cepan. 466 cild. 468 cildru. 679 cyrice. 690 gecynd. -C- 2 gemaca. 3 bacan. 4 taean. 5 macian. 6 geniacod. 7 sacu. 183 tæ'can. 232 breacan. 233 spreacan. 440 wicu wice wuce. 491 sícan. 558 lécian. 673 mycel. 679 cyrice. -C 101 ác. 154 bæc. 155 þæc. 452 ic. 453 ewic. 500 gelic. 569 bóc. 570 tóc. -CC- 256 streccan. 454 wicce. CE- [meaning C before, and hence affected by a following E] 320 cearian. 328 ceald. 333 cealf. 363 ceáp. 364 ceápmān. -CG- 260 leggan. 261 seggan. 455 licgan. 686 bycgan. -CG 257 ecg. 258 secg. 259 wecg. 683 mycg. 684 brycg. 685 hrycg. CN- 27 cnapa. 92 enāwan. 234 cnedan. 408 cneow. 504 cníf. -CS- 102 ácsian. 103 ácsóde. CW- 39 cwam. 246 cwene cwén.

-D- 76 táde. 138 fæder. 385 beneoðan. 518 bodig. 559 módor. -Ð- 32 baðian. 33 hraðor. 87 cláðas. 88 claðian. 90 blāwan. 136 áwðer. 137 nāwðer. 201 hæ'ðen. 254 leðer. 255 weðer. 568 bróðor. 652 cúðe. 669 uncúð. 670 buð n. 671 múð. 672 súð. -Ð 134 áð. 135 cláð. 180 bæð. 181 pæð. 229 hrae'ð. 368 deað. 598 sóð. 702 wyð. -DN- 576 wólmesdeg. DR- 613 druncen. DW- 533 dol dwol dwal.

F- 297 félagi n. 298 félan. -F- 8 haða. 9 behafa. 187 hæ'fan. 235 wefan. 236 fefer. 296 geléfan. 347 heátod. 383 seofan. 384 heofon. 413 deófol. 441 sífe. 442 ifig. 493 drifan. 519 ofer. 599 ábutan. 600 lufu. 645 dáfa. -F 456 gif. 502 íif. 503 líf. 504 eníf. 505 wíf. 506 wítman. 507 wítmen. 525 of. -FR- 208 a'tre. 209 ma'tre.

G- 267 geldan. 289 gé. 486 gist. 487 gistrandeg. 488 git. -G- 10 haga. 11 maga. 12 saga sagu. 12 gnagan. 14 dragan. 15 agi n. 16 dagian. 17 lagu. 78 ágan. 79 ágen. 139 draege. 140 hægel. 141 nægel. 142 snægel. 143 tægel. 144 ongægen. 145 slægen. 146 mægen. 147 hreagen. 148 fæger. 188 hnae'gan. 189 wa'e'gan. 190 cæ'ge. 237 blegan. 238 hege. 239 segel. 240 gelegen. 241 regen. 242 twegen. 243 plegian. 317 fleagan. 348 eáge. 414 fleóga. 415 leógan. 443 frigadeg. 444 stigel. 445 ligian. 446 nigou. 520 boga. 540 hollegen. 601 rugol. 602 sugu. 646 búgan. 675 drygan. 676 lyge. 677 dryge. -G 80 hálig dæg. 108 dág. 109 lág. 160 æg. 161 dæg. 163 hæg. 164 mæg. 165 sægde. 166 mægden. 194 æ'nig. 195 mæ'nig. 210 clæ'g. 211 græ'g. 212 hwa'e'g. 213 æ'gðer. 214 mæ'gðer. 262 weg. 263 on weg. 264 eglan. 577 bóg. 578 plóg n. 579 genóg. GE- [meaning G before and hence affected by a following E] 319 geapian. 340 geard geord. 346 geat. 389 geolca. 392 geond. 393 begeondan. 394 geouder. 395 geong. GN- 13 gnagan. 178 gnet. GR- 366 græt.

H- 489 hit. -H- 318 hleahen. -H 305 héh heáh. 306 héhðe. 307 néh neáh. 321 geseah. 357 þeáh. 358 neáh. 423 þeóh. 424 hreóh. 580 tóh. -HH- 322 hleahhan. 526 colhettan. -HÐ 462 gesihð. HL- 77 hláford. 107 hláf. 318 hleahen. 322 hleahhan. HN- 188 hnae'gan. HR- 157 hraein. 370 hreáw. 424 hreóh. 685 hrycg. -HT- 111 ahte. 215 tæ'hte. 324 eahta. 426 feóhtan. 461 gelihhtan. 527 bohte. 528 þohte. 529 brohte. 530 wrohte. 531 dohtor. 581 sóhte. -HT 110 náht nāt. 265 streht. 323 feaht. 425 leóht. 457 miht. 458 niht. 459 riht. 460 wiht.

687 flyht. HW- 72 hwá. 116 hwám. 169 hwænne. 179 hwæt. 200 hwæ'te. 224 hwæ'r hwar. 464 hwile. 495 hwínan. 509 hwíl. 706 hwy'.

-K- 18 kaka x. -K 378 veikr x.

-L- 19 tahu. -LC- 325 wealean. 389 geolea. -LC 217 æ'lc. 388 meole. 464 hwile. 465 swile. 535 fole. -LD- 329 fealdan. 330 healdan. 331 sealde. 332 tealde. 467 wilde. 537 molde. 538 wolde. -LD 326 eald. 327 heald. 328 ceald. 524 woruld. 536 gold. -LDR- 468 cildru. -LF 269 self. 333 cealf. 334 healf. -LG 168 taelg. 270 belg. -LM 272 elm. -LN- 541 wol nát. -LT 542 bolt.

-M- 20 lama. 21 nama. 22 tama. 23 same. 24 scamu. -MB- 471 timber. -MB 59 lamb lomb.

-N- 25 manar, 26 wanian. -NC- 41 þaneian. 276 þencan. 277 drencan. 278 wencle. 472 serincan. -NC 274 bene. 275 stene. -ND- 46 caudel. 476 bindan. 477 findan. 478 grindan. 479 windan. 619 funden. 620 grunden. 621 wunden. 622 under. 623 fundon. 624 grundon. -ND 42 and. 43 hand. 44 land. 45 wand. 429 feónd. 430 freónd. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 614 hund. 615 pund. 616 grund. 617 gesund. 618 wuud. 690 geeýnd. 691 mynd. -NDL- 280 endlufon. -NDR- 47 wandrian. -NG- 49 hangan. 50 tange. 481 finger. 625 tunge. 626 hungor. 692 gyngest. -NG 48 and 65 sang. 60 lang. 61 on gemang. 62 strang. 63 geþrang. 64 wrang. 66 þwang. -NGÐ 281 lengð. 282 strengð. -NRR- 631 þunnresdag. -NT- 54 wanta x.

-R- 248 mere. 249 werian. 250 swerian. 301 gehéran. 606 duru. -R 312 hér. 365 neár. -RC 396 weore were. -RCN- 313 hérenian. -RF- 170 hærfest. 398 steorian. -RD- 314 gehérde. -RD 547 bord. 548 ford. 549 hord. 550 word. -RÐ- 406 eorðe. 432 feórða. 636 furðor. -RÐ 405 heorð. 407 feorðling. 635 wurð weord. -RG 283 merg. 341 mearh. 697 beþrgan. -RGÐ 698 myrgð. -RD 696 geþryd gebeord. -RH 634 þurh. -RHT- 699 wyrhta. -RHT 399 beorht. -RM 342 earm. 343 wearm. 551 storm. -RN- 400 eornest. 401 geornian. 402 leornian. -RN 344 bearn. 552 eorn. 553 horn. -RS- 285 eerse. 700 wyrsa. -RS 172 gaers. -RSC- 284 þerscan. -RST- 701 fyrsta. -RW- 286 herwe.

S- 412 seó. 422 seóc. -S- 149 blase. 150 læsest. 375 reisa x. 497 arisan. 565 nósu. 617 gesund. 649 þúsand. 680 bysig. 681 bysignu. -S 127 hás. 128 þás. 173 was. 482 is. 483 hús. 484 þis. 514 is. 515 wís. 516 wísdóm. 662 ús. 663 hús. 664 lús. 665 mús. 711 ly's. 712 meý's. -SB- 666 húsbónda. SC- 24 scamu. 218 sca'p. 220 sca'phirde. 354 sceáf. 390 sceolde. 555 seó. 560 seóla. 661 scúr. 705 sey'x. -SC- 55 ascan. 638 busca x. -SC 174 æsc. 225 flæ'sc. 637 tusc. SCR- 472 serincan. 654 serúd. -SM 287 besm. SP- 309 spéd. 512 spír. SPR- 203 spru'e. 233 sprecan. ST- 377 steik x. -ST- 593 móste. -ST 34 latost. 129 gást. 175 fæst. 226 mæ'st. 433 breóst. 639 dust. -STEL 485 þistel. STR- 75 strácian. 282 strengð. 371 streáw. SV- 381 sveinn. SW- 1 swa. 73 swá. 228 swæ't. 397 sweord. 465 swile. 592 swór.

-T- 31 late lete. 34 latost. 151 letan. 86 áte. 198 læ'tan. 199 blæ'tan. 200 hwæ'te. 202 hæ'ta. 251 mete. 252 cetele. 253 netele. 302 gemétan. 303 swéte. 304 hétel. -TER- 152 wæter. 153 sæterdag. 607 butere. þ- 36 þawian. 223 þæ'r. 231 þe. 291 þé. 357 þeáh. 373 þei x. 382 þeirra x. 423 þeóh. 480 þing. 484 þis. 485 þistel. 544 þonne. 631 þunnresdag. 634 þurh. 642 þú. 649 þúsand. -þ- 566 óþer. þR- 205 þra'd. 367 þreat. 411 þréo. þW- 66 þwang. TW- 74 twá.

V- 378 veikr x.

-W- 35 awel. 36 þawian. 37 clawu. 90 bláwan. 91 máwan. 92 enáwan. 93 snáwan. 94 eráwan. 95 þráwan. 96 sáwan. 97 sáwel. 98 enáwen. 99 þráwen. 100 sáwen. 349 feáwa. 386 eowe. 387 neowe niwe. -W- 417 ceówan. 418 breówan. 419 eówer. 420 feówer. 421 feówertig. 450 tiwesdag. 451 siwian. -W 369 sleáw. 370 hreáw. 370 streáw streaw streów streu streá. 408 eneow. 435 eów. 436 treów. 517 iw. WR- 64 wrang. 133 wrát. 498 writan. WU- [that is, W affected by a following U] 610 wull. 618 wuud.

-XT 316 néxt.

VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.

The counties of England, Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, are taken in this order.

The counties in each country are taken in the alphabetical order of its full name (not of the two letter abbreviation, as on p. 4*), each headed by its number in the countries (supposing that all the counties were enumerated, which is not the case in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, because all do not speak English), together with its two letter abbreviation and full name, and a statement of the number of places from which information was obtained, and of the districts over which it is distributed.

Within each county are ranged all the names of places from which information has been received, in alphabetical order, preceded by the number of the district in which it is contained, and by the initial letter, or letter and number, by which it is referred to in the following Alphabetical Informants List, VII. An asterisk * shews that the information received is given, or at least spoken of in the work itself. It will be seen that a very large number of places named are not further spoken of. It must not, however, be supposed that the information received was therefore valueless. Far from it. It was often incomplete, and often difficult to interpret, but it always helped to bridge over the spaces left between places from which more complete or more easily interpretable information was given, and without this I should have had the greatest difficulty in assigning the boundaries of my districts.

After the name, its local pron. is occ. given, and if, as is most frequently the case, the place is not on the small maps of the dialect districts annexed, the distance and direction from a place actually on the map is added in (). When the place is on the maps, its name suffices, for a whole county on this small scale is easily looked over. The places, or their position (for they are often so insignificant as not to be marked on many maps), can thus readily be found on any county map.

Afterwards follows a description of the nature of the information, employing the abbreviations explained on p. 6*. If several pieces of information have reached me from the same place, they are often numbered as (1), (2), etc., but these numbers are generally omitted if the informant is the same.

At the end of each piece of information, when referred to in the book, is added the number of the page on which the information is given or spoken of, preceded by the letter p. in case another number comes just before, but not otherwise.

When the information is given in the book, the indications of its origin are here abbreviated as much as possible, the page where it is cited furnishing the rest.

In VII. I give a list of informants referring to the county in this list, or to the place by means of the numbered initials. Many of these obliging informants have passed away since they so kindly assisted me. Others have changed their address, and I have no means of discovering them. But to each and all I give my most hearty thanks for the trouble they have taken, often great, and the time they have spent, often very long, in helping me to render this account of English local pronunciation as complete as it now appears, a result perfectly impossible without a great cooperation.

England.

1. Bd. = Bedfordshire, 16 places, all in D 16.

16. A. *Amptill* (:æmtɪl) (7 ssw. Bedford) and 4 or 5 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. J. Brown, Dunstable Road, 21 y. who says "the old-fashioned native dialect is comparatively rare."

*16. B. *Bedford* and neighbourhood and the county generally, (1) T.

Batchelor's book 204. (2) cs. and phrases from Mr. J. Wyatt, 206 to 209, cwl. 209, (3) cwl. from Mr. Rowland Hill 209.

*16. D. *Dunstable* (5 w. Luton), wn. by T.H., 209.

16. E. *Edworth* (12 se. Bedford), dt.

io. with notes and wd. from Mrs. Buttenshaw of the rectory.

16. *f.* *Flitwick* (:flit'k) (9 s-by-w. Bedford) wl. io. by Rev. T. W. D. Brooks, vic.

16. *g.* *Girtford* (7 e.Bedford) wn. by TH.

16. *n1.* *Harrold* (8 nw.Bedford) dt. io. notes and lw. by Rev. J. Steel.

16. *n2.* *Hatley Cockayne* (:kəkin :ætli) (12 e.Bedford) full wl. io. by the Rev. E. Brickwell, rect.

16. *m.* *Melchbourne* (10 n.Bedford) dt. io. by Mrs. F. H. Bolingbroke, of the vicarage.

*16. *k.* *Ridgmont* (10 ssw.Bedford),

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Susan Wheek, of Whitelands, 206.

16. *s1.* *Sandy* (8 e.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. *s2.* *Sharnbrook* (7 nnw.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. *r1.* *Thurleigh* (:thurlɛ'i) (6 n.Bedford), wl. and dt. io. by Rev. B. Trapp, vic.

16. *r2.* *Tilbrook* (12 nne.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. *r3.* *Toddington* (:tɑ:vntən) (6 ene.Leighton Buzzard) wl. and dt. io. by Major Cooper Cooper, T. Manor.

16. *v.* *Upper Dean* (11 n.Bedford) wn. by TH.

2. Be.=Berkshire, 14 places in D 5 and 8.

5. *b.* *Bucklebury* (6 ne.Newbury) dt. io. by Rev. W. M. Wallis, Rose-lands, for Be. between Thames and Kennet rivers.

*5. *c.* *Cholsey* (12 e.Wantage) dt. io. with letter from Mr. W. Brewer, national schoolmaster, at Wallingford adjoining, obtained through Mrs. Parker, Oxford, 96.

*5. *d.* *Denchworth* (:dentɪθ) (3 nnw.Wantage) wl. and lw. io. by Rev. C. H. Tomlinson, vic. 10 y., 96.

5. *e.* *East Hendred* (4 e.Wantage) letter and wds. io. by Ven. Archd. Pott, Clifton Hampden, Ox. (3 ese. Abingdon, Be.).

*5. *n1.* *Hampstead Norris* (7 nne. Newbury) es. io. by Mr. W. B. Banting, LLB. and AJE., 95.

*8. *n2.* *Hurley* (9 nne.Reading) dt. io. by Mrs. Godfrey, 129.

*8. *n3.* *Hurst* (5 e.Reading) dt. io. by Rev. A. A. Cameron, for the Loddon river valley, 129.

5. *k.* *Kintbury* (:kɪnbri) (6 w.Newbury) from Rev. W. Campbell, vic.

5. *s1.* *Stanford-in-the-Valley* (5 nnw. Wantage) dt. io. from Mr. W. Cleverley, and dt. io. from Miss Collins, both through Mrs. Parker, of Oxford.

*5. *s2.* *Steventon* (6 ne.Wantage) and neighbourhood dt. glossic by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from Mr. B. Leonard, 94.

5. *s3.* *Streatley* (:striɪli) (9 nw. Reading) wl. io. by Rev. John Slatter, vic. 15 y.

*5. *w1.* *Wantage* lw. io. from Mr. E. C. Davey, F.G.S., 96.

*8. *w2.* *Wargrave* (5 ne.Reading) lw. aq. vv. by Mr. T. F. Maitland, 129.

8. *w3.* *Windsor* wn. by TH.

3. Bu.=Buckinghamshire, 19 places in D 15 and 17.

*15. *A.* *Aylesbury* (:æ'jɪlzbəri) (1) wl. io. but partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Kersely Fowler, 192; (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. R. R. Fowler, 190; (3) wn. by AJE. from labourer, 1881, 192; wn. by TH. 192.

15. *n1.* *Bu.*, probably the part near b. of Bd., pal. vv. by AJE. from Mr. J. Wyatt (see Bedford, Bd.).

*15. *n2.* *Buckingham* wn. by TH., 194.

*15. *c1.* *Clackmore* (1 nnw.Buckingham) dt. noted by TH., 191; wn. by TH. 194 (where it is misprinted *Clackmore*).

17. *c2.* *Chalvey* (name omitted on p. 189) (1 n.Eton), letter to LLB. from Mr. A. Henry Atkins, 1875.

17. *c3.* *Cheddington* (7 ene.Aylesbury) notes by LLB.

15. *e.* *Edlesborough* (:edjɪbərə) (10 ene.Aylesbury) wl. io. by Rev. G. Birch, vic. 12 y.

15. *g.* *Great Kimble* (5 s.Aylesbury) lw. io. picked up on the Chilterns by Rev. E. K. Clay, vic., communicated by Mr. J. K. Fowler (see Aylesbury).

17. *n1.* *Hambleden* (4 w.Great Marlow) lw. by Rev. W. H. Ridley, rec. 60 y.

*15. *n2.* *Hanslope* (10 nne.Buckingham) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, of Whitelands, native, 194 (see Wendover).

17. *l.* *Langley* (3 e.Eton), letter in 1875 to LLB. from Rev. W. D. Scoones.

15. M1. *Marsh Gibbon* (7 ssw. Buckingham), letter on the pron. of the school there by a man of 90, by Mr. G. Parker, Oxford.

15. M2. *Marsworth* (6 e. Aylesbury) letter from Rev. F. W. Ragg, vic. (see Wingham, Ke.).

17. P. *Penn* (3 e. High Wycombe), letter from Rev. J. Grainger, vic., 235.

15. S1. *Stowe* (3 nsw. Buckingham) note by TH.

15. S2. *Swanbourne* (8 se. Buckingham) lw. by Rev. M. D. Malden, vic. 10 y.

*15. T. *Tyrriugham with Filgrave* (13 ne. Buckingham) [misprinted Tyrriugham, p. 194] wl. io. and letters from Rev. J. Tarver, rect., 194.

*15. W1. *Wendover* (5 sse. Aylesbury) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Beeby, of Whitelands, native of Northampton, but since 8 years old living at Aylesbury and Buckingham, 192: (2) wn. in 1884 by TH. from labourers of 82 and 63 and others, 192.

15. W2. *Winslow* (:winsloo) (6 se. Buckingham) with (s), heard by TH., who was told by a fellow traveller that the dialect was "very broad."

4. Cb. = Cambridgeshire, 15 places, all in D 18.

*18. C1. *Cambridge* wn. by TH.

*18. C2. *Cambridgeshire* generally, (1) dt. pal. 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Perkins, M.A., Downing Coll., 249: (2) notes by Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat.

*18. C3. *Chatteris* (9 nw. Ely) wn. by TH. 253*d*., and note from Rev. Sidney A. Smith, vic.

18. E. *Ely* wn. by TH.

18. H. *Haddenham* (6 sw. Ely) note by Rev. J. M. Freeman.

*18. M. *March* (12 nw. Ely) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. J. Wastie Green, rect., 251, and wn. by TH.

18. P. *Pampisford* (:paanzu) (6 sse. Cambridge) reported by TH. from Prof. Skeat.

*18. S1. *Sawston* (5 sse. Cambridge) dt. pal. from dict. by TH., 250.

18. S2. *Shelford* (4 s. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. S3. *Soham* (5 se. Ely), note from Rev. J. Cyprian Rust.

18. W1. *Whittlesford* (6 s-by-e. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. W2. *Willingham* (8 nsw. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

*18. W3. *Wisbeck* (:wisbitj) dt. and wl. io. with letters. 252, by Mr. Herbert J. Little, Coldham Hall, 252; and wn. by TH. 253.

*18. W4. *Wood Ditton* (3 sse. Newmarket) dt. and wl. with sentences pal. by AJE. in 1879 from dict. of Miss Walker, of the vicarage, 251.

*18. W5. *Wyde* (9 ene. Peterbro' Np.), a farming district 2 e. Thorney village, and in Thorney parish, wn. by TH., 254.

5. Ch. = Cheshire, 32 places in D 21, 25, 28.

25. A1. *Altrincham* (8 wsw. Stockport) (1) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. J. C. Clough, then Principal of the Agricultural College, Aspatria, Carlisle, native: (2) notes from JGG. and TH.

*25. A2. *Alvanly* (:AA'v'uli) (7 ne. Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. A3. *Ashton* (7 ene. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. A4. *Audlem* (:AALum) (6 s. Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. B1. *Becston* (9 se. Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. B2. *Bickley* (5 nsw. Whitechurch, Sh.) (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. T. Darlington, native of Burland (6 ne. Bickley), author of *Folk-speech of South Cheshire*, and wl. in gl., 411, 422: (2) version of Ruth, chap. i., 698, No. 4.

25. B3. *Bowdon* (16 ene. Runcorn) wn. by TH.

*25. B4. *Broxton* (9 sse. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. B5. *Burton* (6 s-by-e. Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*28. C1. *Churton* (6 s. Chester) wn. by TH. 457 (wrongly referred to D 25 on p. 421).

25. C2. *Congleton* (11 ene. Crewe) wn. by TH.

*28. E. *Eccleston* (:Ekliston) (2 s. Chester) wn. by TH., 457.

*28. F. *Faridon* (:farn) (7 s. Chester) dt. in so. by Mr. E. French, native, and wn. by TH. 452, 457.

*25. G. *Great Noston* (10 nw. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. H1. *Hatton Heath* (4 se. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. n2. *Helsby* (8 ne.Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

25. k. *Knutsford* (15 ese.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

25. l. *Lymm* (11 ene.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

26. m1. *Malpas* (13 sse.Chester) lw. by Mr. T. Darlington, and wn. by TH.

25. m2. *Marbury* (7 sw.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. m3. *Middlewich* (7 n.Crewe) es. pal. by TH. from dict., 413.

25. m4. *Mobberly* (9 wnw.Macclesfield) dt. io. by Mr. Robert Holland, of Norton Hill, Halton (2 ese.Runcorn) to represent m.Ch., but really representing e.Ch.

25. m5. *Mouldsworth* (6 ene.Chester) wn. by TH.

*25. n1. *Nantwich* wn. by TH. 421.

25. n2. *Northenden* (4 w.Stockport) phrases noted by TH.

25. n3. *Northwich* (11n.Crewe) wn. by TH.

*25. p. *Pott Shrigley* (4 nne.Macclesfield) es. pal. by TH. in 1874 from dict. of a native, 413.

*25. s1. *Sandbach* (4 ne.Crewe) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 411; TH. also noted the forms of negative *eanna conner* in *Manchester City News*, 26 March, 1881.

*28. s2. *Shocklach* (14 w-by-s.Nantwich) wn. by TH. 457.

*21. s3. *Stalybridge*, situate half in La. and half in Ch., formerly all or nearly all the town was in La., which see, 317.

21. s4. *Stockport* wn. by TH.

*25. t. *Tarporley* (9 ese.Chester) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich and 7 sse.Tarporley), 413, 421.

*25. w. *Waverton* (4 se.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

6. Co.=Cornwall, 19 places in D 11 and 12.

*11. c1. *Cumelford* (14 w.Launceston) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Ada Hill, of Whitelands, 168.

*11. c2. *Curdy'nham* (4 ene.Bodmin) dt. by T. H. Cross, 169.

12. c. *Guemap* (3 ese.Redruth) (1) dt. io. by Rev. Saltren Rogers, vic.; (2) wn. by TH.

11. l1. *Landrake* (8 ese.Liskeard), let. from vic. unnamed.

11. l2. *Lanivet* (3 sw.Bodmin) dt. io. by the late Mr. T. Q. Couch, author of the Glossary of Polperro (9 ssw.Liskeard).

11. l3. *Lanreath* (7 sw.Liskeard) wl. io. by Rev. R. Buller, rect.

*12. m1. *Marazion* (3 e.Penzance), specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. J. Rawlings, Downes, Hayle (6 ne.Penzance), 172.

*11. m2. *Millbrook* (22 sse.Launceston) spec. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Rundell, 167.

11. p1. *Padstow* dt. io. by Hon. Mrs. Prideaux Brune, Prideaux Place.

12. p2. *Penzance* es. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. Noye and then

from Mr. W. Rawlings (see above m1), but not used, 171.

11. r3. *Poundstock* (12 nww.Launceston) dt. io. by Rev. P. D. Dayman, vic.

11. s1. *St. Blazey* (3 ne.St. Austell) wl. and dt. io. by Miss A. B. Peniston, of the vicarage, 6 y.

*11. s2. *St. Columb Major* (10 wsw.Bodmin) and 10 m. round by Mr. T. Rogers, 169.

11. s3. *St. Goran's* (6 s.St. Austell) also written *Gorran*, *Goram*, dt. io. by Rev. C. R. Sowell, vic.

11. s4. *St. Ives* (4 ne.Liskeard) dt. io. by Ven. Archd. Hobhouse, rect.

12. s5. *St. Just* (7 w.Penzance) dt. io. by Rev. H. S. Fagan, vic.

11. s6. *St. Stephen's* (1 n.Launceston) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. S. T. Daunt.

12. s7. *St. Stithian's* (4 sse.Redruth) dt. by Mr. W. Martin, Penhalvar East, churchwarden of St. Stithian's.

11. t. *Tintagel* (13 n.Bodmin) dt. io. by the Rev. Prebendary Kinsman, vic.

7. Cu.=Cumberland, 15 places in D 31, 32, and 33.

*31. a. *Abbey Holme* or *Holme Cultram* (12 nne.Maryport) es. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. T. Ellwood, 562, 563, cwl. 634.

*33. b1. *Bewcastle* (16 ne.Carlisle) to *Longtown* (8 n.Carlisle) pal. by JGG. from a native, 682, 684, 693.

31. b2. *Borrowdale* (7 s.Keswick)

wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Percy C. Walker, vic.

*32. B3. *Brampton* (9 ene. Carlisle) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. 669.

*32. C1. *Carlisle* (1) es. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, 562, 563, 602; (2) aq. from Messrs. Coward, Harkness, Payne, Murray, and Dickinson about the s. b. of D 32.

*31. C2. *Clyfton* (2 e. Workington) es. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Hetherington, 562, 563.

*32. D. *Dalston* (4 ssw. Carlisle) es. pal. November, 1873, by AJE. from a native maid servant, but not used. 562d.

*31. E. *Ellonby* (6 nw. Penrith) es. pal. by JGG. 562, 563, 600.

31. H. *Hale* (:jal) (14 ssw. Cocker-mouth) wl. from Rev. W. Sidney Pratten, vic.

Holme Cultram, see *Abbey Holme* above.

*31. K. *Keswick* es. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. W. Postlethwaite, 562, 563, 600.

*31. L1. *Langwathby* (:la'qenbi) (4 ne. Penrith) pal. 1876-7 by JGG. from dict. of Miss Powley, 561, 563, 600.

*33. L2. *Longtown* (8 n. Carlisle) es. io. by Rev. R. D. Hope, native, vic. of Old Hutton (4 n. Kendal), We. See under *Bewcastle*, 682, 693.

31. P. *Penrith*, notes on n. Cu. and a translation of A. Craig Gibson *Joe and the Jolly Jist*, pal. January, 1873, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. William Atkinson, an excellent authority, but this early work sadly wants revision, and as I have not been able to recover Mr. A.'s address, I have been obliged to pass it over.

31. R. *Ravenglass* (13 w. Coniston, La.) notes by Rev. H. Bell, vic., which enabled me to complete the s. *hoose* line 6 through s. Cb.

31. S. *South Cumberland*, correspondence with Rev. E. H. Knowles, of St. Bees, Cu., and his friends concerning the use of *at* and *to*.

31. W. *Workington*, es. io. and wl. io. with many letters from Mr. W. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary. As I was unable to have an interview with Mr. D., I have been obliged to pass over this work.

8. Db. = Derby, 67 places in D 21, 25, 26.

*26. A1. *Alvaston* (:AA'vesten) (3 ese. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. A2. *Ashbourn* (10 sw. Matlock Bath) two es. pal. by TH. from dict. 426, 427.

*26. A3. *Ashford* (8 ese. Buxton) with Bakewell (2 se. Ashford) es. pal. by TH. from dict. 427.

*26. A4. *Ashover* (5 ssw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427, 445.

*26. B1. *Bamford* (12 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*26. B2. *Barlborough* (7½ ene. Chesterfield) dt. pal. from dict. by TH. 438.

*26. B3. *Belper* wn. by TH. 445.

*26. B4. *Bolsover* (:ba'uzer) (5 e. Chesterfield) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 438, 442, 445.

*26. B5. *Bradwell* (:brad'v) (9 ne. Buxton) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, and wn. 442.

*26. B6. *Brailsford* (7 nw. Derby) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*26. B7. *Brampton* (3 w. Chesterfield) (1) wn. by TH., (2) es. io. by Rev. J. M. Mello, rect., with observations on the same by TH., and (3) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, No. 7.

26. B8. *Brampton Moor*, near Brampton, wn. by TH.

*26. C1. *Castleton* (10 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*21. C2. *Chapel-en-le-Frith* (5 n. Buxton), (1) the Song of Solomon complete in his own original so. translated by TH., and Chaps. i. and ii. in pal. and gl. compared with Taddington, which see; (2) es. from personal knowledge by TH. with variants for places in the neighbourhood, and notes on the use of *thou* and (kh), 317, and dt. 322; (3) Parable of the Prodigal Son; (4) complete cwl. from personal knowledge with the minute distinctions which TH. prefers, 323 to 329.

*26. C3. *Chellaston* (4 sse. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. C4. *Chesterfield* wn. by TH. 427.

*26. C5. *Codnor* (5 ene. Belper) lw. io. by Rev. H. Middleton, vic 445.

*26. C6. *Codnor Park* (5 ene. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*25. C7. *Combs Valley* (3 nw. Buxton) notes by TH., see *Chapel-en-le-Frith*, and dt. from personal knowledge, 411.

26. c8. *Crich* (4 n. Belper) notes by TH.

*26. c9. *Cromford* (1 s. Matlock Bath) wn. by TH. 444.

26. d1. *Derby*, wn. by TH. and also by AJE.

*26. d2. *Doe Hill Station* (7 s. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. probably belong to Codnor Park, Ilkestone, etc. 445.

*26. d3. *Dore* (8 nw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*26. d4. *Dronfield* (5 nnw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. d5. *Dronfield Woodhouse* (6 nw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*26. e1. *Eckington* (6 nne. Chesterfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*21. e2. *Edale* (7 se. Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322.

*26. e3. *Eyam* (10 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*25. f1. *Fernilee*, near Combs Valley, wn. by TH. 411.

26. f2. *Foolow* (9 ene. Buxton, 1 e. Eyam) wn. by TH.

*21. g1. *Glossop* es. pal. by TH. from a man born 3 miles off, 317.

*25. g2. *Goyt, Dale of* (3 nw. Buxton) es. pal. from personal knowledge by TH., whose father resided there from TH.'s childhood, 321, in the notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith, and 414.

26. g3. *Great Hucklow* (8 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH.

*26. h1. *Hartington* (10 nnw. Matlock Bath) joke pal. by TH. 441.

*26. h2. *Hathersage* (12 ne. Buxton) and 3 or 4 miles round, wn. by TH. 442.

*26. h3. *Heanor* (5 ese. Belper) wn. by TH., and dt. in gl. by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from dict. 445.

*26. h4. *Higham* (7 s. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. h5. *Holmesfield* (6 nw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*21. h6. *Hope Woodlands* (10 se. Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322, and in note to Chapel-en-le-Frith. 321.

*26. i1. *Idridychay* (4 nnw. Belper, and 4 s. Wirksworth, to which region it belongs) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

*26. i2. *Ilkeston* (8 se. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

26. l. *Little Hucklow* (7 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH.

*26. m1. *Matlock Bath*, wn. by TH. 444.

*26. m2. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth* (2 sw. Matlock Bath), a mining village, said to speak more broadly than at Wirksworth, wn. by TH. 441, 444.

26. m3. *Middleton-by-Foulgrave* (7 nw. Matlock Bath) wn. by TH.

*26. m4. *Milford* (2 s. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. m5. *Morton* (8 nne. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. n. *Norton* (7 nnw. Chesterfield) lw. io. by Rev. H. H. Pearson, vic. 445.

*26. o. *Old Brampton* (3 w. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*21. p. *Peak Forest* (5 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 322.

*26. q. *Quarndon* (3 nnw. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. r1. *Repton* (6 sw. Derby) (1) lw. io. by the curate, name not mentioned, and TH.'s observations on them; (2) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 427; (3) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. r2. *Ripley* (3 ne. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

26. s1. *Sandiacre* (:sen-djiku, (8 e. Derby) wn. by TH.

*26. s2. *South Wingfield* (5 nne. Belper) dt. 438, and wn. both by TH.

*26. s3. *Stenson* (4 ssw. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. s4. *Stretton* (6 s. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. s5. *Sutton* (3 ese. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. t1. *Taddington* (5 ese. Buxton) (1) Song of Solomon, chaps. i. and ii. in gl. and pal. by TH.; (2) es. pal. by TH. and corrected by a native, 426, 427.

*26. t2. *Tideswell* (:tidzə) (6 ene. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

26. t3. *Twyford* (5 ssw. Derby) wn. by TH.

*26. u. *Unstone* (4 nnw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. w1. *West Hallam* (6 ne. Derby) dt. by TH. from dict. 438, 439.

*26. w2. *Whittington* (2 n. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. w3. *Winstar* (3 nw. Matlock Bath) es. pal. by TH. and corrected by natives, 427, also wn. by TH.

*26. w4. *Wirksworth* (:wæsb) (3 ssw. Matlock Bath) lw. io. with notes by Dr. Spencer T. Hall, and wn. by TH. 441, 444.

9. Dv. = Devonshire, 21 places in D 4, 10, 11.

4. A. *Arminster* (8 se.Honiton) es. io. by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, not used because I had no vv.

11. B1. *Barnstaple*, es. io. by Mr. W. F. Rock, native, pal. in 1873 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. D. H. Harris, native.

11. B2. *Bigbury* (12 sw.Totness) phr. noted, 1876, in gl. by Mr. J. B. Rundell.

11. B3. *Burrington* (10 sse Barnstaple) characteristic wds. and phr. io. by Mrs. Davis, of the vicarage, native.

*11. C1. *Challacombe* (9 ne.Barnstaple) wds. and phr. obtained from Anne Ridge, native, cook to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, see notes to Iddesleigh, 158.

11. C2. *Colyton* (7 se.Honiton) dt. io. by Mr. W. H. H. Rogers.

Dartmoor, see *Plymouth*.

*11. D. *Decoyport* dt. pal. from Messrs. J. Tenney and J. B. Rundell, 166.

11. E. *Exeter* (1) wl. gl. by Mr. N. W. Wyer, collected 1873-7; (2) dt. io. with aq. by Mr. R. Dymond, F.S.A.

11. H. *Harberton* (2 sw.Totness) wn. by AJE. 1 and 2 Sept. 1869, written in the glossotype of the period and pal. 23 July, 1878. This was my first attempt to write English peasant speech from hearing. I stayed with Mr. J. Paige, Little Inglebourne, Harberton, and listened while he conversed with his labourers, and then wrote down the sounds on my return to the house. I was not very successful, and the notes made have therefore not been used.

*11. I1. *Iddesleigh* (:idpli) (15 s. Barnstaple) (1) wl. io. written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands

Training Coll. from the dict. of his housemaid; (2) es. pal. by AJE. from the dictation of the same housemaid, Mary Anstey, native, who had not been many months from Dv. 157.

11. I2. *Instow* (5 w-by-s. Barnstaple), from Rev. W. F. Dashwood Lang, rector.

11. M1. *Modbury* and 6 m. round (10 sw.Totness) dt. io. by Miss Green, of the Vicarage.

10. M2. *Morebath* (8 n.Tiverton) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. S. H. Berkeley.

*11. N1. *North Molton* (12 e-by-s. Barnstaple), (1) wl. io. by Mr. R. H. S. Spicer, B.Sc., of that place, (2) by Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, pal. by AJE. in 1877, dt. 160, cwl. 161.

11. N2. *North Petherwin* (14 nw. Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. T. B. Taunton.

11. P1. *Parracombe* (11 nne.Barnstaple) nwl. taken from n.Dv. servants by Miss Wakefield, of the Rectory.

*11. P2. *Plymouth* (1) es. gl. for Dartmoor, (2) lw. gl., (3) wl. gl. (4) dt. gl., (5) numerous printed papers and much correspondence from 1868 onwards, all five from Mr. John Shelley, native of Norfolk, but long resident in Plymouth, 163 to 166.

11. S1. *St. Marychurch* (2 n. Torquay) dt. by Rev. G. H. White, with words and phrases by Miss Miles.

11. S2. *Stoke* (1 nw. Plymouth) nwl. by Rev. H. G. Wilcocks, Stoke Cottage.

11. W1. *Warkleigh* (8 sse. Barnstaple) wl. io. by Mrs. W. Thorold, of the Rectory, 30 y.

11. W2. *Werrington* (12 nw. Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. R. W. Margesson, vicar.

10. Do. = Dorsetshire, 14 places, all in D 4.

4. B1. *Bingham's Melcombe* (7 sw. Blandford, near Melcombe Horsey) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Bingham.

4. B2. *Blackmore, Vale of* (11 sw. Shaftesbury) wl. io. with notes and letters by Rev. John Smith, Kingston Magna, rect.

4. B3. *Bradpole* (:bræfpool, :bræf'l) (1 ne. Bridport) wl. io. and notes by Rev. Canon Broadley, vic.

4. B4. *Bridport*, wl. by Mr. T. A. Colfox, native, Westmead, Bridport.

*4. C. *Cranborne* (12 ene. Blandford, and wrongly referred to Blandford on p. 37) es. by Mr. Clarke, Gen. Michel, and Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, 75-84.

*4. E1. *East Lulworth* (:lalarth) (12 ese. Dorchester, on Purbeck hills) wl. io. by Rev. Walter Kendall, vic. 80.

4. E2. *East Morden* (7 sse. Blandford) wl. io. by Rev. T. Pearce, vic.

*4. H. *Hanford* (4 nw. Blandford) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, see 75, dt. 76, cwl. 80.

4. S1. *Sherborne* (16 nww. Blandford)

dt. io. with notes and letters by Rev. O. W. Tancock, school.

4. s2. *Sturminster Marshall* (6 se. Blandford) phrases by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, formerly curate there.

4. s3. *Swanage* (7 s. Poole) note by Mr. Paige, artist.

4. w1. *Walditch* (1 e. Bridport) notes by Mr. W. G. Stone, 10y.

*4. w2. *Whitchurch Canonicorum* (5 wnw. Bridport) (1) transcripts of letters and articles in Pulman's *Weekly News*, Crewkerne, written in glossic

with great care by Mr. N. W. Wyer, from dictation of John Taylor, a small freeholder, but doubts having arisen of the trustworthiness of Taylor's Dorset pronunciation, they have been reluctantly cancelled; (2) wn. by the same, 83.

*4. w3. *Winterbourne Came* (2 sse. Dorchester), by Rev. W. Barnes, the Dorset poet (see p. 75), es. in so. with numerous letters of explanation, from which it was pal. by AJE. 76; list of Do. words with initial (f) or (v), 38.

11. Du. = Durham, 31 places in D 31 and 32.

*32. a1. *Annfield Plain* (8 nw. Durham), dt. from Rev. Dr. Blythe Hurst, vic. See *Collierley*, 653.

31. a2. *Aycliffe* (5 n. Darlington) pc. from anonymous vicar.

*31. b1. *Bishop Auckland* (20 wsw. Hartlepool) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. R. Long; (2) dt. by Mr. J. Wyld, master of the workhouse, 617.

*31. v2. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse. Du.) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. C. A. Cartlege, vicar, who introduced me to dialect speakers, 653.

*31. b3. *Bishopton* (5 nw. Stockton) pc. by Rev. C. H. Ford, vic. 644.

*32. c1. *Cickeminn* (spelling unknown) (10 w. Durham, in Lanchester par.) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Robson, bailiff, introduced by Canon Greenwell, 653. No. 2.

*32. c2. *Collierley* (11 nw. Durham, containing Dipton and Pontop) dt. io. by Mr. Hugh Leslie, see a1, 653.

32. d. *Dalton-le-Dale* (6 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. T. T. Allen, vic.

*31. e1. *Easington* (9 e. Durham) dt. io. by Miss E. P. Harrison, of the rectory, 617.

*32. e2. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw. Durham) dt. io. with notes by Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-ha¹f), rect. 653.

31. g. *Greatham* (:griitəm) (6 ne. Stockton), pc. from Rev. J. MacCartie, vic.

Hart, see *Easington*.

31. n1. *Hartlepool*, pc. from Rev. E. R. Ormsley, rect.

*31. n2. *Heathery Cleugh* (:kliuf) (27 w. Durham) dt. io. by Mr. Dalton, schoolmaster, 617.

*32. k. *Kelloe* (6 se. Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. W. S. Kay, vic., (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from R. Heightley, 653.

*32. l1. *Lanchester* (7 nw. Durham)

w1. io. by Rev. J. Dingle, vic., and see c1, 653.

*31. l2. *Lower Teesdale*, near Stockton, es. pal. by AJE. in 1876 from Mrs. Alfred Hunt, 617.

*31. m1. *Middleton-in-Teesdale* (30 wnw. Stockton) on the Tees (1) w1. io. by Rev. J. Milner, vic., 634, and notes by JGG.

31. m2. *Monk Hesleden* (5 nw. Hartlepool) pc. from Rev. R. Taylor, vic.

31. r. *Ryhope* (3 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. Wilson, vic.

31. s1. *St. Andrew Auckland* (1 s. Bishop Auckland, see b1) pc. from Rev. R. Long, vic.

*31. s2. *St. John's Weardale* (24 wsw. Durham) w1. pal. by JGG. 634

31. s3. *Seaham* (4 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. A. Scott, vic.

31. s4. *Sedgefield* (10 sse. Durham) pc. from Rev. J. P. Eden, rect.

32. s5. *Shincliffe* (2 sse. Durham) pc. from Rev. G. P. Bulman, rect.

*32. s6. *South Shields* from Rev. C. Y. Potts, w1. in gl. 672, and es. in gl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Pyke, native, 645.

*31. s7. *Stanhope* (18 wsw. Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. C. Clayton, vic., and letter from Rev. C. Cosbey, curate; (2) dt. io. with notes by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, 617 to 619.

*32. s8. *Sunderland* (1) dt. io. by Mr. E. Capper Robson, Esplanade; (2) full w1. by late Mr. Tom Taylor, native; (3) letter from Mr. W. Brookie with local song of "Spottee" and notes; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth, 653.

31. t1. *Trimdon* (8 se. Durham) pc. from Rev. R. Simpson, curate-in-charge.

32. r2. *Tyneside*, 6 or 8 miles each way, dt. io. and MS. glossary of Tyneside words by Rev. Blythe Hurst, vic. of Collierly, see A1 and c2.

31. w1. *Witton-le-Wear* (10 sw.

Durham) pc. from Rev. J. F. Hodgson, vic.

31. w2. *Wolsingham* (12 wsw. Durham) aq. from Rev. R. H. Gray, rect.

12. Es. = Essex, 25 places, all in D 16.

16. v1. *Black Notley* (9 nne. Chelmsford) aq. from Rev. T. Owen, rect.

*16. v2. *Bradfield* (9 ene. Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. L. G. Hayne, rect. 221.

*16. v3. *Braintree* (:bráintri) (10 nne. Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. v4. *Brentwood* (:bæntwud) (7 ne. Romford) and 4 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. Arthur H. Brown.

*16. v5. *Brightlingsea* (8 se. Colchester) dt. and notes by Rev. Arthur Pertwee, vic., to illustrate Tending hundred, 221.

16. c. *Chelmsford* (:tʃɛmzʃud pron. of name obs. from a native by TH.

16. e1. *Elsenham* (15 nw. Chelmsford) wl. by Rev. J. Whateley, vic. 15 y.

*16. e2. *Essex*, various places, wn. by TH. 224.

16. g1. *Great Chesterford* (3 nw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. g2. *Great Chishall* (7 w. Saffron Walden) wl. io. by Mrs. Saraita Kent, wife of a principal farmer, obtained through Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

16. g3. *Great Clacton* (13 se. Colchester) dt. io. by Mr. G. Woodfall, certificated teacher.

*16. g4. *Great Dunmow* (9 nww. Chelmsford) es. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, native, 222, and phr. pal. from dict. of Mr. Roderick (see Ware, Ht.), together with wn. by TH. 221.

13. Gl. = Gloucester, 26 places in D 4 and 6.

6. A1. *Ashechurch* (3 ne. Tewkesbury) wl. by Rev. H. S. Warleigh, rect. 10 y., and wn. by TH.

*4. A2. *Aylburton* (4 nww. Berkeley) phr. from Miss Trotter, and cwl., 66; see Coleford Gl. (name misprinted Potter on 66).

4. v1. *Berkeley*, *Fale of*, es. io. from Mr. J. H. Cooke, of that place, 25 y., obtained by Mr. Bellows for LLB.

4. v2. *Birdlip* (:bærlɪp) (7 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. v3. *Bishop's Cleeve* (3 n. Cheltenham) wn. by TH.

*16. g5. *Great Easton* (8 sse. Saffron Walden) wn. TH. 221.

16. g6. *Great Salting* (14 nw. Maldon) aq. from Rev. T. W. Elvington, vic.

*16. g7. *Great Shalford* (15 nww. Maldon) aq. from Rev. H. B. Philip, vic., and wn. by TH. 221.

16. n. *Henham* (6 s. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. r. *Ingatestone* (10 ne. Romford) lw. from Mr. N. W. Wyer.

*16. m. *Maldon*, dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Wing, of Whitelands, formerly pupil teacher there, 223.

16. n. *Newport* (4 ssw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

*16. p1. *Paglesham* (5 ne. Southend) dt. io. by Mr. J. F. T. Wiseman, the Chase, 221.

*16. p2. *Panfield* (13 nww. Maldon) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. J. Hill, rect., with wn. by TH. 221.

*16. r. *Rayne* (12 nw. Maldon) aq. from (anonymous) rect., 221.

*16. s1. *Southend*, lw. by LLB. and Mr. Ph. Benton, Waking Hall, 221-2.

*16. s2. *Stanway* (3 w. Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. E. H. Crate, Rose Cottage, 221.

*16. s3. *Stebbing* (Bran End), (11 n. Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. t. *Thursted* (16 nww. Chelmsford) lw. compiled by Rev. Prof. Skeat, Cambridge, from the pron. of his cook, native, and pal. by AJE. from Prof. S.'s reading.

4. v4. *Bisley* (3 e. Stroud) wl. io. from Rev. T. Keble, vic.

4. v5. *Bristol* wn. by TH.

4. v6. *Brookworth* (4 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*6. v7. *Buckland* (11 ene. Tewkesbury) wn. by TH. from native railway porter, who resided there till 25, p. 113.

4. c1. *Cheltenham* (:tʃɛltnəm) wn. by TH.

*4. c2. *Cirencester* (:sɪsɪtər) wl. by Miss Martin, of Whitelands, pal. vv. by AJE. 66, and wn. by TH.

*4. c3. *Coleford* (9 nw. Berkeley), representing the Forest of Dean, from

Mr. R. D. Trotter (misprinted as Potter on 66), es. 60, phr. 66, cwl. 66.

4. c4. *Compton Abdale* (8 se.Cheltenham) dt. io. by Rev. H. Morgan, vic., assisted by Rev. W. H. Stanton, rect. of Hazleton (9 ese.Cheltenham) and Rural Dean, representing the Cotswold hills Gl.

4. Dean. *Forest of*. See *Coleford*.

*6. E. *Ebrington* (18 ne.Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 113.

4. F. *Fairford* (23 ese.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*4. G. *Gloucester Vale and Town*, vv. from Mr. J. Jones, es. 60, cwl. 66. *Town*, wn. by TH.

4. H1. *Highnam* (2 wnw.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. H2. *Hucclecote* (3 e.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

6. K1. *Kemerton* (5 ene.Tewkesbury),

on spike of Gl. projecting into Wo., words noted by Rev. J. I. Mercier, 3 months.

4. K2. *King's Wood* (4 ene.Bristol), representing the colliery region of King's Chase or King's Wood, es. io. by Samuel Griffith.

6. L. *Long Marston* or *Marston Sicca* (21 ne.Cheltenham) note by TH.

4. M. *Maisey Hampton* (6 ese, Cirencester) wn. by TH.

*6. S. *Shenington* (5 wnw.Banbury), locally in Ox., (1) lw. from dict. by TH. 118. (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Harris, of Whitelands, 117, 118.

*4. T1. *Tetbury* (8 sse.Stroud, from Miss Frampton, es. 60, cwl. 66, wn. by TH.

6. T2. *Tewkesbury*, wn. by TH.

*4. W. *Whitecomb* or *Witcomb* (5 ssw. Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 66.

14. Ha. = Hampshire, with Wi. = Isle of Wight, 13 places in D 4 and 5.

*5. A. *Andover* (1) lw. io. by E. S. Bewly, see Stowmarket, Sf.; (2) specimens taken down by Prof. Schröer, 98 to 107.

4. B. *Broughton* (10 wnw.Winchester) wl. by Rev. S. Lee, rect.

*4. C1. *Christchurch* notes in letter from Lady Wolf to LLB., see also Iford below, 75.

5. C2. *Corhampton* (10 se.Winchester) lw. from Rev. H. R. Fleming, vic.

*5. E. *East Stratton* (8 nne.Winchester) dt. io. by Rev. S. E. Lyon, vic. 96.

*4. I. *Iford* (1 w.Christchurch) wl. io. by Mr. W. W. Farr, representing the part. of Ha. w. of the Avon. 75.

5. N1. *Northwood* (:narthud) (2 s. Cowes, Wi.) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. C. E. Seaman.

4. N2. *Nursling* (:narslin) (12 sw. Winchester) wl. by Rev. H. C. Hawtrey.

4. R. *Ringwood* (7 n.Christchurch)

by AJE. from dict. of a carter in service of Messrs. Moore and Moore, native, 15 y. away.

*5. S1. *Shorwell* (:shar'L, :shor'L) (5 ssw.Newport, Wi.) wl. io. from Mr. James Titmouse, schoolmaster, 14 y. continuously, through Rev. R. Broughton, vic. 107.

*5. S2. *Southampton to Winchester*, so called on p. 97, see below Winchester to Southampton, so called on p. 91, es. from dict. of Mr. Percival Leigh, 97.

*5. W1. *West Stratton* (7. ne.Winchester) dt. io. from the late Dr. A. C. Burnell, native. 96.

5. W2. *Wight, Isle of*, generally, (1) wds. by Rev. R. N. Durrant, Arreton Vic. (2 se.Newport, Wi.); (2) wds. and letter from Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., of Stroud, author of the *Isle of Wight Glossary*.

*5. W3. *Winchester to Southampton*, see above s2.

15. He. = Herefordshire, 17 places in D 4 and 13.

13. A. *Almeley* (:a'meli) (8 s-by-e. Presteign, Rd. and He.) from the (unnamed) vic. who said Eardisley (2 sw.Almeley) is called (arslii).

13. D1. *Dinmore* (7 n-by-w.Hereford) wn. by TH.

*13. D2. *Doeklow* (5 ese.Leominster) es. and other specimens in so. by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, 30 y. obtained by LLB. 177.

*4. E. *Eggleton* (8 ne.Hereford) es. and spec. both in a peculiarly keyed orthography by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, obtained in 1875 by LLB. 69 to 75.

*13. H. *Hereford* and its neighbourhood, (1) es. in so. by Mr. James Davies, solicitor, of that town, obtained by LLB.; (2) es. in the 1847 phonotypy of Ellis and Pitman [see Part IV.

pp. 1183-1186] by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, transliterated into pal. by A.J.E., obtained in 1875 by LLB. I was not able to use either version; (3) wn. TH. 180.

*4. l1. *Lidbury* (12 e. Hereford) es. by Rev. C. Y. Potts and Mr. J. C. Gregg, 69-73.

13. l2. *Leintwardine* (11 n.w. Leominster) wn. by TH.

*13. l3. *Leominster* wn. b. TH. 180.

*13. l4. *Lower Bache Farm* (3 e. Leominster) (1) lw. in io. and aq. by Mr. G. Burgiss, native, farmer, obtained through LLB.; (2) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Messrs. T. and J. Burgiss, brothers of Mr. G. Burgiss, 176, 180.

13. l5. *Lucton* (:lak'n) (5 n.w. Leominster) note by Rev. A. C. Auchmaty, Lucton House, 4 y.

*4. m. *Much Cowarne* (9 ne Hereford) es. in 1847 phonotypy written in 1847

by Mr. J. Jones (see Hereford above) from dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, 10 y., pal. by A.J.E., obtained by LLB., see also Eggleton, given at p. 69; (2) wn. by TH. from Mrs. S. Griffiths, native, b. 1816, given on p. 73, notes to C.

*4. r. *Ross* (1) letter from W. H. Green to LLB. 68; (2) wn. by TH. 68.

13. s1. *Stockton* (2 ne. Leominster) wn. by TH.

4. s2. *Stoke Edith* (6 e-by-n. Hereford) wn. by TH.

4. v. *Upton Bishop* (4 ne. Ross) dt. by Mr. Havergal.

13. w1. *Wacton* (7 e. Leominster) wn. by TH.

13. w2. *Weobley* (7 sw. Leominster) es. io. written by a farmer, communicated to LLB. by Rev. C. J. Robinson, of Norton Canon (10 n.w. Hereford), and by him referred to Weobley.

16. Ht. = Hertfordshire, 32 places in D 15, 16, and 17.

16. a1. *Austey* (14 e. Hitchin) from Rev. T. T. Sale, rect.

*16. a2. *Ardeley* or *Yardley* (8 e-by-s. Hitchin) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Malet, then curate, and wn. from several old natives by TH. 200, 201.

15. b1. *Berkhampstead* (10 w. St. Albans) notes obtained by LLB.

16. b2. *Bishop's Stortford* (:sta'fud) (11 ne. Hertford) pron. of name obtained by TH.

16. b3. *Bornoor* (7 wsw. St. Albans) note from Rev. A. C. Richings sent to LLB.

16. b4. *Braughing* (:bræfɪn) pron. of name obtained by TH.

*16. b5. *Buntingford* (:banɪfud) (10 ne. Hertford) wn. by TH. 201.

*17. b6. *Bushey* (2 se. Watford) from Rev. W. Falconer, rect., 235.

16. f. *Furneaux Pelham* (11 ne. Hertford) plr. by Rev. W. Wigram, vic., with notes by Mr. Roderick, rect.

16. g1. *Gilston* (5 e. Ware) notes from Rev. J. L. Hallward, rect.

16. g2. *Great Gaddesden* (7 n.w. St. Albans) notes by LLB.

16. g3. *Great Horstead* (13 e. Hitchin) dt. io. from Rev. J. S. F. Chamberlain, vic., representing the "Wilds of Herts."

16. h1. *Hadham* (7 ne. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. h2. *Harpden* (4 n-by-w. St.

Albans) dt. io. from Mr. T. Wilson, Rivers Lodge, 203.

*16. h3. *Hatfield* (6 wsw. Hertford) wn. by TH. 203.

16. h4. *Hevel Hempstead* (5 w. St. Albans) note by LLB.

*16. h5. *Hertford* wn. by TH. 199.

*16. h6. *Hertford Heath* (2 se. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. h7. *Hitchin* dt. by Mr. C. W. Wilshere, the Frythe, Welwyn, pal. from indications by A.J.E. 203.

17. k. *King's Langley* (6 sw. St. Albans) note by LLB.

15. l1. *Little Gaddesden* (10 n.w. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

15. l2. *Long Marston* (16 n.w. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

*17. r. *Rickmansworth* (3 sw. Watford) note sent to LLB. by Mr. W. H. Brown, national school master, and note by LLB. 235.

*16. s1. *St. Albans*, wds. from Mr. R. R. Lloyd, 8 y., 235.

16. s2. *Sandridge* (3 ne. St. Albans) dt. notes, and lw. all in io. by Rev. J. Griffith, of that place.

16. s3. *Sawbridgeworth*, called (:seps'wɜrd, by old people (10 e-by-n. Hertford) (1) wl. and dt. io., and notes by Mrs. John Barnard, Spring Hall, 12 y., and (2) note by TH. from Prof. Skeat, who give (:saap's).

*16. s4. *Stapleford* (3 n.w. Hertford)

(1) dt. io. by Rev. D. Barclay, rect., and (2) wn. by TH. 199.

15. τ. *Tring* (14 wnw.St. Albans), note obtained by LLB.

*16. w1. *Ware* es. and lw. pal. in 1876 from dict. of Mr. J. W. Roderick, 197 to 200, wn. by TH. 199.

16. w2. *Watford*, note by LLB.

*16. w3. *Wdwyn* (1) w1. pal. by

AJE. from dict. of Miss Foxlee, of Whitelands, not usable, 197; (2) dt. io. with notes and phr. by Mr. C. W. Wilshire, of the Frythe, 202.

16. w4. *Weston* (5 e.Hitchin) w1. io. by Rev. A. C. Roberts, vic., assisted by Mr. M. R. Pryor, Manor House, native.

17. Hu.=Huntingdonshire, 21 places, all in D 16.

16. A. *Alconbury* (4 nww.Huntingdon) lw. io. by Rev. R. Conway, vic., assisted by Mr. G. Johnston, of Broughton (5 ne.Huntingdon).

16. G1. *Godmanchester* (1 se.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. G2. *Great Catworth* (9 w.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. C. Parley, vic.

16. G3. *Great Gidding* (10 nw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. G4. *Great Parton* (4 ssw.Huntingdon), from Rev. H. I. Nicholson, of that place.

*16. G5. *Great Stukeley* (2 nww.Huntingdon), (1) w1. and dt. io. by Miss Mary E. Ebdon, then of the vicarage, with numerous notes pal. by AJE. 211; (2) wn. in 1881 by TH. from W. Johnson, b. about 1803, farm labourer, and James Valentine, b. 1806, to whom TH. was introduced by Miss Ebdon, 211.

16. H1. *Hanerton* (8 nw.Huntingdon), from Rev. D. G. Thomas, rect.

16. H2. *Hilton* (4 se.Huntingdon), from Rev. T. Carrol, vic.

*16. H3. *Holme* (10 nww.Huntingdon), (1) w1. io. from Rev. W. A. Campbell, rect., representing the drained fen about Whittelsea Mere; (2) wn. by TH. 212.

16. H4. *Houghton* (:hóut'n, :hoot'n)

(3 e.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. A. Peck, rect. over 50 y.

16. H5. *Huntingdon*, wn. in 1881 by TH.

16. K1. *Keyston* (12 nww.Huntingdon), from Rev. J. P. Goodman, rect.

16. K2. *Kimbolton* (9 sw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. L. *Little Stukeley* (3 nww.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. O. *Old Fletton* (1 s.Peterborough, Np.) wn. by TH.

16. P. *Pidley* (7 ne.Huntingdon) w1. io. by Rev. R. W. Close, 2 y., assisted by Mr. W. Mason, Somersham, (which see) representing e.Hu.

16. S1. *St. Ives* (5 e.Huntingdon) wn. 1873 and 1882 by TH.

*16. S2. *Sawtry* (9 nww.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. by Miss Ebdon, of Great Stukeley, (which see) from dict. of a maid servant, 212; (2) wn. by TH. in 1881 from J. Harlock, b. 1800, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebdon, 212.

16. S3. *Somersham* (8 ene.Huntingdon) dt. io. by Mr. W. Mason (see *Pidley*, which it adjoins).

16. S4. *Staneley* (8 sw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. S5. *Stilton* (12 nww.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. from Rev. Thomas Hatton, rect., (2) wn. by TH.

18. Ke.=Kent, 16 places, all in D 9.

*9. C1. *Charing* (6 nw.Ashford) dt. from Miss Croucher, of Whitelands, 136.

9. C2. *Chatham*, a wd. from Mr. S. Price, see *Montacute*, Sm.

9. D. *Denton* (7 nw.Dover) from Rev. C. J. Hussey, rect.

*9. F1. *Faversham* (8 wnw.Canterbury) es. written by Rev. H. Berin, pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, with phrases and lw. 137 to 141.

*9. F2. *Folkestone Fishermen*, dt. glossie by Mr. R. Stead, master of the Grammar School, Folkestone, 143.

9. K. *Kent* county generally, wn. by TH.

*9. M1. *Maidstone* note by AJE. from Mr. Streatfield, native, Bank-house, 131, l. 13.

*9. M2. *Margate* lw. by Mr. Basil Hodges, 20 y., 141.

*9. R. *Rolvenden* (12 sw.Ashford) lw. and dt. io. from Rev J. W. Rummy, vic. misprinted Ramsay on p. 136.

*9. s1. *Shadorhurst*, misspelled *Shadshurst*, on p. 131, l. 6 (3 ssw. Ashford) dt. io. by Rev. C. T. Rolfe, 136.

9. s2. *St. Nicholas* (5 w-w. Margate) wl. and notes pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Peckham, of Whitelands, 141, 144.

*9. s3. *Sheerness*, nw. point of Isle of Sheppy, note by Miss Lowman, native of Ha., who had been all over it, 137.

9. s4. *Strood* (1 w. Rochester) note by Miss Calland, of Whitelands.

*9. s5. *Stoke* (6 nne. Chatham, between Thames and Medway) lw. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. A. E. Harris, 136.

*9. s6. *Stourmouth* (5 nw. Sandwich) notes by Rev. R. Drake, rect., 141.

*9. w. *Wingham* (6 e. Canterbury) dt. io. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, for the Highlands of Kent, 142.

19. La. = Lancashire, 61 places in D 21, 22, 23, and 31.

23. a1. *Abbeystead* (7 se. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

Ashton-under-Lyne, see *Stalybridge*.

*22. b1. *Blackburn* (1 wn. and dt. pal. by TH., cwl. 346, dt. 339; (2) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding in cwl. 346, this list comprised also words from several other places mentioned below, very valuable at first, but superseded by TH.'s work afterwards.

23. b2. *Blackpool* (15 wn. Preston) from H. Fisher, Mus. D.

*22. b3. *Bolton* (1) wl. by Mr. Ch. Rothwell, M. R. C. S., 40 y. to 50 y. 343; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*31. b4. *Broughton-in-Furness* (:brəʊ'tn i :fə'nəs) (8 ssw. Comiston) wn. and dt. pal. from dict. by TH., dt. and phr. 553, cwl. 627.

*22. b5. *Burnley* (1 es. pal. 1875-6 from a native by TH. 332; (2) cwl. by Mr. T. Healey, of the Science and Art Department, with wn. by TH., forming a cwl. 350.

21. b6. *Bury*, Miss Farrington's es. (see Leyland) read to me in 1873 by Rev. Mr. Langston, sometime curate of Bury, but I was unable to make use of it.

*31. c1. *Cark-in-Cartmel* (5 e-by-s. Ulverston), wn. in 1881 by TH., especially from Betty Butler, b. 1797, near Grasmere, but her speech was too mixed to be trustworthy. cwl. 627.

*31. c2. *Caton* (4 ene. Lancaster) wn. by TH. given in wl. 626.

*22. c3. *Chorley* (10 nw. Bolton) wn. by TH. 345.

22. c4. *Clitheroe* lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*22. c5. *Cliviger Valley* (2 sse. Burnley) wn. TH. 350.

*31. c6. *Cockerham* (6 s-by-w. Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*22. c7. *Colne Valley* (6 nne. Burnley)

from Mr. Hartley Stuttard, through Mr. John Shelly, 340, 341.

*31. c8. *Comiston* (1) es. originally written io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, b. 1804, with aq. and explanations from Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver (2 ssw. Comiston), afterwards pal. from Miss Bell, native, 558, 563, 597; (2) wl. io. by Rev. T. Ellwood, pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Bell; (3) wn. by TH., the last two, 627.

31. d. *Dalton* (5 sw. Ulverston) wl. io. by Rev. John Atkinson, Rydal, Ambleside, occasioning, on account of some anomalies, a long correspondence, and Rev. T. Ellwood's obtaining a partial wl. from Mr. T. Butler, solicitor, native, who had known the place intimately for 45 years, and who decided against the anomalies.

22. e. *Earlestoun* (8 sw. Wigan) wn. by TH.

21. f1. *Failsworth* (4 ne. Manchester), phrs. noted from 'Ben Brierley' in his public readings, by TH.

*22. f2. *Farrington* (3 s. Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*23. f3. *Fylde district*, see 352 for full account; note from Mr. T. Cumberland, Harburn, St. (3 sw. Birmingham, Wa.), not used.

23. g1. *Garstang* (:gja:stɪn) (10 nnw. Preston), note by TH. attached to next.

*23. g2. *Goosnargh* (:gɔ:znə) (5 nne. Preston), (1) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. E. Kirk, native, 354; (2) wn. by TH. 359.

22. h1. *Halliwel* (2 wn. Bolton) wn. by TH.

*22. h2. *Hastingsden* (7 ssw. Burnley) wn. by TH. 346.

*31. h3. *Heysham* (:hɛ:sm) (4 w-by-s. Lancaster) wl. by Rev. C. Twenlow Royds, rect. 12 y., cwl. 626.

22. h4. *Higham* (3 nw. Burnley) lw. io. from Mr. T. Fielding, see b1.

*31. n5. *High Nibthwaite* (7 n. Ulverston) wn. by TH. 627.

Higher Walton, see *Walton-le-dale*, w1, below.

*22. n6. *Hoddlesden* (4 sse.Blackburn) dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from dict. of native, 339, and wn. 346.

*31. n7. *Hornby* (8 ne.Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*23. k. *Kirkham* (8 w-by-n.Preston) wn. by TH. 359.

*31. l1. *Lancaster*, wn. by TH. 626.

22. l2. *Ligh* (9 ene.St. Helens). Rev. J. H. Stanning, curate in charge in 1873 said the *gh* was pron. as a guttural: places of the same name were in 1875 called (:le'ith) in Ch., and (:láí) also written Lye in Ke.

*22. l3. *Lryland* (5 s.Preston) es. pal. 1877 from Miss Harington, with remarks by three other natives, 332, 337, and wn. by TH. 345.

*31. l4. *Lower Holker in Cartmel* (5 e.Ulverston) es. pal. 1877 by TH. from dict. 558, 563, 596*d*'.

21. m1. *Manchester* (1) wl. io. by Mrs. Linnaeus Banks, acquainted with the dialect from childhood: (2) note by JGG.: (3) nwl. io. by Rev. J. C. Casartelli, M.A., St. Bede's, Manchester College, for the environs.

22. m2. *Mellor* (2 nw.Blackburn) es. pal. 1876 by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Coulter, native, but long absent, and I felt that my appreciation was inaccurate, hence I have not used it.

21. m3. *Moston* (4 ne.Manchester) nwl. by Mr. G. Milner.

*31. n1. *Newton-in-Cartmel* (7 ene.Ulverston) note by Mr. J. Stockdale, writer of the translation of SS. chap. ii. for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, reproduced on p. 550.

*31. n2. *Newton-le-Willows* or *Newton-in-Makerfield* (4 e.St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. o1. *Oldham* (1) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see v1; (2) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. o2. *Ormskirk* (7 se.Southport) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. p1. *Patricroft* (4 w.Manchester) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. p2. *Penwortham* (:pen·vrdm) (1 sw.Preston) wn. 1877 by TH. from Mr. Kirk, see Goosnargh, of which he was a native, though he had resided 60 years in Penwortham.

*23. p3. *Poulton-le-Fylde* (13 nw. Preston) es. first by Mr. Bellows sent to LLB., not used, and second pal. 1876 by TH. with phrases, 354, 357.

*22. p4. *Prescot* (3 wsw.St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

23. p5. *Preston*, wn. by TH.

31. q. *Quernmoor* (3 ne.Lancaster) wn. by TH.

21. r1. *Royton* (2 nnw.Oldham) wn. by TH.

*21. r2. *Rochdale* and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. 322.

22. s1. *Sabden* (5 nw.Burnley) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see v1.

*22. s2. *Samlesbury* (:sam·zbrri) (4 ene.Preston) wl. io. by Mr. W. Harrison, F.S.A., Samlesbury Hall, representing the parishes of Blackburn, Preston, and Whalley, 346.

*22. s3. *Skelmersdale* (:skjem·vrdil) (7 nnw.St. Helens) es. pal. 1878 by TH. from natives, 332; wn. by TH. 342.

31. s4. *Skerton* (1 nw.Lancaster) wn. by TH.

*21. s5. *Stalybridge* (1 e.Ashton), half in La. and half in Ch. (which see s3) es. pal. 1876 by TH. from Mr. J. Marsland, 317.

*31. t. *Ulverston* (:ús'n) (1) es. io. by Mr. Pearson, native, obtained by Rev. T. Ellwood, but I was not able to interpret it satisfactorily; (2) wn. by TH. 627.

*22. w1. *Walton-le-dale*, or *Higher Walton* (2 se.Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*22. w2. *Warrington* wn. by TH. 342.

*22. w3. *Westhoughton* (:æ'ut'n) (5 wsw.Bolton), this represents the Bolton neighbourhood, es. pal. 1876 with wn. by TH. 332, 343.

*22. w4. *Whalley* (3 s-by-w. Clitheroe) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see v1, and Mr. W. Harrison, 346.

*22. w5. *Wigan* (:wigin) and neighbourhood, (1) wn. by TH. 343: (2) wl. io. from Wigan to Ashton in Makerfield (4 s.Wigan), by Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A., Sandy Knowe, Wavertree (3 ese.Liverpool) 50 y., during which the dialect has much changed.

*22. w6. *Worsthorn* (2 e.Burnley) wn. by TH. 350.

*23. w7. *Wyersdale* (6 sse.Lancaster) dt. and wn. by TH. 358, 359.

20. Le.=Leicester, 19 places in D 29.

29. A. *Ainsty* (3 nw.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B1. *Barlestone* (10 w-by-n. Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B2. *Barwell* (:barell) (2 ne. Hinckley) wds. by Rev. R. Titley, rect.

*29. B3. *Belgrave* (1 n.Leicester) nwl. and dt. by Miss Charlotte Ellis, who has lived near Leicester all her life, 472, 489.

*29. B4. *Birstall* (3 n.Leicester) wds. from Miss Allen, 489.

29. B5. *Blaby* (5 s-by-w.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. C. *Cottesbach* (:kɔːtesbatɪ) (10 se.Hinckley) wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rect. 489.

*29. E. *Enderby* (4 sw.Leicester) variants by Miss E. Hirst, of Whitelands, from the Waltham cs. 464, and wn. by TH.

*29. G. *Glenfield* (3 wnw.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. H. *Harby* (14 ne.Loughborough) wds. by Rev. M. O. Norman, rect.

29. I. *Illston-on-the-Hill* (8 ese. Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. L1. *Leicester* (1 es. in cl. with aq. by the late Mr. Geo. Findley, not used, see 464; (2) wn. by TH. from

Mr. Findley, 489: (3) letter from Mr. W. Napier Reeve, F.S.A., 35 y., saying he could not see in my wl. any word "of which the pron. in Leicester is different from rec. pron., I am," he added, "an Essex man. I have been in this town 35 years. I have been often struck with the few provincialisms among the people of this county compared with those of Essex"; (4) for town and neighbourhood a few notes from J. H. Chamberlain, Small Heath, Birmingham, having been 20 years there and 40 in Leicester.

*29. L2. *Loughborough* wn. in 1878-9 by TH. 489.

*29. M1. *Market Harborough* (14 se.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. M2. *Mount Sorrel* (6 n.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. N. *Normanton* (3 sse.Ashby-de-la-Zouche) from Miss Green of the rectory.

*29. S. *Syston* (5 nne.Leicester) full wl. pal. by AJE. from Miss M. A. Adcock, teacher at Whitelands, 489.

29. T. *Thurcaston* (4 nww.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. W. *Waltham* (16 ene.Loughborough, in the horn of Le.) cs. pal. by AJE. from Miss H. Bell, of Whitelands, see also E above, 464.

21. Li.=Lincolnshire, 55 places in D 18 and 20.

20. A1. *Aisthorpe* (6 nww.Lincoln), aq. by Rev. T. W. Bury, rect.

20. A2. *Alford* (10 se.Louth), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2 below.

20. A3. *Arholme, Isle of* (4 to 18 n.Gainsborough) lw. io. by Mr. Standring, of Working Men's College.

20. B1. *Barnoldby-le-Beck* (:baʊnbɪ) omitting *le Beck* (4 sw.Great Grimsby), full wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Morgan G. Watkins, M.A.

*20. B2. *Barrowby* (2 w.Grantham) wn. by TH. from a native then living at Newark, Nt. 299.

20. B3. *Beckingham* (11 nww.Grantham) aq. from the (anonymous) vicar.

*20. B4. *Billingborough* (13 e.Grantham, and 6 m. round), full wl. corrected vv. by AJE. from Mr. T. Blasson, surgeon, b. 1833, native and constant resident. 299.

20. B5. *Blyton* (3 nne.Gainsborough), aq. from Rev. J. S. Cockshall, vic.

20. B6. *Brookbridge* (2 s.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. C. Ellison, vic.

*20. B7. *Brigg* or *Glanford Brigg* (17 w.Great Grimsby) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. E. Peacock, F.S.A., Bottesford Manor, author of the *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, b. 1833, with a dt. pal. by AJE. from the wl. 312, 313; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby.

20. B8. *Brocklesby* (8 wnw.Great Grimsby), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C1. *Caistor* (11 wsw.Gt. Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C2. *Coningsby* (:kɔːnɪŋsbɪ) (10 wnw.Boston) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Wright, rect.

20. C3. *Crowle* (14 n-by-w.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. F. W. White.

*20. E. *Epworth* (8 nww.Gainsborough) cs. pal. by AJE., described, and why rejected, on p. 312. see w2.

20. F1. *Faldingworth* (10 ne.Lincoln) aq. by Rev. W. S. Mackean, pro. rect.

20. r2. *Fillingham* (9 se.Gainsborough) note from Rev. J. Jenkins, rect.

*20. r3. *Friskney* (3 sw-by-s.Wainfleet) nwl. with rules and ex. io. by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vic. 298.

20. r4. *Fulstow* (7 n.Louth) lw. by Rev. Alex. Johnson, vic.

20. g1. *Gainsborough*, aq. by Rev. W. J. Williams, vic.

20. g2. *Glanford Brigg*, see Brigg.

20. g3. *Grantham* (:gra^hntham) es. io. by Mr. Cockman, national schoolmaster, read to AJE. by Miss Cockman, of Whitelands, but as both were Londoners and she was uncertain on some points I was obliged to pass it by.

20. g4. *Great Coates* (2 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. g5. *Great Grimsby* note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. n1. *Halton Hologate* (6 nw. Wainfleet) dt. and many specimens and notes pal. in April, 1881, from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, 306 to 309.

20. n2. *Harey* (6 nw.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. J. Johnston, vic.

20. n3. *Healing* (3 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. n4. *Horbling* (13 e.Grantham) wl. by Mr. H. Smith, representing "the parts of Kesteven" in sw.Li. 299.

20. n5. *Horncastle* (17 e.Lincoln) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. κ1. *Keelby* (6 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. κ2. *Killingholme* (8nw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. κ3. *Kingerby* (15 e.Gainsborough) phr. from Rev. W. A. Cottee, vic.

20. λ1. *Laceby* (3 sw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see Scartho.

*20. λ2. *Lincoln*, see Spilsby for wn. by TH. 309.

*20. λ3. *Louth* (1) Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style rendered in gl. by Mr. T. Wemyss Bogg, surgeon, then of that place, see Somerby below, and p. 297; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby, 309; (3) wl. by Mr. W. R. Emeris; (4) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. x1. *North Hykeham* (:áikem) (4 ssw.Lincoln) wl. by Rev. F. T. Cusins (:kiúzinz), 9 y.

20. x2. *North Kelsey* (14 wsw. Great Grimsby) note from Rev. W. J. Chambers, vic.

20. s1. *Saxby* (10 nne.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. W. Markham, rect.

20. s2. *Scartho* (2 s.Great Grimsby) wl. and dt. io. by Mrs. Williams, of the rectory. In relation to the s. *hoose* line 5, Mrs. Williams informed me that (uus) was said at Killingholme, Uceby, Thornton, but (a'us) at Brocklesby, Keelby, Great Coates, Stallingborough, Healing, Louth, Alford, Spilsby, Horncastle, Caistor, Great Grimsby, Laceby, Scartho, Waltham, which see in this list, thus completing line 5.

*20. s3. *Scotter* (8 ne.Gainsborough) wl. corrected vv. by AJE., written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, native and resident till 15, Principal of Whitelands Training College, to whom I am indebted for the great assistance rendered by its teachers and students, 313.

20. s4. *Scunthorpe* (15 nne.Gainsborough, in parish of Frodingham) full wl. by Mr. Bernard Dawson, C.E. Mr. Peacock (see Brigg), who lives 3 s.Frodingham, says it is full of miners, and that he should not trust any one's pron. unless he knew his birth. Hence I have thought Mr. Peacock's wl. p. 313, safer.

20. s5. *Skellingthorpe* (4 w.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. E. P. Armstrong, vic.

*20. s6. *Sleaford* (16 w.Boston) wn. by TH. 309.

20. s7. *Snitterby* (11 ene.Gainsborough) note from Rev. R. E. Warner, rect.

*20. s8. *Somerby* (22 e-by-n.Lincoln) representing the dialect from Horncastle (17 e.Lincoln) to Spilsby (27 e.Lincoln), here I received great assistance on 23 March, 1881, from Lord (then Mr.) Tennyson, detailed 302 to 306, who introduced me to Mrs. Douglas Arden, see n1.

*20. s9. *Spilsby* (8 ne.Wainfleet) (1) wn. by TH. from Rev. W. Jackson, 309; (2) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. s10. *Springthorpe* (4 e.Gainsborough) note from Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, rect.

20. s11. *Stallingborough* (4 nw. Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*18. s12. *Stamford* wn. by TH. from a man of 60, and again from a Rutland man who may not be trustworthy, 251.

20. r1. *Thoresway* (10 sw.Great

Grimsby) aq. from Rev. G. Maule, rect.

*20. r2. *Thornton* (12 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. r1. *Ulcby* (10 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. r2. *Usselby* (18 e-by-n. Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. A. Bower, vic.

*20. w1. *Waltham* (4 s-by-w. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. w2. *Winterton* (22 nw. Great Grimsby) es. pal. 1874 from dict. of Rev. J. J. Fowler, of Hatfield Hall, Durham, curate of Winterton in 1870; and this version was also read to me by a maid servant from Epworth, which see, 312.

22. Mi. = Middlesex, 7 places in D 17.

*17. A. *Ashford* (7 sw. Brentford) note by Rev. F. B. Dickinson, 235.

*17. B. *Bromley* (5 e. Charing Cross, London), representing e. London, wl. by JGG. 233.

*17. E. *Enfield* (5 e. Barnet), (1) note by Mr. Joseph Whitaker, F.S.A., White Lodge, 15y., (2) note by Mr. J. H. Meyers, editor of *Enfield Observer*, (3) wn. io. from the chief mason, by LLB., 235.

*17. n1. *Hanwell* (2 nw. Brentford) note from Miss E. Coleridge, of the rectory, 235.

*17. n2. *Harmondsworth* (7 w. Brentford) lw. from Mr. Lake, schoolmaster.

*17. L. *London* wn. in various parts of the metropolitan area at very various times, by TH. 231.

*17. s. *South Mymms* (3 nw. Barnet) notes from Rev. P. F. Hamond, vic. 236.

*17. w. *Willesden* (5 nne. Brentford) letter from Rev. J. Crane Wharton, vic. to LLB., and note from LLB. in Meyer's *Enfield Observer*, 28 Sep. 1875, p. 235.

23. Mo. = Monmouthshire, 3 places in D 13.

13. c1. *Caeleon* or *Llangattock* (2 ne. Newport) aq. by Rev. H. Powell Edwards, vic.

*13. c2. *Chepstow* lw. io. with long note, through Dr. J. Yeats, 179.

*13. L. *Llanover* (12 w-by-s. Monmouth) es. read to me by Lady Llanover

in the presence of LLB., and variants suggested by LLB. from his own observations and communications by Mr. Meredith, 179.

13. p. *Pontypool* (8 nw. Newport) aq. by Rev. J. C. Llewellyn, vic.

24. Nf. = Norfolk, 51 places in D 19.

County, see *Norwich*.

*19. A. *Ashill* (:ashel) (12 n. Thetford) notes by TH. 262.

19. B1. *Binham* (4 se. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. B2. *Brancaaster* (7 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. B3. *Burnham* (:baanim) *Westgate* (4 sw. Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. C. H. Everard, Eton Coll., 28 y., p. 264.

*19. B4. *Buxton* (9 n. Norwich) wn. by TH., who here had the misfortune to lose his note book containing the details of the pron. of numerous places visited in 1883, p. 278.

19. c. *Cougham* (:kəqgəm) (6 ene. King's Lynn) nwl. by Rev. Canon Kersley, LL.D., rect.

19. D1. *Diss* (15 e-by-s. Thetford)

wn. by TH. in 1881, with example, 278, from a farm-labourer, native.

19. D2. *Ditchingham* (12 sse. Norwich) wl. and phr. from Rev. W. Skudamore, rect., assisted by Rev. H. Frere, native of s.Nf.

*19. D3. *Downham Market* (10 s. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. E. *East Dereham* (15 w-by-n. Norwich) (1) es. io. with aq. by Mr. G. A. Carthew, of Millfield in 1873; (2) wn. by TH. 273.

19. F. *Fakenham* (8 s. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. G1. *Gaywood* (2 e. King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. G2. *Great Dunham* (14 ese. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. G3. *Great Yarmouth* (:jaameth) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. J. Raven,

D.D., then of the school house, with notes made vv. from him by A.J.E. in 1879, this represents s.Nf. and nw.St. gen. 278.

19. n1. *Hardingham* (13 w-by-s. Norwich) wn. by TH.

*19. n2. *Heacham* (:itɛm) (12 nne. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. n3. *Hempton* (9 s.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. n4. *Hemsby* (6 n.Great Yarmouth) wl. io. by Rev. H. W. Harden, vic.

*19. n5. *Holme-next-Sea* (13 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. n6. *Hunstanton St. Edmunds*, close to Old Hunstanton (12 nne. King's Lynn), wn. by TH. 262.

19. 1. *Iugham* (14 se.Cromer) wl. by Rev. G. Sharley.

*19. κ1. *Kimberley* (10 wsw.Norwich) es. pal. in 1873 from dict. of G. Ashby, native, but absent 33 years, and then gardener to LLB. 273.

*19. κ2. *King's Lynn*, wn. by TH. 262.

*19. κ3. *Kirby Bedon* (3 se.Norwich) lw. pal. in 1868 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, of the Vicarage, his first attempt at writing dialect from dict. with additions from her sister, Mrs. Luscombe, and Mr. Keith, 275; es. io. with aq. by the same.

*19. m1. *Marham* (8 se. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. from J. W. Little, gardener, 45, then at Wisbech, Cb. 262.

*19. m2. *Mattishall* (:mets'l) (11 wnw. Norwich) es. pal. by A.J.E. from Miss Buckle, of Whitelands, 273.

*19. m3. *Middleton* (3 se. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 261, 262.

*19. n1. *Narborough* (9 se. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262, and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a labourer, aged 70, p. 263.

19. n2. *North Elmham* (13 sse. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. n3. *North Tuddenham* (11 nw. Norwich) wn. by TH. 279.

*19. n4. *North Walsham* (:walsɛm) (13 nne. Norwich) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. Baker, J.P. 272.

*19. n5. *Norwich* (1) wn. by TH. from a native living in Db., also 279; (2) street cries pal. by A.J.E. in 1867, p. 277; (3) wl. io. by Rev. G. P. Buck;

(4) various ex. pal. from dict. by A.J.E. from Dr. Lomb, 276, Mrs. Luscombe, 277, Anonymous passenger, 277, and from letter of Rev. T. Burningham, 277.

*19. o1. *Old Hunstanton* (13 nne. Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. o2. *Orington* (:ɔvɪŋtɛn) (12 nne. Thetford) wl. io. representing 3 n. and 3 ne. of Watton (11 ne. Thetford) by Rev. C. J. Evans, rect. 12 y., native of Norwich.

19. r. *Ringstead* (13 w-by-s. Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. Everard Kitton.

*19. s1. *Snettisham* (:snetʃɛm) (10 nne. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. s2. *Stanhoe* (:stɑːnɔ) (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea) full wl. pal. in 1877 by A.J.E., dt. pal. by A.J.E. 1879, both from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, 50 y., in 1877, but then rect. of Farham (10 wsw. Guildford, Sr.), with many notes and illustrations given me in two long visits, with an examination of Forby, 264 to 272; (2) wn. by TH. 272.

19. s3. *Stoke Ferry* (13 sse. King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

19. s4. *Stow* (9 ssw. King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. s5. *Swaffham* (13 se. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. t1. *Terrington St. Clements* (4 w. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. t2. *Thetford* wn. by TH. 279.

19. t3. *Tivetshall* (:tɪtsəl) (17 ene. Thetford) name noted by TH.

19. t4. *Tuttington* (12 n. Norwich) wl. io. by Rev. J. Gostle.

19. w1. *Walsingham* (:wɔːlziŋgɔm) (3 s. Wells-next-Sea) name noted by TH.

*19. w2. *Warham* (2 se. Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Rev. C. T. Digby, 264.

19. w3. *Watton* (11 nne. Thetford) wn. by TH.

19. w4. *Wells-next-Sea*, wn. by TH.

*19. w5. *Wiggenhall St. German's* (4 ssw. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. w6. *Witton* (9 se. Cromer) notes by Rev. F. Procter, vic.

*19. w7. *Wolferton* (6 nne. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. w8. *Wymondham* (:windɛm) (9 sw. Norwich) wn. by TH. 278.

25. Np. = Northamptonshire, 52 places in D 6, 16, 18.

*18. A1. *Ailesworth* (5 w. Peterborough) in Castor parish, wn. by TH. from a labourer b. 1808, p. 254.

*6. A2. *Ashby St. Legers* (3 n. Daventry) wn. by TH. from a native shepherd b. 1845, and another b. 1805, p. 120.

*6. B1. *Badby* (2¼ ssw. Daventry) wn. by TH. from persons b. 1807, and about 1831, p. 120.

16. B2. *Blisworth* (4 ssw. Northampton) note by TH.

*16. B3. *Brixworth* (6 n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. B4. *Byfield* (8 nne. Banbury) (1) from Rev. F. H. Curgenvin, rect. 4 or 5 y.; (2) wn. by TH. especially from a native farm waggoner, b. 1803, p. 120.

*18. C1. *Castor* (4½ w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

*16. C2. *Clay Coton* (6 w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. D1. *Daventry* (12 w-by-n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.

16. D2. *Denton* (6 ese. Northampton) wn. by TH.

16. D3. *Duston* (2 w. Northampton) from Rev. Peake Banton.

*16. E1. *East Haddon* (7 nw. Northampton) es. wds. and phr. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, railway porter, 213 to 216.

*18. E2. *Eye* (3 ne. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a carpenter, b. 1822, and a widow, a cottager, b. 1829, p. 254.

6. F. *Farthinghoe* (:fãrdhĩnoo) (5 e-by-s. Banbury) wn. by TH.

*16. G. *Great Houghton* (:ã'ut'n) (3 ese. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

16. H1. *Hackleton* (5 se. Northampton) wn. by TH.

*16. H2. *Hannington* (5 nw. Wellingborough) wl. dt. io. with lw. and aq. by Miss Downes, of the rectory, 216.

*16. H3. *Hardingstone* (2 sse. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

16. H4. *Hargrave* (9 ene. Wellingborough) dt. and notes from Rev. R. S. Baker, rect.

*16. H5. *Harrington* (:ãrintun) (5 w. Kettering) wl. and dt. io. by Hon. and Rev. H. F. Tollemache, rect., and Miss Tollemache, 217.

*6. H6. *Helmdon* (9 e-by-n. Banbury) wn. by TH., who says the dialect is similar to that of Towcester (which see), 120.

16. I1. *Irehester*, formerly (:ãã'tjĩstẽ),

now (:ãã'tjĩstẽ) (2 se. Wellingborough) wn. by TH.

*16. I2. *Islip* (:ã'ĩslĩp) (8 e. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

6. L1. *Long Buckley* (5 ne. Daventry) wn. by TH.

*16. L2. *Lower Benfield* (:benĩfĩld) (14 nnw. Wellingborough) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. E. M. Moore, rect., and Mr. C. H. Wykes, schoolmaster, and the dt. afterwards pal. by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Wykes and various wn. from the same, 218, 219.

*16. L3. *Lowick* (7 ene. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. N1. *Nether Heyford* (6 w-by-s. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. N2. *Northampton* (1) wn. by TH., and (2) notes from Miss Eva Chapman, of Whitelands, who knew the town speech only, 219.

*16. O. *Oundle* (12 ne. Kettering) (1) notes from Mr. J. Cunningham, Tansor Lodge, and Mr. H. St. John Reade, school house, (2) wn. by TH. 219.

*18. P1. *Peackirk* (5 n. Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

*18. P2. *Peterborough* notes of town pron. from Miss E. Furness, of Whitelands, and wn. by TH. 254.

*18. R. *Rockingham* (8 n. Kettering) wn. by TH. from a native, b. 1814, and others, 254.

*16. S1. *Sibbertoft* (3 n-by-w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.

6. S2. *Silverstone* (12 ssw. Northampton) wn. by TH.

6. S3. *Slapton* (11 sw. Northampton) dt. io. by Rev. Philip Lockton, rect.

*16. S4. *Stanion* (6 nne. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. S5. *Sudborough* (7 ene. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. S6. *Syersham* (11 e. Banbury) wn. by TH. 120.

18. T1. *Thornhaugh* (8 w-by-n. Peterborough) dt. io. from Rev. J. Jenkyns, rect.

*16. T2. *Thrapston* (8 e. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. T3. *Towcester* (8 ssw. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.

18. U. *Ufford* (7 nw. Peterborough) note by Rev. T. Paley, rect.

*18. W1. *Wakerley* (14 w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a farm labourer, b. 1806, p. 254.

*6. W2. *Watford* (5 nne. Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*6. w3. *Weedon* (4 se.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*16. w4. *Welford* (12 nne.Daventry) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. w5. *Wellingborough* wn. by TH. 219.

*18. w6. *Werrington* (3 nnw.Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

16. w7. *West Haddon* (7 ne.

Daventry) from Rev. G. L. W. Fauquier, vic.

6. w8. *Wood Burcote* (10 ssw.Northampton) wn. by TH.

*6. w9. *Woolford* (7 ssw.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*16. γ. *Yelvertoft* (∵∵∵∵) (8 nne.Daventry) wn. by TH. in 1886 from a farm waggoner, b. 1812, p. 219.

26. Nb.=Northumberland, 25 places in D 32.

32. a1. *Acklington* (∵∵∵∵) (7 sse.Alnwick) notes from Mr. Middleton H. David, Hauxley Cottage.

*32. a2. *Alnwick* (1) dt. io. from Rev. James Blythe; (2) dt. io. from Mr. R. Middlemas, solr., 654, 656, 668; (3) Alnwick vowels, by Mr. G. Thompson, 668.

32. a3. *Ancroft* (a'nkra'ft) (4 s. Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. io. and aq. from Rev. J. Henderson, 30 γ.

*32. b1. *Backworth* (5 ne.Newcastle) wl. by Mr. G. B. Foster, see Pitmen's speech, 674.

*32. b2. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, es. pal. by AJE., from Mr. G. M. Gunn, 645, 652.

*32. b3. *Birtley* (9 nnw.Hexham, spelled Birkley in the parish registers) wl. io. with notes by Rev. G. Rome Hall, 674.

32. d. *Doddington* (13 s.Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. and aq. from Mr. J. F. Rea, 17 γ.

*32. e. *Embleton* (6 ne.Alnwick) (1) dt. io. for the agricultural population by Rev. M. Creighton, vic.; (2) dt. io. for the fishing population up to Bamborough (14 n.Alnwick) by Rev. C. B. Green, both on 655, 656, 668.

*32. f. *Falstone* (19 nw.Hexham), note in 1878 by JGG. 644.

*32. h1. *Haltwhistle* (14 w.Hexham) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. W. Howchin, 654, 656, 664, No. 9.

*32. h2. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick) dt. io. and notes by Dr. F. T. Richardson, 654, 656, 664, No. 16.

*32. h3. *Hexham* dt. pal. in 1879 by AJE. from Messrs. J. Wright and Dobson, 654, 656, 663, Nos. 7 and 8.

*32. k. *Knaresdale* (17 sw.Hexham) es. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, 563, 602, No. 22.

32. m. *Morpeth* wn. by AJE.

*32. x1. *Newcastle-on-Tyne* es. pal. 1879 by AJE. from writing of Mr. W. H. Dawson, and reading of Mr. T. Mitcheson, and Mr. T. Barkas, and

conversations with J. Bryson and R. Young, miners, and Mrs. Ferschl, 645, 650, and dt. pal. 1879 by AJE. from Mr. W. Lyall, 654, 656, No. 12.

*32. n2. *North Shields* dt. pal. 1879, by AJE. from Mr. J. S. Edington, Symes Walk, 654, 656, No. 13.

*32. r. *Rothbury* (11 sw.Alnwick) (1) es. io. with aq. from Rev. Dr. Ainger, rect., written in 1873 from old men of 86 and 72, but it could not be properly interpreted even vv.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. C. H. Cadogan, Brenchburn Priory, Morpeth; (3) wn. February, 1879, by AJE. from J. Ramsey, procured by Dr. Ainger, 678; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. A. Scott, 654, No. 14.

*32. s1. *Saunter* (12 wsw.Alnwick) pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. Allen, of Whittingham, 654, No. 15, serving also for w3.

*32. s2. *Stamfordham* (∵sta'norton) (12 nw.Newcastle) dt. io. by Rev. J. F. Bigge, vic. 654, No. 10.

*32. t. *Tyne to Wansbeck Rivers*, that is, the coal-fields, for the Pitmen's speech by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (∵hʌmz'hʌft), 40 γ., revised by Rev. J. Taylor and Mr. W. B. Förster, see b1, p. 674.

*32. w1. *Warkworth* (6 se.Alnwick) dt. and wl. both pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. D. Ridley, 654, No. 17; *Ned White, a yarn*, pal. by AJE. from the same, 666; ewl. 678.

*32. w2. *Whalton* (5 sw.Morpeth) dt. io. by Rev. J. Walker, rect., from notes by Mr. R. Bewick, 654, No. 11.

*32. w3. *Whittingham* (7 w.Alnwick) (1) note by Rev. R. W. Goodenough, vic.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. W. Dixon, 655, No. 19, see also s1.

32. w4. *Woodhorn* (6 ene.Morpeth) notes by Rev. E. N. Mangin, vic.

*32. w5. *Wooler* (1) dt. io. by Mr. M. T. Culley, 655, No. 22; (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. Kirkup, 655, No. 22, and 669, No. 22.

27. Nt. = Nottinghamshire, 25 places, all in D 27.

27. B1. *Beckingham* (2 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. D. Hooke, vic.

*27. B2. *Bingham* (7 e.Nottingham) (1) lw. by Mrs. Miles of the Rectory; (2) part of a es. pal. in 1873 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Francis Miles, son of the rect. 449; (3) part of a es. pal. in 1879 by TH. from a native, 449; (4) wn. by TH. 450.

27. B3. *Blyth* (6 nne.Worksop) aq. from Rev. Ch. Gray, vic.

*27. B4. *Bulwell* (4 nnw.Nottingham) dt. pal. from a retired labourer by TH. 448.

*27. E1. *East Retford* (7 ene.Worksop) (1) dt. pal. by TH. from the lock-keeper at the Chesterfield Canal, 76, who had been there 44 years, and his father 56, p. 449; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) a note from Rev. A. J. Ebsworth, vic.

27. E2. *Eastwood* (8 nw.Nottingham) wn. by TH.

27. F. *Finningley* (7 ese.Doncaster, Yo.) wl. and aq. from Rev. G. H. Woodhouse, rect.

27. G. *Gringley* (5 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. G. H. Scott, vic.

27. K. *Kirkby-in-Ashfield* (4 sw.Mansfield) wn. by TH.

27. L. *Laxton* (10 nnw.Newark) wl. by Rev. H. A. Martin, 19 y.

*27. M1. *Mansfield* dt. and wn. pal. 1879 by TH. 448.

*27. M2. *Mansfield Woodhouse* (2 n.

Mansfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 448.

27. M3. *Mattersey* (9 ne.Worksop) wds. by Rev. J. M. Lewes.

27. M4. *Misson* (9 nw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. I. N. Baldwin, vic.

27. M5. *Misterton* (5 nnw.Gainsborough, L.) aq. from Rev. G. Swift, vic.

*27. N1. *Newark* dt. pal. by TH. from a butcher, native of Caunton (5 nw.Newark), 449, and wn. by TH.

27. N2. *North Carlton* (4 n.Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Foxley, rect.

27. N3. *North Wheatley* (12 nne.Worksop) from Rev. T. C. B. Chamberlain, vic.

*27. N4. *Nottingham* dt. pal. by TH. from a native of Widmerspool (7 sse.Nottingham), and wn. by TH. 450.

27. R1. *Ratcliffe* (4 e.Nottingham) full wl. io. by Rev. J. Cullen, vic. 4 y.

27. R2. *Kempstone* (9 s.Nottingham) wl. by Rev. G. Pope.

*27. S1. *Southwell* (5 w.Newark) wn. by TH. 450.

27. S2. *Sutton* (7 ne.Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Farmer, vic.

27. W1. *Walesby* (8 se.Worksop) lw. by Rev. R. Pocklington, vic.

*27. W2. *Worksop* dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from the porter at the canal wharf, 56, a native of Blyth, see B3, which he left at 9, and wn. from the same, 449.

28. Ox. = Oxfordshire, 22 places in D 5, 6, and 7.

5. A. *Alvescot* (:ælshut) (6 sw.Witney) wl. by Rev. F. C. Marshall, rect. 2 y., assisted by an unnamed lady who had been there all her life.

*6. B1. *Banbury* (1) es. by Mr. T. Beesley, 116; (2) lw. by his uncle, 118; (3) wn. by TH. 118; (4) dt. io. by Mrs. P. Bradshaw, jun., Wykham Mills. All (1, 2, 4) refer to about 6 m. round Banbury, encroaching on Ox., Bu., Wa., which belong to D 7.

*7. B2. *Blackthorn* (11 ne.Oxford) wd. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. Angelina Parker, 122, 127.

5. C1. *Charlbury* (:tʃɑ:lberi) (12 nw.Oxford) from Rev. C. F. West, vic.

5. C2. *Chastleton* (14 sw.Banbury) dt. io. from Miss Whitmore Jones, Chastleton House.

*5. D. *Ducklington* (:dak'lt'n) (1 s.Witney) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. W. D. Macray, rect. pal. vv. by TH., who noted other words from J. Brain, then 81, since deceased, 93.

7. E. *Ensham* or *Eynsham* (:ecnsem) (5 nw.Oxford) specimens from dict. in glossic from Rev. W. W. Skeat, sent me in MS. but afterwards printed in Mrs. Parker's Oxford Glossary, and wn. by TH.

*7. F1. *Freeland* (4 ene.Witney) wn. by TH. 127.

*7. F2. *Fringford* (:friŋkfɔ:rd) (15 nne.Oxford) wl. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Coker, 123.

*7. G. *Greys* (2 nw.Henley-on-Thames) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev.

N. Pinder, rect. 17 y., representing 10 m. round, 122.

*7. n1. *Handborough* (7 nw.Oxford) cs. and dt. glossic with many letters and explanations by Mrs. Angelina Parker, author of the Oxford Glossary, with wn. by TH. from Mrs. Parker, 123-128.

*7. n2. *Henley-on-Thames* (22 se. Oxford) from vicar, 235, where it is wrongly attributed to *Bu*.

*7. n3. *Holton* (5 e.Oxford) lw. glossic by Mrs. A. Parker, 127.

*7. i. *Islip* (5 n-by-e.Oxford) dt. io. by Mr. J. W. F. Walker, obtained by Mrs. Parker and wn. by TH. 127.

*5. l1. *Leafield* (4 nw.Witney) wn. from old natives by TH. 93.

5. l2. *Lew* (3 sw.Witney) wds. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. A. Parker.

5. m. *Milton* (8 nw.Witney) wn. from a working man by TH.

7. o. *Oxford City*, dt. io. by Mr. W. H. Allnutt, procured by Mrs. A. Parker, with notes by TH.

*7. s1. *Sonning* (4 ssw.Henley-on-Thames) dt. io. by Miss Slade, school-mistress, obtained by Mrs. A. Parker, 122.

7. s2. *Stonesfield* (5 nne.Witney) note by TH.

7. t. *Tiddington* (8 e.Oxford) note by TH.

*5. w. *Witney*, dt. by Mrs. A. Parker and TH. with wn. from natives by TH. 92, 93.

29. Ru. = Rutland, 5 places in D 18.

*18. c. *Cottesmore* (4 nne.Oakham) wl. and dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, to whom I was introduced by Miss Kemm (see Oakham), 255, 256.

18. e. *Empingham* (6 e.Oakham) from Rev. Lovick Cooper, rect.

*18. o. *Oakham* (:ou:kem) town, full wl. io. partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Kemm, native, a teacher

at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, 256.

*18. s. *Stretton* (7 ne.Oakham) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. Edward Bradley ("Cuthbert Bede") rect. 256.

18. v. *Uppingham* dt. and notes from Mr. H. Chandler, West Bank.

18. w. *Whitwell* (4 e.Oakham) lw. io. from Rev. J. Breechen, rect.

30. Sh. = Shropshire, 39 places in D 13, 14, 25, 28, 29.

14. b1. *Baschurch* (7 nw.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

29. b2. *Bolas Magna* (6 n.Wellington) wn. by TH.

14. b3. *Bridgenorth*, notes by TH.

*14. c1. *Church Pulverbach* (7 sw. Shrewsbury) (1) cs. in gl. by Miss G. Jackson, author of the *Shropshire Wordbook*: (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from her dict.; (3) lw. with pron. pal. from her dict.; (4) wds. taken from TH.'s account of the pron. prefixed to her Wordbook, and revised by her, with examples, 183 to 187.

14. c2. *Clee Hills* (7 ne.Ludlow) wn. by TH. with note on the verbal plural in *-en*.

13. c3. *Clun* (22 ssw.Shrewsbury) notes by TH.

*29. c4. *Coalbrookdale* (4 s.Wellington) dt. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, native, 472.

14. c5. *Corre Dale*, from Wenlock Edge to Ludlow, wn. by TH.

14. c6. *Craven Arms* (7 nw.Ludlow) wn. by TH.

29. c7. *Crudgington* (4 n-by-w. Wellington) wn. TH.

*29. e1. *Edmond* (6 ne.Wellington, 1½ w.Newport) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, and wn. 471, 476, 478.

*28. e2. *Ellesmere* (7 ne.Oswestry) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a native b. 1809, p. 452, 455.

14. f. *Ford* (5 w.Shrewsbury) nwl. from Miss Hawkins, Dinthill.

28. n1. *Hadnall* (4 n-by-e.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

*29. n2. *Hodnet* (:odnit) (10 nnw. Wellington) wn. by TH. 478.

*28. n3. *Hordley* (13 nnw.Shrewsbury) wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, rect. 455.

*29. i. *Ironbridge*, wn. by TH. 483.

14. l1. *Llanymynech* (15 wnw.S.) aq. on CB. by Rev. N. E. Price, rect.

14. l2. *Longville* (11 w.Bridgenorth) wn. by TH.

*28. l3. *Loppington* (:lopiten) (10 n. Shrewsbury) wl. by Rev. J. W. Davis, M.A., 25 y. p. 455.

*13. l4. *Ludlow* wn. by TH. 180.

*29. m1. *Madeley* (5 sse. Wellington) wn. by TH. 483.

*29. m2. *Market Drayton* (:drit'n) (17 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 476, 478.

14. m3. *Much Wenlock* (10 se. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. in 1880.

*29. n1. *Newport* (8 ne. Wellington) (1) full wl. io. by Mrs. Burne, Lovyn-ton Hall, Edgmond, whose daughter assisted Miss Jackson in her Sh. Word-book, and (2) wn. by TH. 478.

25. n2. *Norton-in-Hales* (20 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

14. o. *Oswestry* (:hodjstri) according to Rev. W. Walsham How, of Whittington, Sh.; wn. by TH.

25. p1. *Pipegate* (6 ne. Market Drayton, see m2, just on ne. horn of Sh.) wn. by TH.

28. p2. *Prees* (13 n-by-e. Shrewsbury) wl. by Ven. Archdeacon Allen, vic., 14 y.

*29. s1. *Shifnal* (7 ese. Wellington) wn. by TH. 483.

14. s2. *Shrewsbury* wn. by TH.

*28. t. *Upton Magna* (4 e. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

*29. w1. *Wellington* (:wel'iten) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a working man, 472, and wn. 483.

*28. w2. *Welsh Frankton* (3 sw. Ellesmere) wn. by TH. 455.

*28. w3. *Wem* (10 n-by-e. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

28. w4. *Witchurch* (18 nne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

14. w5. *Whittington* (2 ne. Oswestry) full wl. by Rev. W. Walsham How, 26 y.

*28. w6. *Whizall* (13 n. Shrewsbury) dt. io. with explanations from Rev. J. Evans, vic., a very old resident, but a Welshman, not a native, 452.

*28. y. *Yorton* (7 n. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 455.

31. Sm. = Somersetshire, 26 places in D 4 and 10.

*3. a. *Axe-Yarty* district by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, s.Sm. 87-89.

4. b1. *Bath*, es. gl. by Mr. C. Galbraith, written on the spot by a long resident, but when I, who had resided in Bath two years, attempted to pal. it, I was so often brought to a standstill, that I was only able to use it as a lw.

10. b2. *Bishop's Hull* (1 w-by-s. Taunton) es. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Wadham Williams, author of a glossary, but as he was a native of e.Sm. I have preferred Mr. Elworthy's version, see Wellington.

3. b3. *Burtle Turf Moor* (8 ne. Bridgewater to centre of Burtle Heath on the river Brue) wds. and phr. by Miss Westmacott, sent through Mr. F. H. Dickinson, of King's Weston, Somerton (4 ene. Langport).

*4. c1. *Castle Cary* (:keri) (10 se. Wells) wl. io. by Mr. Ross, resident above 80 y. 89.

4. c2. *Chard* (12 sse. Taunton) wl. by the late Rev. Henry Thompson, vic.

4. c3. *Chedzoy* (:tjɛdʒi) (2 e. Bridgewater) from Mr. G. Winter, resident 50 y.

*4. c4. *Combe Down* (:kuum) (2 s. Bath) wl. by Mr. C. Daubeny, The Brow, 89.

4. c5. *Compton Dando* (6 w. Bath) note by Rev. C. M. Christie, 4 months' resident.

4. c6. *Crewkerne* (11 s-by-e. Langport) dt. io. with notes by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman (d. 1880), author of "Rustic Sketches."

4. c7. *Croscombe* (3 e. Wells) wl. io. by Mr. James Rossiter.

4. e. *East Harptree* (12 sw. Bath), from Rev. C. H. Nutt, 25 y.

4. n. *High Ham* (3 n. Langport) from Rev. C. D. Crossman, 2½ y.

*4. l. *Langport* (:la'mpɔrt) words collected in 1877 from a native servant by Mrs. Dawes, then of Newton House, Surbiton, 89.

*4. m1. *Merriot* (9 s-by-e. Langport) es. and wl. by Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, 87, 88.

10. m2. *Milverton* (6 w. Taunton) es. io. by Mr. H. Randolph, surgeon, resident 42 y., procured for me by Dr. Prior (see Corsham, W1.). I have found it quite impossible to determine the pron. from this writing.

*4. m3. *Montacute* (:mɔn'ikju) (8 sse. Langport) pal. in 1880 by AJE. from Messrs. G. Mitchell and S. Price, 84-86.

4. n1. *Nailsea* (:nɔ'izi) (16 w-by-n. Bath) from Rev. J. Johnson, rect. 3½ y.

4. n2. *North Wootton* (2 se. Wells) from Rev. Owen B. Tyler, vic. 30 y.

4. s1. *Sutton Mallet* (4 e. Bridgewater) wds. by Rev. A. Yarranton, representing 7 e. Bridgewater, obtained by Miss Westmacott, and sent through

Mr. F. H. Dickinson, see Burtle Turf Moor.

4. s2. *Swanswick* (:swanzwik), the spelling Swainswick is a literary revival (2 ne.Bath), note by Rev. John Earle, rect. 20 y.

10. t. *Taunton* es. io. by Mr. Cecil Smith. I have found it impossible to determine the pron. from the spelling.

*4. w1. *Wedmore* (7 wnw.Wells) phr. procured from a friend by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, 89.

*10. w2. *Wellington* (6 wsw.Taunton) (1) pal. by A.J.E. in 1874, 1875, and 1885, from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, es. 148; (2) specimens 151 to 153,

ewl. 153; (3) from Mr. E.'s West Somerset Grammar, version of Ruth, chap. i. 698, No. 5.

West Somerset, see *Wellington*.

4. w3. *Wincanton* (15 se.Wells) pal. by J.G.G. from dict. of Mr. Roberts, native, who had known the dialect 30 y., but was then living at Newbiggin, Cu. On account of Mr. R.'s long residence in the North, this carefully pal. wl. was found untrustworthy, and could not be used.

*4. w4. *Worle* (2 ne.Weston-super-Mare) nwl. with long explanatory letter from Rev. W. F. Rose, vic., referring to the whole of nw.Sm. 90.

32. St.=Staffordshire, 51 places in D 25, 26, 29.

*26. a1. *Alstonefield* (:A¹rsfid) (9 e.Leek) including Narrowdale (2 n. Alstonefield) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

25. a2. *Alton* (:òut'n) (10 sse.Leek) wn. by TH.

25. a3. *Audley* (:E'idli) (6 nw. Stoke-upon-Trent) wl. io. and aq. from Mr. G. Till, 11 y., but notwithstanding explanations I was too uncertain of the meaning of his symbols to use it.

*29. b1. *Barton-under-Needwood* (5 sw.Burton-on-Trent) lw. by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst, 482, and pron. of a carol, 477.

25. b2. *Betley* (6 wnw.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wl. and dt. io. from Miss E. Tollet, from observation made, 1820-50.

25. b3. *Biddulph* (:bid'l) (9 n.Stoke) wds. from Rev. F. Elmes.

25. b4. *Blythe Marsh* (7 se.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. b5. *Bradley* (4 ssw.Stafford) wl. and phrases io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vic.

*25. b6. *Burslem* (3 n.Stoke) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of one native, and corrections by another, and wn. 414, 422.

*29. b7. *Burton-on-Trent* dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 471, and wn. and exs. 477, cwl. 482.

*29. c1. *Cannock Chase* (e. of Cannock Town c2, and w. of Lichfield) es. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 463, and wn. 480.

*29. c2. *Cannock Town* (9 sse.Stafford) wn. on a market day by TH. 480.

25. c3. *Cheadle* (:tind'l) (9 ese. Stoke) wl. by Rev. R. Watt, rect., and wn. by TH.

*29. c4. *Codsall* (5 nw. Wolverhampton) just on b. of Sh., wl. by Mr. E. Viles, of Codsall Wood, 484, and dt. pal. by TH. from a man of 69.

*29. d1. *Darlaston* (3 wsw.Walsall) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 472, and also the anecdote of the Wake Beer pal. by TH. 478, and wn. 461, 484.

25. d 2. *Denston* (12 sse.Leek) wn. by TH.

*29. e1. *Eccleshall* (7 nw.Stafford) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. 471, 476, 478.

29. e2. *Enville* (10 ssw.Wolverhampton) wl. by Mr. E. Bennett, of the Schoolhouse, which is close by the b. of Sh. Wa. and St.

*26. f1. *Flash* (7 mne.Leek) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438, additional ex. 441, and wn. 444.

*25. f2. *Frogghall* (9 e.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. h1. *Hanbury* (6 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. and part of a dt. pal. by TH. 482.

*29. h2. *Haughton* (4 sw.Stafford) wn. by TH. in 1882 from Powell, b. 1798, and his wife, the latter a native, and says there is no difference between the speech of Bradley and that of Haughton, 477, 480.

*29. h3. *Hopwas* (:òp'wz) (2 wnw. Tamworth) wn. by TH. 482.

*25. l1. *Leek*, dt. and wn. by TH. 411, 422.

*25. l2. *Leek Frith* (4 n.Leek) wn. by TH. 422.

29. l3. *Leigh* (11 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.

*29. l4. *Lichfield*, wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 472, 482.

*25. l5. *Longport* (2 n.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH. 422.

25. l6. *Longton* (3 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.

25. m. *Mudeley* (4 wsw.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. n. *Norborough* (7 w-by-n. Burton-on-Trent) nwl. by Rev. J. P. Wright, vic. 8 months.

25. o. *Oakamoor* (12 e.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

*26. r. *Rocster* (15 ese.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422, 444.

25. s1. *Shelton* (1 n.Stoke) full wl. by Dr. J. B. Davis, F.R.S., F.S.A., materially assisted by Mr. Levi Stanway, Registry St., Stoke, and wn. by TH.

29. s2. *Stafford*, wn. by TH.

25. s3. *Stoke-upon-Trent* and neighbouring villages, wn. by TH.

26. s4. *Stoke Gutter Farm*, about 5 ne.Leek, on the way from Leek to Flash and past the Roaches, wn. by TH. shewing the division between D 25 and D 26.

29. s5. *Stone* (:stuum) (7 s.Stoke) wn. by TH.

29. s6. *Stretton* (8 ssw.Stafford) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vic.

*29. t1. *Tamworth*, wn. by TH. 482.

*25. t2. *Tunstall* (4 nw.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. t3. *Tutbury* (4 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. by TH. 482.

29. u1. *Upper (or Over) Arley* (13 sw.Dudley, Wo.) note by Rev. C. J. Wilding, vic., who said there was only one St. man resident there.

29. u2. *Uttoxeter* (12 ne.Stafford) wn. by TH.

*29. w1. *Walsall* wn. by TH. 461, 478, 484.

*29. w2. *Wednesbury* (3 sw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. w3. *West Bromwich* (5 ssw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. w4. *Willenhall* (3 e.Wolverhampton) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

25. w5. *Wolstanton* (:uuns'ten) (1 ne.Newcastle-under-Lyme) nwl. by Mr. W. Field, Brighton Road School, Croydon.

*29. w6. *Wolverhampton*, wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. w7. *Wootton* (1½ ssw.Eccleshall) wn. by TH. 478.

*29. y. *Yorall* (6 ne.Lichfield) wn. by TH. from a native, 482.

33. Sf. = Suffolk, 12 places in D 19.

19. b1. *Boyton* (13 e-by-n.Ipswich) note from Rev. G. C. Hoste, rect.

19. b2. *Bradwell* (:bried'l) (7 mw.Lowestoft) note by Rev. J. Walker, rect., "13 years resident, but does not profess acquaintance with the dialect."

*19. f. *Framlingham* (13 ne.Ipswich) es. pal. in 1880 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough, 279.

*19. g1. *Great Bealings* (4 ne.Ipswich) wn. by TH. 281.

19. g2. *Great Finborough* (:finbrə) (10 se.Bury St. Edmunds) full wl. io. by Rev. W. V. Kitching, 16 y.

19. h. *Hemingstone* (6 n.Ipswich) lw. by Rev. T. Brown, rect. 54 y., who says: "what between railroads and education the Sf. dialect is fast dying out."

*19. o. *Orford* (:aafbd) (4 sw.Aldborough) including Sudbourne (1 n.Orford) and neighbourhood, dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, 285.

*19. p. *Pakenham* (5 ene.Bury St. Edmunds), pal. in 1873 and 1886 by AJE. from dict. of Rev. C. W. Jones, vic. native, 287.

*19. s1. *Southwold* (11 ssw.Lowestoft), full wl. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallett, teacher at Whitelands, native, 281.

19. s2. *Stowmarket* (13 ese.Bury St. Edmunds) lw. partly in gl. by Mr. E. S. Bewley, 15 y.

19. v. *Ufford* (10 ne.Ipswich) wl. io. by Mr. F. C. Brooke, 60 y.

19. y. *Yarley* (20 ene.Bury St. Edmunds) notes in 1873 from Rev. H. Sewell, vic.

34. Sr. = Surrey, 13 places in D 5, 8.

*5. c1. *Charlwood*, called (:tɹɒləd) by old people, (6 ssw.Reigate) wl. and ex. io. by Rev. T. Burningham, then rect., more than 50 y., 109.

*8. c2. *Chertsey* (18 w.Croydon) from Rev. R. Marshall Martin, 3 y., 130.

*8 c3. *Chobham* (8 mw.Guildford) note by Rev. J. J. Jewan, vic., more than 50 y., 130.

*8. c4. *Croydon* wl. by Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, Duppas Hill, 11 y., 130.

5. e1. *Elstead* (:ælsted) (7 sw.

Guildford) from Rev. I. R. Charlesworth, rect.

5. E2. *Echurst* (8 se. Guildford) notes by Rev. J. Mount Barlow, rect.

5. G1. *Godalming* (4 sw. Guildford) note from Mr. J. W. Sharpe, Charterhouse.

5. G2. *Godstone* (9 sse. Croydon) wl. by Rev. G. T. Hoare.

5. H. *Haslemere* (12 sw. Guildford) note by Mr. T. J. Ellis.

*8. L. *Leatherhead* (7 nw. Reigate) note in a letter from Mr. Alfred W. T. Martel to LLB. 130.

*5. o. *Oekley* (8 sw. Reigate) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, of Whitelands, and of Miss M. A. Firth, 109 (where the name is misprinted 'Forth'), and lw. and notes from Rev. T. P. du Sautoy, Oxford, rect., 12 y.

*5. s. *Stoke* (1 n. Guildford) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Slyfield, of Whitelands, 109.

*5. w. *Weald of Surrey* s. of Reigate; the Weald extends into Kent and Sussex, nwl. and dt. io. by Dr. Clair Jas. Grece, Redhill, Reigate, 109.

35. Ss. = Sussex, 19 places in D 5, 8.

9. A. *Ashburnham* (:eshbʉrɛm) (10 nne. Eastbourne) note from Rev. J. R. Munn, vic. 50 y.

9. B1. *Battle* (6 nww. Hastings), wn. by TH.

5. B2. *Bolney* (:booni) (12 n-by-w. Brighton) lw. and notes by Mr. Alfred Huth.

9. B3. *Brighton*, wn. by TH.

5. C1. *Compton* (8 nw. Chichester) note from Rev. Harry Peckham, 25 y.

*8. C2. *Cuckfield* (9 se. Horsham) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss A. Sayers, of Whitelands, 134; (2) wd. by Archd. Fearon, native.

5. E1. *Eartham* (:arthem) (5 ne. Chichester) note by Rev. E. Kelly, vic.

*9. E2. *Eastbourne*, wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Francis, of Whitelands, 134.

9. E3. *Etchingam* (18 ne. Eastbourne) note by Rev. W. H. Eley, rect.

5. K. *Kirdford* (:kaafu'd), a nearly extinct pron. (10 w-by-s. Horsham), wl. by Miss Cole, of the rectory.

9. L1. *Leasam* or *Leesham* (8 ne. Hastings) wl. from Miss Bessie Curteis.

9. L2. *Leves*, name noted by TH.

*9. M. *Markly* (8 nww. Battle) dt. with aq. and notes by Miss Anne M. Darby, 133.

9. P. *Pasingworth* (:paes'nweth), wrongly spelled on p. 131, l. 4, but rightly l. 14 (14 nww. Eastbourne and 4 e. Uckfield), notes from Mr. Louis Huth, Pasingworth Hawkhurst.

*9. S. *Selmeston* (8 nw. Eastbourne) dt. io. by Rev. W. D. Parish, author of the Sussex Glossary, 133.

5. T. *Twincham* (10 nww. Brighton) from Rev. W. Molyneux, rect.

9. W1. *Weald of Sussex* (n. Brighton) lw. from Mr. Somers Clarke, jun., Belgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W., 30 y.

5. W2. *West Wittering* (6 sw. Chichester) from Rev. W. D. Underwood, vic.

*5. W3. *Wisborough Green* (8 wsw. Horsham) lw. from Rev. W. A. Bartlett, vic. 109.

36. Wa. = Warwickshire, 23 places in D 6, 29.

*29. A1. *Allesley Gate* (4 w. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. A2. *Atherstone* (12 n. Coventry) es. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. R. S. Knight, 14 y., 464, and wn. by TH. 487.

6. B1. *Bearley* (4 nww. Stratford-on-Avon) wn. by TH. shewing southern speech.

*29. B2. *Bedworth* (5 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. B3. *Birmingham*, often (:brom-udɛm, bru- brɛ-) full wl. by Mr. Samuel Timmins, 488.

*29. B4. *Brandon* (5 ese. Coventry)

wn. by TH. from a native then at Leamington, 487.

*29. B5. *Bulkington* (6 ne. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native and his mother, in whose lifetime the pron. had changed, 487.

*6. B6. *Butler's Marston* (:maas'n) and 6 miles round (10 s-by-e. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. E. Miller, 115.

*6. C1. *Claverdon* (5 w. Warwick) wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 114.

*29. C2. *Coventry* refined town speech, wn. by TH. 487.

*29. C3. *Curdworth* (:kɛrdɛth) (7 ne. Birmingham) wl. and dt. io. by

Mr. J. Montague Dormer, Dunton Hall, Minworth (:mɪnʊθ), 28 y. 488.

*29. E. *Elmdon* (7 ese. Birmingham) wl. by Mr. F. J. Mylins, of the rectory, 488.

*6. κ1. *Kineton* (:kjɪntən) by working men, (:kɑɪntɪn) by the middle class (9 s-by-e. Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 115.

6. κ2. *Knowle* (10 nw. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. J. Howe, vic. 40 y.

*29. L. *Leamington* (2 e. Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 488.

*29. N. *Nuneaton* (9 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*6. π1. *Pillerton Priors* (7½ se. Stratford-on-Avon), now united with Pillerton Hersee to form one parish, wn. by TH. from a native labourer, b. 1819, 115.

*29. ρ2. *Polesworth* (14 n-by-w. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1879 from

elderly resident natives and habitual dialect speakers, 487.

29. s1. *Saltley* (2 ene. Birmingham), a mere suburb, wn. by TH. from people in the street.

29. s2. *Sherborne* (3 ssw. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. W. Grice, shewing practically rec. pron.

*6. s3. *Stratford-on-Avon* (1) es in so. by Mr. G. H. Tomline, schoolmaster, made for LLB. who passed it on to AJE., who did not succeed in palaeotyping it; (2) wn. by TH. in 1880, 115.

*6. τ. *Tysoe* (11 se. Stratford-on-Avon) (1) wl. by Mrs. Francis, of the vicarage, completed from dict. by TH.; (2) wn. by TH. in 1886 principally from a man b. 1802, and his wife b. 1809, p. 115.

*29. w. *Warwick* wn. by TH., the general effect on the ear being quite Midland, 488.

37. We. = Westmoreland, 10 places, all in D 31.

31. A. *Appleby* es. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Holme, native of Orton (9 ssw Appleby), several years in Mr. Richardson's school at Appleby, representing m. We. This careful work, over which Mr. Holme and I spent much time in 1873, has been entirely superseded by JGG.'s work.

*31. c1. *Casterton* (10 se. Kendal, and 2 ne. Kirkby Lonsdale) es. pal. 1875 by JGG. from a native, 558, 563, 597*d'*, No. 6.

*31. c2. *Crosby Ravensworth* (6 sw. Appleby) pal. 1875 by JGG. from dictation of Mr. J. Dover, 560, 563, 599*d*, No. 13, 633.

*31. κ1. *Kendal* (1) es. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Brown, 559, 563, No. 9; (2) wl. in glossic by Mr. J. Brown himself.

*31. κ2. *Kirkby Stephen* (9 sse. Appleby) pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict.

of Mr. Joseph Steel, 560, 563, 599, 633, No. 12.

*31. L. *Long Sleddale* (6 n. Kendal) es. pal. 1875 by JGG. from dict. of Rev. T. Clarke, 559, 563.

*31. M. *Milburn* (5 nnw. Appleby) es. and wl. pal. by JGG. while residing there two years with the assistance of natives, 561, 563, 599, 633.

*31. o. *Orton* (11 ne. Kendal) (1) es. pal. by JGG. from dict. of J. Dover, 560, 563; (2) wl. io. by Rev. C. Holme, superseded like A. by the work of JGG.

31. s. *Shap* (9 wsw. Appleby) note by JGG. that Mr. Hindson, of Kirkby Lonsdale, b. 1800, remembered hearing (kh, kəh) in use near this place in 1818.

*31. τ. *Temple Sowerby* (6 nnw. Appleby) es. pal. by JGG., and finally revised 1877 from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, 561, 563, 599, 633.

38. Wl. = Wiltshire, 18 places, all in D 4.

4. A. *Aldbourne* (:aabʊrn) (8 se. Swindon) wl. io. from Mr. T. H. Chandler, jun., who spent the greater part of his youth there.

4. c1. *Cubne* (6 n. Devizes) (1) nwl. Rev. G. H. Wayte, Bonehill, Tamworth, 30 y.; (2) nwl. Rev. W. Wayte, 30 y., his brother.

*4. c2. *Chippenham* (8 nnw. Devizes)

from JGG., *Hornet and Beetle*, 51, cwl. 54.

*4. c3. *Christian Malford* (10 nnw. Devizes) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Arthur Law, es. 44; phrases, 48; cwl. 49.

4. c4. *Corsham* (7 n. Trowbridge) from Dr. R. C. A. Prior, Halse House, Taunton, es. pal. from dict. by

AJE. Dr. Prior introduced AJE. to Rev. A. Law, whose cs., p. 44, superseded this one.

4. c5. *Corsley* (8 ssw.Trowbridge) from Mrs. G. M. E. Campbell, Corsley House, 50 y., wl. io. and notes.

4. d. *Damerham* (:dæm·værum) (9 s. Wilton) wl. io. by Rev. W. Owen, vic., assisted by his schoolmaster, a native.

4. e. *East Knoyle* (13 w.Wilton) wl. from Rev. R. N. Milford, rect., 12 y.

4. k. *Kemble* (4 sw.Cirencester, Gl.) wn. by TH.

4. m. *Maddington* (:mæd'nton maant'n) (7 n.Wilton) wl. io. from Rev. Canon Bennett, vic. of Shrewton (1 n.Maddington).

4. o. *Oreheston* (:æs'n) *St. George* (10 sse.Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. Gorges Paulin Lowther, rect., from 70 y. to 80 y., then 85.

4. p. *Purton* (5 nw.Swindon) (1) wl. io. for 4 m. round by Major Purton, Purton House; (2) wn. by TH.

4. s1. *Salisbury* (3 w-by-s.Wilton) to *Warminster* (16 nw.Wilton) (1) wl. io. 1877 by Mr. T. H. Chandler, Rowde; (2) dt. 1879 written from his dict. by his son.

4. s2. *Secund* (4 w.Devizes) wl. io. by Rev. A. B. Thynne, vic.

4. s3. *Sopworth* (:zæp'vuth) (18 n. Trowbridge) wl. io. for 4 m. west and 10 m. east of Swindon, by Rev. Joseph Buckley, rect.

*4. t. *Tilshcad* (8 sse.Devizes) from Miss L. H. Johnson, *Hoektying* and dt. 58, cwl. 59.

4. w. *Wilton* wl. and dt. by Mr. Edward Slow, coachbuilder, and constant resident.

4. y. *Yatesbury* (:zætsbəri) (7 nne. Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. A. C. Smith, rect., 50 y.

39. Wo. = Worcestershire, 25 places in D 6, 13, 29.

*6. a. *Abberley* (8 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. b1. *Bengeworth* (a suburb of Evesham on the opposite side of the Avon) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. b2. *Bewdley* (:biæ'udli) 3 sw.Kidderminster) wn. in 1880-1-2 by TH. especially from a nonagenarian, about 94, full of vivacity, reading and sewing without spectacles, when young a maker and seller of ling brooms, 113.

6. b3. *Birt's Morton* (6 s.Great Malvern) wn. from a native by TH.

*29. c. *Cradley* (:kreedli) (9 ne. Kidderminster) wn. from native hop-pickers by TH. 485.

*6. d1. *Droitwich* (6 ne-by-n. Worcester) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. d2. *Dudley* (on an island of Wo. locally in St.) cs. by Mr. R. Woolf, procured by LLB. 463, 464.

6. d3. *Dunley* (5 ssw.Kidderminster, between Abberley and Stourport) wn. by TH.

13. e1. *Eastham* (10 sw.Kidderminster) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. H. Browne, rect., see Tenbury.

*6. e2. *Eldersfield* (9 s. Great Malvern) wn. in 1880 by TH. from a native b. 1801, left at 13 and resided since in n.Wo. 113.

6. e3. *Evesham*, dt. and wn. by TH. from a market gardener.

*6. g1. *Great Malvern*, wn. by TH. 113.

*6. g2. *Great Witley* (9 sw. Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. h1. *Hagley* (6 ene.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 485.

*6. h2. *Hanbury* (6 wsw.Redditch) dt. and wn. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, of Whitelands, native, 112, 113.

6. h3. *Hartlebury* (3 sse.Kidderminster) dt. with aq. from the Misses Haviland, of the rectory, and wn. by TH.

6. k. *Kidderminster*, wn. by TH. from natives.

*6. m. *Malvern Wells and Link*, wn. by TH. see Gt. Malvern, 113.

*6. s1. *Salwey* (8 sw.Redditch) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native, 113.

*29. s2. *Selly Oak* (14 ene.Kidderminster) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Sadler, of Whitelands, a native, and wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, 485.

*29. s3. *Stourbridge* (6 ne.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who found the speech quite Mid. 485.

6. s4. *Stourport* (4 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who said the speech had "the southern ring."

13. t. *Tenbury* (:tembəri) (16 wsw. Kidderminster) dt. io. by Miss Sweet (now Mrs. Chamberlain), author of "A Glossary of West Worcestershire Words with Glossic Notes by TH.,"

and wn. by TH. in 1880 from Miss Sweet and others. [This was accidentally omitted in giving the account of D 13.]

6. v. *Upton Snodbury* (6 e. Worcester) note per Rev. J. Wright, vic.

*6. w. *Worcester* (1) dt. pal. by TH. 112; (2) wn. by TH. 113.

40. Yo. = Yorkshire, 93 places in D 24, 30, 31.

24. A. *Armitage Bridge* (:éeemtíd) (2 s. Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. Thomas Brooke, 45 y.

24. B1. *Barnborough* (6 w. Doncaster) pe. from Rev. Wilmot W. Ware, rect.

*24. B2. *Barnsley* dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 403.

24. B3. *Birkenshaw* (7 sw. Leeds) wn. by TH.

*31. B4. *Black Burton* or *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, Yo. (32 nw. Keighley) on b. of La., on the Greta, Seward's Dialogue translated by Mr. J. Powley, and pal. by JGG. 608 to 616, also cwl. 619.

*24. B5. *Bradford* (1) es. written in gl. by CCR. 367, notes 390; (2) words from Preston's Poems, 391; (3) wn. by TH.

24. B6. *Brotherton* (3 nne. Pontefract) pe. from Rev. G. Haslam, vic.

*30. B7. *Burton Constable* (7 ssw. Hornsea) wn. by TH. incidentally mentioned on the middle of p. 501.

Burton-in-Lonsdale, see *Black Burton*.

*24. C1. *Calverley* (6 wnw. Leeds) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 390.

24. C2. *Campsall* (6 nww. Doncaster) pe. from Rev. Edwin Castle, vic.

*31. C3. *Cautley*, a hamlet in the township of Sedberg (41 nw. Keighley), on b. of We., (1) es. pal. 1876 by JGG., used as variants to the es. for Sedberg, notes No. 8, p. 559, 598; (2) portion of a wl. pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Law, then 60, a regular old dalesman, in whose house JGG. lived some weeks, left incomplete.

*31. C4. *Chapel-le-dale* (29 nw. Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. 619.

31. C5. *Clapham* (16 n. Clitheroe, La.), extracts from a es. pal. 1887 by TH. from W. Metcalfe, native.

Daere, see *Lower Nidderdale*, p. 500.

*30. D1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* (15 se. Middlesborough) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527.

*31. D2. *Dent town* (27 n-by-w. Clitheroe, La., 12 ese. Kendal, We.) es. and wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, es. 558, 563, 598, cwl. 630.

*24. D3. *Dewsbury* (6 w. Wakefield) (1) es. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367, 404; (2) es. io. by Mr. M. Ridgway, 37 y., sent to LLB., who communicated it to AJE., with CCR.'s notes on his orthography.

*24. D4. *Doncaster*, wl. pal. by AJE. 1877 and 1882 from Dr. John Sykes, who kindly came to town twice for the purpose, 406.

30. D5. *Drax* (5 nw. Goole) 2 pe. from Rev. S. H. Hooper, vic.

30. E1. *East Haddlesey* (11 wnw. Goole) pe. and letter from Rev. J. N. Worfield, rect.

*24. E2. *East Hardwick* (2 s. Pontefract) pe. from Rev. G. Eel, vic.; alluded to, 405d.

*30. E3. *East Holderness*, se. Yo. dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Stead, 522.

*24. E4. *Elland* (3 sse. Halifax) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 384.

*31. G1. *Giggleswick* ($\frac{1}{2}$ w. Settle, 19 n. Buruley, La.) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

*24. G2. *Golear* (2 w. Huddersfield), see 377d.

*30. G3. *Goole* and *Marshland* dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, 522.

30. H1. *Hackness* (5 w. Scarborough) wl. io. from Rev. Thomas Cheese.

*24. H2. *Halifax* (1) es. written in gl. by CCR. 367; notes 384; (2) Parable of the Prodigal Son translated by CCR. in Part. IV. pp. 1400 to 1405; (3) wn. by TH.; (4) cwl. from J. Crabtree, 383.

30. H3. *Hatfield* (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ne. Doncaster) pe. and letter from Rev. G. Haydon, vic.

Hawes, see *Upper Wensleydale*, v6, below.

24. H4. *Haworth* (3 sw. Keighley) wn. by TH.

*30. H5. *Holderness* district, forming se. Yo. from Hull to Spurnhead, and n. to Bridlington: (1) es. pal. by AJE. from Rev. Henry Ward, 501, 502, 518, who also gave me a version of *Launce and Speed*, not used. The assistance of Rev. H. Ward was obtained by the late Rev. J. R. Green, the historian;

(2) dt. for East Holderness, see above e3; (3) cwl. made from wl. furnished by Messrs. R. Stead, F. Ross, and T. Holderness, the three authors of the Holderness Glossary, 532; (4) TH.'s visits to examine (thr- dhr-) and absence of article, 501.

*24. n6. *Holmfirth* (6 s.Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. A. Beardsell, 40 y., 380.

*30. n7. *Hornsea*, TH.'s examination of (thr- dhr-), 501*b*, e.

*31. n8. *Horton-in-Ribblesdale* (19 n-by-e.Clitheroe, La., 21 ene.Lancaster, between Ingleborough and Penyghent Hills) wl. pal. by JGG. from a native, 619.

*31. n9. *Howgill* (8 ene.Kendal, We.) wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from Mr. Best, a native, who called on AJE. also, 630.

*24. n10. *Huddersfield* (:udvzfil, :udhezfil) (1) es. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 378; (2) wl. by Messrs. Dowse & Tomlinson, and Miss Mercy Hibbard, 380.

*30. n11. *Hull* (1) wn. by TH. 501*b*, e; (2) wl. io. by Rev. Canon Simmons, Dalton Holme (:daat'n :oom, :al).

*31. n12. *Hurst* (8 w.Richmond) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

31. r. *Ilkley* (5 nne.Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. from dictation of Mrs. Best, not used.

*24. κ. *Keighley* (:kiikjhli, :kiithli) (1) es. written in gl. by CCR 367; notes 386; (2) fragments of a es. pal. in 1887 from a native by TH. 385; (3) wl. pal. by JGG. from Mrs. Foster, 387; (4) wl. io. by Mr. Septimus Brigg, for town of Keighley and up the valley of the Aire as far as Bradford (6 nww.Keighley), misprinted Bradford, 387.

*31. l1. *Laithkirk* (20 nw.Richmond) es. and wl. io. by Rev. W. Robinson Bell, vic., interpreted by a cwl. by JGG. pal. from dict., this applies to the nw. horn of Yo. 624.

*24. l2. *Leeds* (1) es. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367; notes, 396; (2) refined town form, 396; (3) full wl. written in glossic, 397.

*30. l3. *Leven* (6 wsw.Hornsea) wn. by TH. described p. 501*b*, e.

*30. l4. *Lofthouses*, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 500.

*30. l5. *Lower Nidderdale*, containing Lothouses (16 nw.Harrogate), Ramsgill (14 nw.H.), Pateley Bridge (11 nw.H.), Greenhow Hill (10 nw.H.),

Dacre (8 nw.H.), es. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516.

*24. m1. *Manningham*, suburb of Bradford, wn. by TH. shewing use of (u) 365, which Dr. Wright thinks to be a mistake, 389.

*30. m2. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n) (9 w.Beverley) (1) es. io. by Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, who also gave specimens; (2) another es. by Mr. H. Dove; (3) glossic transcription by CCR.; (4) es. and wl. pal. 1877 by AJE. from reading of Rev. J. Jackson Wray, es. 501, 502, 517; spec. 497, 498; cwl. 529.

*24. m3. *Marsden* (7 sw.Huddersfield) (1) nwl. by the curate (unnamed), assisted by Mr. R. Bamford, School Terrace; (2) printed specimen sent by Mr. Adshead, then of Pendleton, La.; (3) dt. and wn. by TH. 379, 380.

Marshland, see *Goole* at 63.

*31. m4. *Middlesmoor* (14 w-by-n. Ripon) es. written in gl. by CCR., a portion given under Upper Nidderdale, 544.

*30. m5. *Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, es. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 513 (repeated 557, 563), and full wl. also written in gl. by CCR. 523.

*30. m6. *Moors, The*, meaning Whitby, Malton, Pickering (7 n-by-e. Malton), or the east part of North Riding, dt. io. by Rev. J. Thornton, vic. of Aston Abbot, Aylesbury, 519.

Maker, see *Upper Swaledale*, 55, below.

*30. n1. *New Malton* es. written in gl. by CCR. considered a subdistrict of his Mid Yo., see above m5, 499 last line, 500, 502, 516.

North Craven, see above, *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, r4; *Chapel-le-dale*, c4; *Horton-in-Ribblesdale*, n8.

*30. n2. *North East Coast*, district defined, p. 500, No. 8, es. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 517.

*30. n3. *North Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, No. 3, es. written in gl. by CCR. 502, notes 515; this is for the ordinary rural speech; CCR. gave also a es. in refined rural form.

31. n4. *North of Richmond*, refined phase, es. written in gl. by CCR., apparently as a reminiscence of the pron. of an individual mentioned in CCR.'s Leeds Glossary, p. xiii; being a refined form, it is omitted here, as was the refined form in n3 above. The peasant speech of which this was a refinement was probably the same as that of Laithkirk above, l1. It is

made remarkable by the frequent use of (ə) as (ǣt nət tə bɪ rəq əv sə'iken ə pəʊnt əz dhɪs) ought not to be wrong of = on such a point as this, (lǣ'in sɪ rɪtɪt ət wəʊl lɪqth ətəp: ə)t' grəʊ'ænd flʊəs bɪvɪ't' uns dəər ɪv ɪz gəʊ'ʊd səəndə kəət dəə'ʊm ət kænər ə jən ləən) lying stretched at whole length atop of the ground close by the house door in his good Sunday coat at corner of yon lane.

*24. o. *Osset* (4 w. Wakefield) wn. by TH 365.

Puteley Bridge, see *Lower Nidderdale*.

30. p. *Poeklington* (12 e-by-s. York) (1) wl. io. by Miss Lucy Singleton, Great Givendale House; (2) full wl. io. by Dr. T. Wilson, more than 60 y.

Ramskill, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 15 above.

*31. r1. *Richmond* wl. io. by Mr. George Bell, noticed p. 544a.

30. r2. *Ripon to Thirsk* (taking parts of CCR.'s Mid and North Mid Yo., above m5 and s3), wl. io. by Mrs. Lloyd, Hazeleroff, Ripley (7 s. Ripon).

24. r3. *Ripponden* (5 sw. Halifax) wn. by TH. from two shepherds.

24. r4. *Rossington* (4 se. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. J. W. Scarlett, rect.

*24. r5. *Rotherham*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 404.

24. r6. *Roundhay* (3 ne. Leeds) nwl. by Mr. F. M. Lupton, 27 y. from birth.

*24. s1. *Saddleworth* wl. io. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 380.

*31. s2. *Sedberg* (31 w. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from diet. 559, 563, 598.

30. s3. *Selby* (10 nw. Goole) pc. from Rev. F. W. Harper, vic.

*24. s4. *Sheffield* (1) cs. so. by Prof. Parkes, procured through JAHM. and friends, 367, 405; (2) notes on vowels, 405.

30. s5. *Skeffling* (4 se. Patrington, near Spurn Head) wl. io. from Rev. H. Maister, vic., all his life.

*30. s6. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* (16 nww. Whitby) dt. io. with long notes by Mr. I. Wilkinson, read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (3 sse. Skelton), 519, 521.

*31. s7. *Skipton* (8 nw. Keighley) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts, 544; (2) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. 548.

*24. s8. *Slaiithwaite* (4 sw. Huddersfield), see 377, var. i.

*30. s9. *Snaiith* (6 w-by-s. Goole) (1)

wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Norman, 533; (2) pc. from Rev. C. E. Stores, vic.

*30. s10. *South Ainsty*, defined 499 No. 2, cs. written in gl. by Mr. R. Stead and pal. by AJE. 499, 502, 514 No. 2.

*30. s11. *South Cleveland* district defined 500, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516 No. 7, the n. Cleveland has been spoiled dialectally by the iron works.

24. s12. *South Ovrām* (1½ se. Halifax) wn. by TH. has only (v) as noted, 365.

*30. s13. *Sutton* (3 nne. Hull) dt. io. by Mr. E. French, then of the lead works, 167 Church St., Hull, see Ch. f. 522.

*30. s14. *Swine* (5 nne. Hull) wn. by TH. from a native of Hull, who had resided 20 or 30 years at Swine, alluded to, 501 b, c.

24. r1. *Thornton* (5 n. Halifax) wn. by TH.

24. r2. *Tieckhill* (7 s. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Charles Bury, vic.

*31. r1. *Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*24. r2. *Upper Cumberworth* (6 sse. Huddersfield) dt. and wn. pal. 1881 by TH. from diet. 380.

*31. r3. *Upper Mining Dales*, i.e. Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. r4. *Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. r5. *Upper Swaledale* or *Muker* (16 w-by-s. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from many natives 557 (where it is called *Upper Swaledale*), 563, 595 (where it is called *Muker*), extracts 544, and ewl. also by JGG. 619; JGG. likewise gave a translation of *Launce and Speed*, which was transcribed into his own gl. by CCR. and re-rendered by JGG. 1878, but as the example is a bad one it is not given.

*31. r6. *Upper Wensleydale* or *Hawes* (20 wsw. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, 557, 563, 596, all No. 3 under *Hawes*.

30. w1. *Waghen* or *Wawne* (4 se. Beverley) wl. io. by Rev. G. Wilkinson, 35 y.

*24. w2. *Wakefield* wn. by TH. incorporated with a ewl. deduced from Mr. W. S. Banks's printed *List of Words*, 401.

*30. w3. *Washburn River* region, lying between the Wharfe and the

Nidd, remarkable for use of (th) for def. art., es. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516, all No. 6.

*30. w4. *Whithy* (1) dt. and wl. both io. by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, druggist, author of the *Whithy Glossary*, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527; (2) dt. io. for this included in the Moors, by Rev. J. Thornton, 519, 521*d*.

*24. w5. *Windhill* (3 n.Bradsford)

dt. pal. by AJE. from Dr. J. Wright, native, 389.

York Ainsty, see *South Ainsty* above s10.

30. v. *York City* refined speech, used by tradespeople and best class of inhabitants of rural market towns; es. gl. by CCR. and Mr. Stead, but omitted as not being genuine dialect, see remarks on Leeds refined form, 396.

41. Ma. = Isle of Man, 3 places, all in D 23, Var. ii.

*23. κ1. *Kirk Christ Lezayre* (2 w. Ramsey) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, and wn. 361, 363.

*23. κ2. *Kirk Christ Rushen* (4 w. Castletown) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 361, 363.

23. κ3. *Kirk Patrick* (2 s.Peel) wn. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. E. Corpley, b. 1855, native, wife of informant for Kirk Christ Lezayre.

*23. p. *Peel* dt. and wn. in 1881 by TH. from natives, 361, 363.

Wales.

36 places in D 2, 3, 13, 14, 28, or in no district.

Observe "aqCB." means "Answers to Questions respecting the Celtic Border." 0 means, not considered in this book, because the peasants do not habitually converse in English.

43. BR. = BRECONSHIRE.

4 places in D 13.

13. b1. *Brecon*, aqCB. from Rev. D. Griffith, vic.

*13. b2. *Breconshire*, eastern or English-speaking part, with w.He. wl. by Mr. R. Stead, see Folkestone, Ke. 178.

13. b3. *Builth* (13 n.Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. A. J. Coore, vic.

13. c. *Crickhowel* (12 ese.Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. B. Somerset, rect.

45. CM. = CARMARTHEN.

1 place in no district.

0. c. *Carmarthen* es. and wl. of Welsh-English of 1830 by the late Mr. W. Spmrell, author of a Welsh-English Grammar and Dictionary.

47. DN. = DENBIGHSHIRE.

4 places, 3 in D 28, 1 in no district.

28. c. *Chirk* (9 ssw.Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. T. H. Simpson, vic.

*28. n. *Holt* (5 ne.Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. H. Wray, vic., note from Mr. E. French (see Sutton, Yo.), and wn. by TH. 458.

0. r. *Ruabon* (5 sw.Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. M. Edwards, vic.

*28. w. *Wrexham* aqCB. by Rev. D. Howell, vic., and wn. by TH. 458.

48. FL. = FLINT.

8 places, 5 in D 28, 3 in no district.

*28. b1. *Bettisfield* (6 sw.Bangor, detached) wn. by TH. from a native, 456.

*28. b2. *Bretton* (3 sw.Chester, main) wn. by TH. 458.

0. f. *Flint*, aqCB. from Rev. E. Jenkins, vic.

*28. n1. *Hanmer* (5 wsw.Bangor, detached) wn. 456, and dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 452, and dt. io. by Mr. T. Bateman, of Arowry, a hamlet in Hanmer, and letter from Rev. M. H. Lee.

*28. n2. *Hawarden* (6 ese.Flint, main), aqCB. from Rev. S. Gladstone, rect., dt. io. from Mr. Spencer, schoolmaster, and wn. by TH. 458.

28. n3. *Hope* (5 se.Mold, main) aqCB. by Rev. J. Rowlands, vic.

0. m. *Mold* (6 s.Flint) aqCB. by Rev. Rowland Ellis, vic.

0. n. *Northop* (3 s.Flint, main) aqCB. by Rev. T. Williams, vic.

49. GM. = GLAMORGANSHIRE.

3 places, 1 in D 3, 2 in no district.

*3. g. *Goverland*, dt. io. and note from Rev. J. D. Davies, 13b, 35.

0. l. *Llantrissant* (10 nw.Cardiff) aqCB. from Rev. J. Powell Jones, vic.

0. m. *Merthyr Tydvil*, aqCB. from Rev. John Griffith, rect.

51. MG. = MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

9 places, all in D 14.

14. B1. *Berriew* (3 nw. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. Joseph Baines, vic.

14. B2. *Buttington* (2 ne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. J. Lewis, vic., and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis.

14. F. *Forden* (3 n. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. J. E. Vise, vic.

14. G. *Guildfield* (2 n. Welshpool) aqCB. and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis, vic.

14. K. *Kerry* (2 ese. Newtown) aqCB. from Rev. W. Morgan, vic.

14. L. *Llandrinio* (8 nne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. E. B. Smith, rect.

*14. M. *Montgomery*, aqCB. and letter containing much information on the CB. from Rev. F. W. Parker, rect. 14*b*, 183*c*.

14. S. *Snead* (5 se. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. G. O. Pardoe, rect.

14. W. *Welshpool*, aqCB. from Rev. J. S. Hill, vic.

52. PM. = PEMBROKESHIRE.

4 places all in D 2.

*2. R. *Rhôs and Dangleddy Hundreds*, the two sw. peninsulas of Pm. (1) Rev. J. Tombs, rect. of Burton (3 n. Pembroke) sent me a dt. 32, printed lecture and notes: (2) Mr. F. T. Elworthy sent notes, 34; (3) notes from Mr. E. L. Jones, master of Brooklands School, Sale, Manchester, native of Tenby, 34; (4) dt. from dict. by Mr. W. Spurrell, 32, with specimens of Narberth Speech, 34; (5) notes from Ven. Archdeacon Edmondson, of Warren, 34.

53. RD. = RADNORSHIRE.

3 places in D 13.

*13. B. *Boughrood* (18 sw. Presteign, at the extreme s. of the county) aqCB. from Ven. H. de Winton, Arch. of Brecon and vic. 179.

13. L. *Llanddewi Ystradenny* (11 wsw. Knighton) aqCB. from Rev. L. A. Smith, vic.

13. N. *New Radnor* (7 sw. Presteign) aqCB. from Rev. J. Gillam, rect.

Scotland.

39 places in D 33 to D 42.

54. AB. = ABERDEENSHIRE.

3 places in D 39.

*39. A. *Ab.* generally (1) numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726; (2) sentences from the same, 777.

*39. B. *Buchan* district, (1) Ruth, chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from dict. 698, No. 3; (2) nwl. by Dr. Findlater, 779; (3) words selected from J. Alexander's *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*, 779.

*39. C. *Cromár* district, MS. phonetic account by the late Mr. Samuel Innes, died about 1866, given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge in 1872, partly read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, native of Tarland, in Cromár, servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, and fresh from Tarland, who knew Mr. Innes by name; (1) his account of the pron. 766 to 768; (2) his examples, *The Meeting*, 769; *Fule-tide*, 770; *The Fight*, 773; Notes, 775.

56. AY. = AYRSHIRE.

6 places in D 35 and 36.

*35. A. *Ayr*, Ruth, chap. i. pal. by

Dr. Murray in his DSS. p. 240, with cwl. from it, 698 No. 2, 742.

*36. C. *Coylton* (6 ese. Ayr) (1) cwl. io. representing the district of Kyle, 742; (2) dt. io. with notes pal. by AJE. 731, both by Rev. Neil Livingstone, Free Church, Manse. This might be put to κ2.

*35. κ1. *Kilmarnock*, phonetic transcription of Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* by Messrs. Thomas Lang (then of Kilmarnock), Carstairs Douglas, R. Giffen, and others, pal. with notes by AJE. 731-741. This might be put to κ2.

*35 and 36. κ2. *Kyle*, (1) W. Simson's words (printed) 742; (2) a word from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

*36. N. *New Cumnock* (15 ese. Ayr.), Burns's song of *Duncan Gray*, written 1847 by me in my extended phonotypic alphabet of that year, from the dict. of John Lowe, and pal. from the original, 748.

*35. O. *Ochiltree* (:oo·kh'ltri) (11 e. Ayr) nwl. by Mr. D. Patrick, 1877, then in Edinburgh, but knowing the dialect "all his life," 28 y., 742.

57. BA. = BANFFSHIRE.

1 place in D 39.

*39. K. *Keith*, by Rev. Walter Gregor, native, see 683, No. 6, (1) es. written io. and pal. by Dr. Murray, 684, 695; (2) owl. pal. from Mr. Gregor's dictation by AJE. 779 to 785; (3) notes and phrases dictated at the same time as (2), 777 to 779.

58. BW. = BERWICKSHIRE.

1 place in D 34.

*34. C. *Chirnside* (9 wnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed) by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce (15 w. Wigton), dt. and nwl. in io. pal. by AJE. from indications, both 726.

60. CS. = CAITHNESS.

1 place in D 40.

*40. W. *Hick* (1) es. pal. 1874 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. A. Meiklejohn and Revs. J. Sinclair and R. Macbeth, 683, No. 7, 684, 696; (2) wd. from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

64. DF. = DUMFRIESSHIRE.

1 place in D 36.

*36. T. *Tynron* (14 nw. Dumfries) notes and lw. in 1868 by Mr. James Shaw, 749.

65. ED. = EDINBURGHSHIRE OR MID
LOTHIAN.

1 place in D 34.

*34. E. *Edinburgh* (1) es. pal. by JAHM. from dict. of Mrs. Ch. Murray, native, 683, No. 3, 684, 695, 726*l*; (2) Lothian sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 724; (3) numerals from the same, 726; (4) Central Scottish from Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 144 to 149, may belong to D 34, 35, 36. or any part of Mid Lowland, as the words are not distinguished, 727.

67. FI. = FIFESHIRE.

2 places in D 34 and D 37.

*34. F. *Fifeshire* generally, (1) sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 725; (2) numerals from the same, 726.

*37. N. *Newburgh-on-Tay* (8 wnw. Cupar) dt. io. with notes by Rev. Dr. Alex. Laing, 752.

68. FO. = FORFARSHIRE.

3 places in D 38.

*38. A. *Arbroath* es. written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson, pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 683, No. 5, 684, 695.

*38. B. *Brechin* nwl. by Mr. J. Guthrie, Royal Bank of Scotland. 25 y., 760.

*38. D. *Dundee* (1) dt. pal. 1881 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Begge, then of Whitelands, 758, with notes and phrases from the same, 759; (2) notes by Mr. G. Clarke of the West End Academy, 760.

69. HD. = HADDINGTONSHIRE OR EAST
LOTHIAN.

1 place in D 34.

*34. L. *Linton* (5 ne. Haddington) es. io. by Mr. J. Teenan, really gen. D 34, almost identical with 684, No. 3, Edinburgh.

71. KC. = KINCARDINESHIRE.

1 place in D 38.

*38. G. *Glenfarquhar* (11 w-by-s. Stonehaven) from Mr. J. Ross, M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native, (1) notes, 756; (2) dt. so. 758; (3) nwl. with aq. and long explanations, 760.

73. KB. = KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE
(:kirknubrì).

1 place in D 36.

*36. K. *Kirkpatrick-Durham* (:kìl-pee-trìk (5 n. Castle Douglas) nwl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, 6 y., 749.

74. LK. = LANARKSHIRE.

1 place in D 35.

*35. G. *Glasgow and Clydesdale* generally, (1) Clydesdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 730, 742; (2) wl. io. by Mr. John Alexander, then of Glasgow (:glesku), 50 y., 742.

77a. OR. = ORKNEY.

forming one county with Shetland, here separated as 77b, and placed after Se. = Selkirk, because they have been placed in separate districts; 1 place in D 41.

*41. S. *Sanda*, northern isles, the residence of Mr. W. Traill Denuison, who in 1880 published his *Orcaidian Sketch Book*, out of which has been

taken *Pacty Toral's Travellye*, with the pron. corrected by himself vv. in Aug. 1884, p. 791 to 802, and he also wrote and dictated to me vv. his translation of *John Gulpin* into older Orkney speech, June, 1888, p. 802 to 811.

78. PB. = PEEBLESHERE.

1 place in D 34.

*34. P. *Peebles* co. generally, numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726.

79. PR. = PERTSHIRE.

1 place in D 37.

*37. P. *Perth*, or neighbourhood, (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Misses Miles, Pollar and Kidd of Whitelands in 1881; (2) words from *Enga* pron. by the same, both 753.

80. RF. = RENFREWSHIRE.

1 place in D 35.

*35. L. *Lochwinnoch* (:lokh'enñakh) (12 sw. Renfrew, misprinted 6 sw. on p. 747) words and phrases contrasted with Ochiltree, Ay. by Mr. David Patrick, 747.

82. RX. = ROXBURGHSHIRE.

5 places in D 33.

*33. H. *Hawick* (1) pron. abstracted from Dr. Murray's DSS. 710 to 713; (2) cs. written in pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, native, 682 No. 2, 684, 694; (3) Ruth, Chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from his DSS. p. 241, Teviotdale 698, No. 1; (4) Teviotdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 714; (5) numerals from the same, 726; (6) Scotch Hundredth Psalm, from Dr. JAHM.'s DSS. 715; (7) South Lowland ewl. from DSS. increased by communications from Dr. JAHM. 716 to 721; as all of these are based on Dr. Murray's authority, they are all classed under his native place.

*33. L. *Liddesdale Head*, near Thorlishop (12 s-by-e. Hawick), ewl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Jackson, 75y., 721.

33. R. *Roxburgh Town* (17 nw. Hawick) ewl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. D. Ross, then of Milburn, but 25 y. from birth; not intended for publication and not printed.

33. T. *Teviotdale Head* (8 se. Hawick) ewl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Linton, Lewisburn, Plashetts (24 nw. Hexham, Nb.), 20y., not intended for publication and not printed.

33. Y. *Yetholm* (:jaath'm) (8 se. Kelso, 1 m. from the Nb. b. on the road to Wooler, a great gypsy settlement) from dict. of Mr. T. Kirkup, M.A., native of Wooler, 15y., for 4 of which he was a pupil teacher in Yetholm, (†) a wl. partly corrected in pal. by AJE. from his dictation; (2) dt. pal. by the same from the same; neither used, see p. 655 d.

83. SE. = SELKIRKSHIRE.

*33. *Selkirk* (:sɛlkrik, :sɛlkrit) wl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. J. Mitchell, of Howgill Castle, Milburn, We., native, but 25 y. absent from Scotland; not printed.

77b. SD. = SHETLAND.

4 places in D 42; this forms one county with 77a Orkney, which see after 74 Lk.

*42. D. *Dumrossness*, southernmost point of mainland Sd. (1) cs. written in io. by Mr. David Cogle, fisherman, native of Cuningborough, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 683 No. 8, 684, 696; (2) in print "Shetland Fireside Tales by G.S.E." (Mr. G. Stewart, of Edinburgh, native of Dumrossness), given me by Mr. Cogle, 818.

42. L. *Lerwick*, (1) Parable of the Prodigal Son in Sd. speech, written in io. by Mr. Arthur Laursen, of Lerwick, and pal. by me from dict. of Miss Anna B. Malcolmson, 816; (2) nwl. by Mr. A. L. of which the principal words were pal. by me from the dict. of Miss A. B. M. 818.

42. S. *Shetland* generally, (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Mr. A. Grant, and sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) "A Shetland Letter" communicated to me in MS. by Prince LLB., and translated by Mr. A. Laursen, but as it has not been read to me, I have not used it; part of it is printed in the 'Zetland Directory and Guide,' 1860.

*42. Ū. *Unst* (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Dr. L. Edmondstone with the pronunciation of several marked by Walker's symbols, belonging to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) in print 'The Parable of the Sower,' Matth. xiii. 3-9, translated in 1858 by Dr. LE. for Prince

ILB., and communicated by him with Annotations to the Philological Society of London, 20 June, 1878, p. 817.

86. W_G. = WIGTOWNSHIRE.
2 places in D 36.

*36. G. *Glenluce* (glenlyys) (15 w. Wigton) nwl. by Rev. George Wilson,

Free Church, Glenluce, who went over every word with his deacon, James McCulloch, 68, native, whose father kept up the dialect well, 749.

*36. s. *Stranraer* (25 w-by-n. Wigton) es. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Messrs. W. Boyd, M. Armstrong, and R. Caddow, '683, No. 4, 684, 695, 749.

Ireland.

117. W_X. = WEXFORD. CO.
1 place in D 1.

*1. F. *Forth and Bargo* baronies,

letter from E. More, and from printed matter by Rev. William Barnes, pp. 25-30.

VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST AND INDEX OF ALL THE NAMES MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.

This consists of two distinct parts given for convenience in one alphabetical arrangement. The first is a reverse index to the Alphabetical County List VI., enabling the reader to refer back from the informant's name to his contribution. The name in roman letters is followed by the usual two-letter abbreviation of the name of the county in italics with *M*, *W*, *S*, *I* prefixed if it belongs to the Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland. This refers at once to the Alphabetical Counties List, VI., which is arranged first in countries, and then in counties. Then follows the initial, numbered if necessary, which refers to that given under the name of the county in VI., and immediately points out the place, whence the information was derived, and whence all the necessary particulars can be found. When more than one county is referred to, a — is interposed.

The second part contains those names which are not introduced in VI. because they could not be conveniently referred to a specified place in a county. These for distinction are printed in italics with generally an indication of the matter for which any name is cited, and the page where it will be found. When the name also belongs to the first part, only the indication is printed in italics.

The names of all persons or books mentioned in my treatise from which I have directly derived information are thus given—errors excepted. The names of those from whom my informants derived their knowledge, though occasionally given in the text, are generally not inserted in this list, although there are a few exceptions, as no rule could be conveniently observed in inserting or omitting them.

The names of some of the books used are also given, and it may be assumed that I have consulted every important book on dialects that has appeared (p. 5*b*), although not specially named. These I did not consider it necessary to specify. See the Bibliography published by the English Dialect Society and its own publications. The peculiar character of this treatise consists in unprinted and hitherto uncollected sources of information on which it is founded, and it is to those from whom I procured it that this Alphabetical List mainly relates.

<p>A</p> <p>Adcock, Miss M. A. <i>Le.</i> *s.</p> <p>Adshead, G. H. <i>To.</i> M3. s1.</p> <p><i>Agricola's wall</i>, 22.</p> <p>Ainger, Rev. Dr. <i>Nb.</i> R.</p> <p><i>Aiton, W. General View</i></p>	<p><i>of Agriculture in the Co. of Ayr</i>, 729<i>a</i>.</p> <p><i>Akerman's 'Hornet and Beetle'</i>, pal. 51 to 54.</p> <p>Alexander, J. <i>SLk.</i> G.— <i>and see Gibb, SAb.</i> s.</p> <p><i>Alfred King</i>, 2.</p> <p>Allen, Ven. Archd. <i>Sh.</i> P2.</p>	<p><i>Allen, Grant, 'Are we Englishmen?'</i> 9 note.</p> <p>Allen, Miss. <i>Le.</i> *B4.</p> <p>Allen, T. <i>Nb.</i> *s1.</p> <p>Allen, Rev. T. T. <i>Du.</i> D.</p> <p>Allnut, W. H. <i>Or.</i> o.</p> <p>Auchmaty, Rev. A. C. <i>He.</i> L5.</p> <p>Anderson, W. J. <i>SFv.</i> A.</p>
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- Anonymous, vic. *Co.* 11.
 — vic. *Du.* A2. —
 rector. **Es.* R. — vic.
He. A. — vic. *Li.* B3.
 — servant. *Li.* *E.
 — passenger. *Nf.* *N5.
 — vic. *Or.* n2. —
 curate. *Yo.* M3.
 An-tey, Mary. *Dr.* *11.
 Arden, Mrs. Douglas. *Li.*
 n1. s8.
 Arnold, M., his pron. of
 'fate,' 33b.
 Armstrong, Rev. E. P.
Li. s5.
 Armstrong, M. *SWg.* s.
 Ashby, G. *Nf.* K1.
 Atkinson, Mrs. *Cu.* c1. —
We. T. — her assistance
 for *Edenside names*,
 555d, 603c.
 Atkins, A. H. *Bu.* c2.
 Atkinson, W. *Cu.* P. —
 his assistance for *Eden-*
side names, 603c.
 Atkinson, Rev. J. *La.* D.
 Atkinson, Rev. J. C. *Yo.*
 D1.
 B
 Bainbridge, J. *Cu.* E. —
 his assistance for *Eden-*
side Names, 603c.
 Baines, Rev. J. *WMg.* B1.
 Baird, H. = Nathan Hogg,
 156d, 158c, 159d.
 Baker, Rev. R. S. *Nf.* N4.
 Baker, Rev. R. S. *Np.* H4.
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 Baldwin, Rev. I. N. *Nt.*
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Wood, Mrs. Willoughby, <i>St.</i> *B1.	Wright, Rev. Canon. <i>Li.</i> c2.	Wyer, N. W. <i>Do.</i> *w2. — <i>De.</i> E.— <i>Es.</i> 1.
Woodfall, G. <i>Es.</i> 63.	Wright, J. <i>Nb.</i> *H3.	Wykes, C. H. <i>Np.</i> L2.
Woodhouse, Rev. G. H. <i>Nt.</i> F.	Wright, Rev. J. <i>Wo.</i> c.	Wyld, J. <i>Du.</i> *B1.
Woodhouse, R. <i>He.</i> *D2.	Wright, Dr. J. <i>Yo.</i> m1	Y
Wood, R. <i>Wo.</i> *D2.	Wright, Dr. J. <i>Yo.</i> 365c.	Yarranton, Rev. A. <i>Sm.</i> s1.
Worfold, Rev. J. N. <i>Yo.</i> E1.	Wright, Rev. J. P. <i>St.</i> N.	Yeats, Dr. J. <i>Mo.</i> *c2.
Wray, Rev. H. <i>WLn.</i> *H.		

VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

The palaeotype laid down in Part I. pp. 1 to 12, even when extended as in Part IV. pp. xii to xiv, proved insufficient for the differentiation of the minute shades of sound heard in dialectal speech. Hence it became necessary to construct an entirely new table.

All sounds are represented by "old letters," whence the name palaeotype *παλαιὸι τύποι*, but in order to obtain signs enough these ancient types embrace 1) direct small or "lower case" roman as (e), 2) the same "turned" as (ə), 3) the direct italic and small capital (e e), and 4) their inversions (ə ɛ), and sometimes even black letter as (ɛ ɛ). A few "digraphs" are also admitted, especially with (h), as (th sh), a hyphen preceding the (h) when it is not initial, but has to have its usual sense. 'Modifiers' are extensively employed as in (e^l, e^u, u^l, u^u, A, kj, tj ɲ), etc. These alter the value of the preceding letter in a definite direction, and are explained hereafter separately, and also in conjunction with the modified letters. All these letters, digraphs, and modified forms are then arranged in alphabetical order by the ordinary large capital letters which are not otherwise phonetically employed. The letter A, for example, refers to all modifications of the type a and its diphthongal combinations as (a, a^l, a₁, a₂, a_R—ah, aA, aⁱ, a^u, a^y,—a, əh,—A, A^l,—ə, əu).

No attempt is here made to give any phonetic theory, for which see much of Part IV., and also my article on SPEECH SOUNDS in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1888, vol. 22, pp. 381–390, which uses palaeotype, and my *Speech in Song* (Novello, or *Pronunciation for Singers* (Curwen), both of which use glossic. But as a matter of convenience I prefix the table of Mr. Melville Bell's vowel system reduced to pal. and numbered.

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S *Visible Speech* Vowel Table.

n narrow, *w* wide, *nr* narrow round, *wr* wide round.

TONGUE HEIGHT.	TONGUE BACK.				MIXED.				TONGUE FRONT.			
	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>nr</i>	<i>wr</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>nr</i>	<i>wr</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>nr</i>	<i>wr</i>
HIGH	1 ə	2 e	3 u	4 u	13 y	14 y	15 u	16 əh	25 i	26 i	27 i	28 y
MID	5 ɛ	6 a	7 o	8 o	17 ə	18 ah	19 əh	20 oh	29 e	30 e	31 ə	32 ə
LOW	9 ə	10 a	11 A	12 ə	21 əh	22 ə	23 əh	24 əh	33 e	34 ə	35 əh	36 əh

These will be spoken of as Bell's No. 1, 2, 3, etc., though the numbers are mine, and merely annexed for convenience of reference, and to shew in the briefest manner the position of the tongue and lips assigned by Mr. Bell.

Quantity.—(1) *Vowels.* Six grades of length are recognised. Very short as (ǎ ǎ), ordinarily short as (a ə), medial length, lying between short and long, as (â ə'), long as (aa əə), drawled as (aâ əə'), extremely long as (aaa əəə). Ordinarily only two lengths are written, short and long, as (a aa). To indicate a succession of two shorts of the same kind introduce the break as (a|a). TH. has always recognised the medial length as (â), and in all his numerous contributions to this book medial vowels abound, greatly to the exclusion of long (p. 316). Hence to him, and those who agree with him, the long vowel (aa) represents a much longer sound than it does to me. In s.Lowland the vowels are generally medial, and when lengthened are very long, thus *thief thieves* are (thif thiiivz), which might be written (thiif' thiiivz), but for convenience are usually written (thif, thiiivz). Similarly in Italian and Spanish, the vowels are ordinarily of medial length, and may be emphatically shortened or lengthened according to the feeling of the moment, without disturbing signification.

(2) *Consonants.*—Some consonants, as (s, f, z, v), can be continued indefinitely, and in point of fact are generally lengthened in the pause. As a rule this is not noticed in writing. But TH. constantly marks it, see p. 316, and all the examples in D 21, D 26, (pp. 317–329, 426–447). See also Dr. Sweet's observations, IV. 1145. In this case, if the final consonant is voiced, as (hiz'), the buzz is often not continued very long, but is followed by an indefinitely long hiss, thus (hiz's') as (hiz') would be uncomfortable to the speaker. If the final consonant be a mute, it cannot be lengthened, but is only suspended, that is, the organs of speech are retained in their positions, and a silence ensues until the position is ordinarily released on flatus, or another vowel, thus (stəp') properly means a silence after (p), but would ordinarily imply the release on flatus as (stəp'p'). Sometimes, however, even when final the mute is neither suspended nor audibly released, and would then be marked thus (stəp:). Between two vowels the mute is thus usually split up, thus *stopping* is pron. as (stəp'iq), with no pause between the end of the first or beginning of the second syllable, really (stəp:piq), or a suspension may be inserted as (stəp'piq), which is not usual in English except in compound words as *hoppole* (həp'pool), but not (həp'p'pool). When a different consonant follows, only the first glide on to the (p) is heard, as *upshot* (əp:shot). In all these cases, except in special phonetic discussions, I avoid the use of the mark of suspension. But the suspended (t') for *the* is always marked, p. 317b.

In the following list only the short vowels and the short consonants are given as headings, but examples to both short and long vowels are often annexed.

Diphthongs.—Two or more different vowels written in juxtaposition are to be pronounced in separate syllables, as (kəʊs) chaos, but they are usually separated in some way, as (kəʊs, kəʊs). When however they glide on to one another, one of them bears an acute accent, as (ái), and the two form a 'diphthong,' and similarly three vowels form a triphthong, as (éáú). The combination in each case consists of a single syllable. The vowel bearing the acute accent has then the principal stress. Occasionally each element may have equal stress, and then two acute accents are used, as (íá), distinct from (íja, ía, íá), but even in this case there is felt to be only one syllable. When the vowel with the stress is long, the acute is placed on the first of the two representative letters, as (áai), and when it is medial, the medial grave accent fuses with the diphthongal acute accent into a circumflex, thus (á'í) becomes (âí), which type will be constantly found in TH.'s contributions below. As English printers have usually only (á é í ó ú á é í ó û) with acute accents, the acute accent for other vowels is placed after the vowel, as (ə'í, əə'í), and the grave is printed after it separately, as (A'í, A''í). It is sometimes convenient to indicate the class of a diphthong without completely analysing it. Thus we may not know whether (ə'í, áí, ái) were the diphthong really uttered, but may be sure that it was something like one of them, then (a'í) is used, the acute accent being separated, and the second element indefinite. Similarly (a'u, o'í, í'u, a'y, a'v, e'v, í'u, í'v, o'v, u'v) are employed for unanalysed diphthongs, the (') being separate from (a, e, í, o, u); but this meaning of the separate acute accent is confined to the case when it follows (a, e, í, o, u). Hence (ái, a'í) must be strictly distinguished, the first diphthong being thoroughly analysed and definite, the second entirely unanalysed

and indefinite, but forming a class; (ə'i) however is also an analysed form, the accent being separate through a typographical necessity. As a rule only unanalysed diphthongs are given in the following list, though the principal analysed forms will be found in their proper places.

The length of the first element of a diphthong is generally very material. It is usually short, as (ái), but occasionally lengthened, as (âi, áai), generally with an appreciable difference in pron. or meaning. But the length of the second element does not alter the character of the diphthong, any more than the length of the final consonant alters the value of the syllable. TH., however, generally marked the quantity of the second element as medial when he observed it to be lengthened, as (áú). I have usually not retained this lengthening, considering it quite inessential, and arbitrary, being in fact constantly admissible in the pause, without any intention to alter the sound, see p. 316.

Elocutionary alterations and intonation are mostly left unmarked, but an inverted period before a word indicates *emphasis* corresponding to the usual *italics*; thus, he told *me*, he told me, became (hí toold mii, hii toold mí). In monosyllables emphasis generally conditions some alteration of sound.

* * * The long phonetic discussion on received pron. in Part IV. pp. 1090 to 1167 will be regularly cited, and pp. 1265 to 1357 should also be consulted.

When the numbers of pages referred to are above 1000 they are in Part IV., when under 1000 they are in this volume,—unless the number of the part is specially added. The italic letters *a, b, c, d* annexed here and elsewhere indicate that the passage referred to is in the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the page; and if the page is in double columns, unaccented letters refer to the first, and accented to the second column. The reader will find it convenient to mark the quarters of pages on a separate piece of paper cut the length of the printed matter, excluding the head-line, and after folding in half, and then again in half, and lettering it, apply it to the book; it will be found to save much time in finding a passage in pages so crowded with matter as those of this book.

The mode I have adopted, and found to work well in writing is as follows: The small roman letters are written as usual. The small italic letters are once underlined as usual. The small capitals, instead of being doubly underlined as usual, are written as ordinary letters with an acute accent below, as $\underset{\cdot}{p} = \text{p}$, except when they have tails, and then a stroke is written above as $\bar{j} \bar{y} = \text{J Y}$. Black letters are doubly dotted below. The turned letters are thus represented

Turned	a	c	e	E	æ	í	ĵ	r	l	L	M	v	œ
Printed	v	o	ə	ɛ	ɜ	ĵ	r	ɹ	l	ɹ	κ	λ	œ
Written	ε	ρ	ə	ɛ̇	ɛ̇	ĵ	r̄	r̄	l̄	l̄	μ	η	ω

A. (a a¹ a₁ a, a, a_R—ah aa a'ⁱ a'^u a'^y—a ah—A A¹—v v^uu).

(a) Bell's No. 6 short (a) in German *mann*, and perhaps in English *chaff, lass, ask, bath, dance*, 1148; medial (â) common in Midland *that*; long (aa) in *ah, father, mamma, part* (the *r* not sounded), 539c.

(a¹) a higher form of (a) approaching (æ). This is generally used in place of (ah) as more suggestive, but it has not the certain position of the latter, 695a.

(a₁) between (a, a), used especially by JGG., see 539c, generally confused with (a), but JGG. considers that it differs in quality from the short of *a* in *father*.

(a) or (a) with an advanced tongue, 1147c', between (a, æ), and not

materially different in effect from (ah, a¹), 601b.

(a) semi-nasal form of (a), mild nasality, often heard in American long *i*, as *I find* (â i tâ ind).

(a_R) the simultaneous pron. of (a) and (r), 42b.

(ah) Bell's No. 18, not materially different in sound from (a¹, a), used principally for an affected thinness, 1148c. Sweet makes it the sound in *eye, better*, but the last is not usual in educated speech.

(a_x) a conventional form for French *chant*, but (a) is altered in quality by the altered position of the uvula in nasalisation, see (A) p. 86* below, and 1123d'.

(a'ⁱ) unanalysed diphthong used where the first element has not been determined; when analysed it may take

the forms in (ái, áí, á'í, é'í, æ'í, é'í, æ'í, ó'í, áí), and the first element is sometimes lengthened, 1100, col. 2. It may even be nasalised as (á.í). Five forms are heard in D 38, 757c, d, see also D 25, var. iv. p. 410.

(a'u) unanalysed diphthong, used where the second element approaches (u) and the first element has not been determined; it may take the forms in (áu, áu, á'u, é'u, æ'u, ó'u, æ'u, ó'u, áu, A'u, ó'u), 1153, col. 2.

(a'y) unanalysed diphthong where the second element approaches (y) or French *u*. The first element may vary, as in (a'í, a'u). We find (á'y), 53b'.

(a) Bell's No. 10 between (a, A), 1116c, 1152d'.

(ah) Bell's No. 23, is to him the Irish *sir*, and first element of the Irish *I*, and the oral element of French *en*; Sweet gives no example.

(A) Bell's No. 11, *all*, *bawl*, an (a) approaching to (o), 1116 col. 1, 1122 col. 1, and 539d.

(A¹) or (A) with a raised tongue, not unlike (o), 353a, b.

(v) Bell's No. 2, as *a* in *parental*, *China*, the commonest form of unaccented indistinct vowel, frequently serving as the second element of a diphthong, 1122b', 540d. Bell's examples are *dungeon*, *motion*, *conscious*, *abandon*, *cupboard*, *avoir-dupoise*, *honour*, *bellows*, sb. Sweet gives no example, but uses Bell's No. 17, my (æ) in this sense finally.

(váu) a form of (uu) heard perhaps in the north, 636d, No. 640.

Æ. (æ æh).

(æ) Bell's No. 34. the rec. English short vowel in *bat*, which approaches closely to (ɛ): and is generally replaced by (a¹, a, a) in dialects; long in the local pron. of Bath (: bææth).

(æh) Bell's No. 36, which he hears in the first element of Cockney out and L. *I'll*; and Sweet in open German *Götter*. I can give no example.

B. (b b_c bh).

(b) *bee bay bow, gleeb, babe baby*, a voiced (p), 1113.

(b_c) a kind of defective (m) said to exist in We. 1113d, 560, No. 13.

(bh) German *w*, Hungarian *v*, modern

Greek β, (v) uttered without touching the upper teeth with the lower lip, 1101 to 1103.

C. (ə, əh, ə'í).

(ə) Bell's No. 12, common English short *o* in a closed syllable, *hop hob hot hod hock hog*, unused in most of Europe, where it is replaced by (o); very like (a), which is also peculiarly English, but verging towards (o), 1116, 540c. The symbol (ə) is used because the small cap. (o), which would naturally have been used, is too like the lower case (o).

(əh) Bell's No. 24, which Bell conceives as Cockney *ask* and Irish *not*. Sweet gives no example. A.J.E. does not know the sound.

(ə'í) educated form of *boy toy joy*, occasionally (A'í, AA'í), 1117b.

D. (d̥ d̥ d̥—d̥ dh dh, d̥w—d̥ d̥j dh).

(d̥) in *do rod plodding pleading*, the tip of the tongue at a sensible distance behind the gums, English 'coronal' (d̥), voiced form of (t), 1095, 1113.

(d̥) French and general continental *d* with the tip of the tongue advanced to the gums, alveolar *d̥*, 1095, heard in some English dialects, but almost only before (r, r^o), which then become (r̥, r̥^o), 542b.

(d̥) retracted (d̥), the tip of the tongue brought as far back as possible without reversion, so that its *edge* (not underside) touches the palate, and the tongue forms a spoon-shaped hollow at the back part, a mild form of reversion, 41d.

(d̥j) contraction for (d̥zh, d̥zh) or (d̥jzhj), heard in *judge*, 1154b'. 542, usually analysed as (dzh), as it was in the three first Parts of E.E.P.

(dh) the tongue brought fully against the teeth in English, the *th* in *they breathe, tything*, 1098a, 1122d'.

(dh_c) the (dh) with the tongue somewhat retracted, Spanish *d* in *Madrid*.

(d̥w) labialised (d̥), an attempt to utter (d̥) and (w) simultaneously, 1115, col. 2, frequent English *dwell*, generally confused with (dw).

(d̥) reverted (d̥), that is, (d̥) spoken with the underside of the tongue against the palate, 1095, 1096, 42. see (d̥).

(d̥j) = (d̥:ɰ) or reverted (d̥j), 41.

(dh) the under part of the tip of the tongue brought against the teeth, theoretically assumed to exist in D 4, see 41.

E. (e e¹ e₁ e^o—éú éév éii éi e_Δ
 éuu éu—e e¹ e₁—ee^E ééi ee^j
 é¹a₁ é¹i¹—E E₁—E^e E'u—ə ə¹
 əh—ə ə¹ ə₁ əh—E E₁ E_R—E'É'
 E'o E'u).

(e) Bell's No. 30, as I hear it from educated southern Englishmen in bet, bed, pen, 1106, col. 1, 539*d*, generally replaced by (E) provincially. Bell considers that it is used only in unaccented syllables, and that (E) is the sound in accented syllables. Sweet agrees with me. The long form (ee) as in *fair*, *care*, *pear*, but only before *r* in received English, sounding (éév, kéév, péév).

(e¹) the tongue of (e) being raised, hence approaching closely to (i), 1107, col. 2

(e₁) the tongue of (e) being lowered, approaching closely to (E), hardly distinguishable from (E¹), 1107, col. 2.

(e^e) an indistinct form of (e) approaching (v), but reminding the hearer of (e), 721*b*, *c*.

(éú) common provincial fracture, differing only in length from the next.

(éév) real sound of *air* without the trill, (éé) is also common provincially, see (e).

(éii) the (e) very short and the (ii) long, 538*c*, 595*b'*, considered by the natives as (ii) parallel to (i₁).

(éi) common diphthongising form of (e).

(e_Δ) French *vin*, see (A), p. 86*.

(éuu) the (e) very short and the (uu) long, 538, l. 3 from bottom, a substitute for (uu), see also 556*c*, parallel to (éii).

(éu) a mincing form of (a'u) common in D 9, p. 137*d*, and London.

(e) Bell's No. 29, when lengthened, is the sound in *name* without any vanish, Fr. *fee* long, *été* short. 1107. Murray considers it opener than Fr. *fé*, 710, No. 4. The long sound must be distinguished from (ee^j) with the vanish.

(e¹) the tongue of (e) raised, and hence approaching closely to (i), 1107, 683*b*, 756*c*, and scarcely distinguishable from (i₁), 595*b*.

(e₁) the tongue of (e) lowered, approaching closely to (e), 1107, 683*b*, 697*c*.

(ee^E) a low form of (ee) or (ee) tending towards (E), usually written (ee₁), 682, last line.

(ééi) more distinctly ending with (i) than London (ee^j), 1108*d'*, 1109.

(ee^j) the London (educated, long (ee) with the 'vanish,' the diphthong ending in an indefinite approach to (i), which is not of constant value, 1111, col. 1.

(e¹a₁) this diphthong is here usually written (i₁a₁), 542*a*.

(i¹i¹) a diphthong scarcely distinguishable from (i i), which is here generally written, 541*c*.

(E) Bell's No. 33, the Fr. *bête* short, Italian open *e*, common short English *e* in closed accented syllables in provincial, and as some hold in rec. sp., see (e) above, and 1106*c*.

(E₁) a still deeper form than (E), but not yet quite (æ), 1108*c*, 711, No. 6.

(E^e) a variation of (E) in the direction of (e) for which (e₁), or lowered (e), is used, 683*b*, No. 3, 1.

(E'u) a very common form of (a'u) heard in D 10 and D 19, pp. 146*a*, 277*b*, 278*c*, 279*d*, 287*d*.

(ə) Bell's No. 17, the fine *u* of an educated Londoner in closed accented syllables as *cut up*, replaced provincially by (ə), 1094, col. 2. Bell conceives it to be French *que*, which I take as (ə). Sweet has German *Gabe*, which I conceive as (v). Murray cannot distinguish open unstressed (e, ə), 683*a*. I do not really distinguish unstressed (v, ə).

(ə¹) an (ə) raised towards (i), 146*b*.

(əh) Bell's No. 21, he puts down as "provincial *sir*," and Sweet simply as *sir*: I do not know it as different from (ə).

(ə) Bell's No. 31, Fr. *eu* in *peu* as distinct from *eu* in *peuple*, which is (æ): it does not seem to occur precisely in English, but only in some variant written (ə₁), 146*c*, 541*a*. Bell conceives (ə) as Fr. *une*, which I take as (y) and Sweet as (i).

(ə¹) a higher form of (ə), 711, No. 12, 721*b*, *c*.

(ə₁) a deeper variant of (ə), but not quite (æ), 146*c*, 541 under (ə), 595*a'*.

(əh) Bell's No. 35, which he gives to French *beau*re (but this seems rather (æ) to me), and Sweet to Swedish *iör*.

- (a) Bell's No. 5, the ordinary deep provincial form of the natural vowel in accented close syllables, as *cut*, *bad*, 1094, col. 2, but Bell and Sweet consider it to be the received form, which I take as (a).
- (a¹) a higher form of (a), supposed to be the Scotch, 711, No. 8.
- (a_R) the simultaneous pron. of (a) and (u), 42.
- (aⁱ) a very common provincial form of the diphthong (aⁱ).
- (a^o) a diphthong beginning with open lips for a, closing gradually to the position for (o), 73*b*, par. 9.
- (a^u) one of the commonest provincial forms of a^u, not very distinguishable from (ou).

F. (f fh ꞑ).

- (f) a hiss with the lower lip against the upper teeth, sometimes replaced by (ph), in which the teeth are not touched, 1099*b*.
- (fh) lips and teeth as for (f), back of tongue as for (u), Bell's theoretical form of NL. *f* used for *wh*, 758*a*.
- (ꞑ) a modifier used in (tꞑ dꞑ) = (tsh, dzh), to indicate an approach to (tj dj), and also somewhat laxly in (kꞑ gꞑ) to represent the Sanscrit explodent form of (tꞑ dꞑ), supposed to occur in English, 1119*e*, *d*.

G. (g gꞑ—gh gꞑ gꞑh grh—gw gw^h g^o).

- (g) as in *gag*, *gig*, *fagging*, 1113, 1154*a*.
- (gꞑ) the sonant form of (dꞑ) existing in Sanscrit, and by Godwin recognised in English, 1119, col. 1.
- (gh) guttural buzz, the back of the tongue coming close to the soft palate, as in German *Tage*: not English.
- (gꞑ) an attempt to pronounce (g) and (i) simultaneously, palatalised (g^o), at one time very common in received sp., now almost disused, except in the word *girl* (g^ojæl).
- (gꞑh) palatal buzz, German *könige*, distinct from (gh), often confused with (j), but not an English sound, and not even used in L. where (kj) is common.
- (grh) the uvula is flapped during the pron. of (gh), Ar. *ġ*, often heard in Holland, but repudiated by better speakers, very like the Nb. burr, see (*r*).

- (gw) an attempt to pron. (g) and (u) simultaneously, labialised (g^o) heard in *guano*, 1115, col. 1.
- (gw^h) labialised guttural buzz, tongue for (gh) and lips for (u), German *Buge*, not an English sound, though (k^oh) occurs in L.
- (g^o) retracted (g^o), that is with the contact between the back of the tongue and soft palate as near the throat as possible: as JGG. considers that (κ), the mute form of (g^o), is used in D 4, p. 52, v. 23, 24, 25, and p. 57, No. 773, he should have admitted (g^o) in p. 51, v. 4 (*hæ'gæxet*) bayonet: but the use of (κ. G in English seems very questionable: κ) is common in Arabic *ج*, but (g^o) is unknown.

H. (h 'h ḥ h h h ꞑh).

- (h), 1 when not initial and not preceded by a hyphen or turned period, as in (*thin*, *dhv*, *shii*, *vizhun*) etc., *thin*, *the*, *she*, *vision*, is a modifier, so that it must be considered as forming part of the same letter as the preceding sign: 2) when initial or preceded by a hyphen or turned period, as (*hii*, *pot'ha'us*, *mis-hæ'p*), *he*, *potthouse*, *mishap*, it is a new letter representing the unanalysed aspirate of which (h h h ꞑh) are analysed forms, 1130*b*.
- (ḥ) voice, is contracted to (') when sufficiently unambiguous, and then represents any obscure, indefinite, and short voice sound, 1128*e*'.
- (h) flatus, audible but unvoiced breath, 1128*b*', contracted to (') when following another letter, as (*top*); *top*.
- h jerked utterance of following vowel or flatus, 1130*b*'; before a vowel the singer's aspirate, or entirely voiced Indian aspirate, 1134, 1138*d*'.
- (h h) contraction for (h^h) or jerked flatus, not necessarily prominent, the usual theoretical aspirate, 542*b*. *c*.
- (h h) a smartly jerked emission of flatus or strong aspirate, 1130*e*'.

I. (i i i'a—i i i'—ii i'—i i i'
—i'á i' e^o i'i—i'ii—i).

- (i) Bell's No. 25, the long (ii) is common on the continent, and is supposed to occur in *eat*, *tea*, *meeting*, but here is frequently simply (ii): the

- short (i) in closed accented syllables is not recognised as English, and is replaced by (i); even in open short syllables (i) is rare, 1098*c*, 540. It occurs however in L. 710*c*.
- (i) very short sound of (i), the vocal form of (j), 53*b*', par. 3, diphthongising with the following vowel, regular Welsh form.
- (i₁) unanalysed form of a common dialectal diphthong, varying as (i₁á₁, í₁, ív), the last being the rec. sound of *ear* when the *r* is, as usual, not trilled, 1099*c*.
- (i) Bell's No. 26, in: *it*, *bib*, *pim*, *silly*, the regular sound of English short *i*, 540, but TH. uses (i) when it occurs in open unaccented syllables, considering the tongue to be somewhat retracted. 316*c*: Bell makes no such distinction; Sweet considers *pity* to have (i₁).
- (i) a sign used by TH. explained 316*c* not distinguished by me from unstressed open (i), which see.
- (i²) a high form of (i), which I cannot distinguish from (i).
- (i³) SL. close form of (ív), 710, No. 3.
- (i₁) inchoant diphthong, (i) commenced too deep as (i) and gradually raised to (i) during speech, 293; this is the Midland form and seems to be what Sweet writes *ij*, which he analyses as (i¹) for received English.
- (i₁²) a diphthong arising from beginning (y₁) with the mouth too open, heard in D 19, p. 261*a*.
- (i₁) a lowered form of (i) lying between (i, e), which Sweet hears in *pity* and is common dialectally.
- (i₁) L. close (ív) as written on 682*d*, No. 3, usually written (i³).
- (i₁á₁) a peculiar northern tracture, in which both elements are distinct, 542*a*.
- (i₁e²) JGG.'s form of (i³), 721*b*, *e*.
- (i₁i) here the first element is deeper than (i) and approaches (e), so that JGG. often wrote (e¹i₁), which see, 541*c*; it differs from (i¹) in being nearer (éi).
- (i₁) doubly lowered (i), representing the sounds generally written *i* in Ab. which sound to me among (i, e, ə, ɛ, v), fully discussed in 767, see also 695*d* and 756*d*.
- (i) Bell's No. 27, which he assigns to German *über* and Sweet to French *lune*, both of which I take to be (y).
- J. (j 'j—J Jh—r).
- (j) a modifier, indicating that the preceding consonant is palatalised, or that an attempt is made to pronounce (j) simultaneously with it, as in (kj, gj, lj, nj), 1115. Sweet calls this palatalisation "front modification," because he terms (i) a "front vowel."
- (j) indefinite palatalised voice, heard in the 'vanish' of (e'e'j) for long *a* in the pause, 1111, Sweet writes *ei* and analyses (éi).
- (j) the true consonantal sound in *ye* yield *y*et *y*acht, German *j*, the true consonantal form of (i), 1149*d*, 542*c*.
- (jh) the palatal hiss of (j) heard, at least occ., in *lew lue Hughes huge Hume*, but often replaced by simple (j), not unlike (gjh, kjh), 1149, col. 2.
- (r) the Midland gentle *r* described in 293*d* and 294, not materially different from (r₂, r²) and other imperfect, because unflapped or untrilled, forms of (r), see under R.
- K. (k k₁ kh kj kjh k₁h k₁'h κ).
- (k) common guttural mute in *cake*, *sack*, *pick'ing*; there is a habit sometimes of jerking out the following vowel as (k₁əm) *come*, heard in Ireland and Germany, 1140*d*, and some insist on slight flatus intervening as (k₁həm), which regularly occurs in the pause as (sæk₁h) = (sæk¹) *sack*, neither practice is generally heard from educated speakers.
- (k₁) explodent form of (t₁) as conceived by Mr. Godwin and found in India, 1119*c*.
- (kh) the German *ch* in *ach*, still heard in Lowland Scotch and occ. in Northern English.
- (kj) palatalised (k), or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (i) simultaneously, 1115.
- (kjh) palatalised hiss, an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (i) simultaneously; German *ich*, *recht*, heard in Lowland, 542*c*, 711*d*, not to be confounded with (jh) or with (sh, shj).
- (k₁'h) labialised (k) or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (u) simultaneously, usual *qu* in *quality*, *quantity*, *equalise*, *question*, 1103, col. 2, 1115.
- (k₁'h) an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (u) simultaneously, final in German

auch, *buch*, and initial in Lowland Scotch, written as initial *quh*, 1115*b'*, 711*d*.

(κ) retracted (k), see (g), p. 81*.

L. (l 'l l—lh, lhh, lj—l lh—l—L—T).

(l) common English *low*, *lie*, *owl*, *aisle*, *dwelling*, 1146*c*, 542*c*, the tip of the tongue resting on the hard palate some way from the gums, coronal (l), and the sides of the tongue slightly flapping.

(l) syllabic (l), the voice being sustained during position, this notation is adopted as clearer than Bell's (ll) or my equivalent (l'). Compare (*lit'l*, *litll*, *lit'l*).

(.l) alveolar (l), the tip of the tongue resting on the gums, common continental *l*, 542*c*.

(lh) flated (l), that is, with flatus substituted for voice, generated in some dialects, and supposed by Bell to occur regularly before (p t k), as (*hellhp*) or (*hellhp*, *mellht*, *mällhk*) *help*, *melt*, *milk*, 542*d*.

(lhh) unilateral (lh), the breath being ejected from the right side of the tongue only, as in Welsh *llall*.

(lj) palatalised *l*, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (i) at the same time. Italian *gl* may be generated in English *million* as (*ml-lj-jen*), 1115.

(l) the Polish gutturalised barred *l*.

(lh) the flated (*l*).

(l) the gradual glottid, the edges of the glottis being open when beginning to speak and gradually closing, 1129*e'*.

(L) reverted *l*, the under part of the tongue being turned to the palate generated by action of preceding (x), 42*d*, and sometimes used independently, 143*c*.

(l) glottal *r* peculiar to Danish, but held to have been heard in the Cockney speech by Donders, 1099*e'*.

M. (m 'm mh κ).

(m) an orinatal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (p), 1148, col. 2; the tongue should obstruct the cavity of the mouth as little as possible, or (n, q) may be generated, for which the opening of the lips is not necessary.

(m) syllabic (m) in schism *chasm*

(*siz'm kæz'm*); this symbol preferred as more distinct than Bell's (mm) or my (m'), 1148*d'* and 1108*d*.

(mh) flatus passed through the nose while the mouth is in the position for (p), thought by Bell to occur before mutes, but not heard by me, 1141*a*, 1148*e'*.

(κ) turned small capital *m*, a lip trill with compressed lips, a defective utterance of (r) usually taken for (w), 665, line 1, formerly written (u) or turned *m*.

N. (n 'n n—nh nj—x).

(n) orinatal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (t), as in *no*, *own*, *manner*, 1095, the mouth is generally open, but it is not necessary that it should be so, see (m).

(n) syllabic (n) so written in preference to Bell's (nn) and my (n') for lengthened (n), in *open*, *sunken* (*oop'n*, *səqk'n*), 1108*d*.

(.n) the alveolar continental *n* with the tip of the tongue quite on the gums, 1095*e'*.

(nh) flatus through the nose and in the mouth in the position for (t); this was once used initially for *kn*-throughout England, and is still so used occ. in Cu. 542*d*.

(nj) palatalised (n), an attempt to pronounce (n) and (i) at the same time, Italian and French *gn*, Spanish *ñ*, Portuguese *nh*; may be generated in English (*ən-nj-jen*) *onion*, 1151, col. 2, see (qj).

(x) reverted (n), the mouth being in the position for (x) during the orinatal resonance, generated by a preceding (x) in D 4 and D 11, see 42.

O. (o o_u—oh óob oλ ow—o o_u o^l—oh oo'w).

(o) Bell's No. 8 Italian open (o), different from, but often confused with (ə), and common in our dialects, 540*c*.

(o_u) may indicate an endeavour to pronounce (o) with the lip aperture of a (u), see 1116*b'*, and may occur in dialects: it might also be written (ow) on Sweet's principle of 'overrounding'.

(oh) Bell's No. 20, conceived by Sweet as French *l'homme*, which I hear as (o), conceived by Bell as American

- stone, which I hear as (*o*), and Low-land note, which I also hear as (*o*). Bell considers it to be unaccented *o* in history, victory, which seems to me pedantic.
- (*oo*) a compound dialectal fracture, the rec. pron. of *oar*, with vocalised *r*, now usually called (*AA'v*), and formerly quite (*oo*), 1099*a*.
- (*oA*) conventional sign for Fr. *ou*, see (*A*).
- (*ou*) see (*ou*) above, and (*u*), p. 86*.
- (*o*) Bell's No. 7, as long in *oue*, *no*, *go* without the 'vanish,' see (*oo'u*), it is not found short in accented closed syllables in English, it resembles the Italian close *o*, and may certainly be used for it, 1152, 540.
- (*ou*) the tongue as for (*o*) with the lip rounding as for *u*, 682*d*, No. 2, generally written (*u*).
- (*o¹*) an (*o*) with a raised tongue and rather more closed lips, and hence closely resembling (*u*), so that (*u₁*) is generally written in diphthongs, 541*d*, 683*b*, No. 3. 1.
- (*oh*) Bell's No. 19, conceived by him as Fr. *homme*, see (*oh*) and when nasalised as (*ohA*), French *ou*. Sweet gives no example.
- (*oo'u*) or (*oo*) with the vanish, that is, with a tendency as it is lengthened towards (*u*, *u*), 1152, col. 1. conceived as (*ooou*) and often written (*oo*) which to me altogether perverts the sound. Sweet writes *ou* and analyses (*oo'u*) = (*oo_u*).
- Œ. (*œ œ₁*—*œA*—*œ œ'u*—*œ œ*—*œ*).
- œ* Bell's No. 32, intermediate to (*o*, *e*). Fr. *œu* in *veul peuple*. German short *ö* in *böcke*, distinct from (*o*) or *œu* in *peu*, and German long *ö* in *Goethe*: thought to occur in English, 541*b*, but this is doubtful.
- œ₁* a variant of (*œ*), greatly resembling (*u*), and similarly used as a transition from (*u*) to (*æ*) in Nb. 638*c*, see also 721*c*.
- œA* the Fr. orinatal *œu*, but the analysis cannot be properly made on account of the modification of the oral cavity by releasing the uvula: to an Englishman it sounds rather as (*æA*), that is, (*æ*) with Fr. nasality.
- œ* Bell's No. 1, the sound heard on opening the mouth wide while pronouncing (*u*), 292*c*.
- œ'u* results from commencing (*u*) with too wide an opening of the lips, see 292*c*. TH. writes (*œ_u*) for this sound.
- (*æ*) Bell's No. 22, in *first erst third*, when *r* is entirely lost, not materially different from (*ææ*), but with a somewhat more provincial effect, 1156, most noticeable in diphthongs. (*æ'i*, *æ'u*) the forms of (*a'i*, *a'u*) in D 4, p. 65*a*, (*æ'y*) the form of (*a'u*) in D 11, p. 156*d*, 158*c*.
- (*æ*) Bell's No. 9, which he hears in L. *up*, and Sweet in Cockney *park*: I once imagined it was the D 4 sound in *first*, which I afterwards wrote (*f_rst*) and now write (*færst*), 42*c*. I do not know the sound. I take the L. *up* to be (*æp*), see the words on 718 under U:.
- (*æ*) a form of (*æ*) with the sound of (*AA*) running through it, continually spelled *aw* by dialect writers, 43*c*, under O'.

P. (p—ph).

- (*p*) as in *pope*, *stopping*: it may be initially (*ph*, *p*, *ph*) and finally in the pause (*p'*) with, or (*p:*) without, a recoil, see 1111, col. 2.
- (*ph*) the flated form of (*bh*), the breath as it is usually emitted for cooling hot liquids, used for (*f*) in Hungarian, and possibly = mod. Gr. *φ*.

Q. (q—qj qj).

- (*q*) nasal resonance of voice in the position of the tongue for (*k*) which excludes oral resonance, 1123*c*: the lips are usually open, but this is not necessary, as oral resonance is entirely prevented.
- (*qj*) the probable Sanscrit form which is confused generally with (*nj*), 1124*d*, corresponding to (*kj*, *qj*).
- (*qj*) palatalised (*q*) is by some conceived as the proper French pron. of *gn*, which I take to be (*nj*) as it certainly is in Italian.

R. (*r r r r, r^o r^o r_o r_o—rh rh rh,—r r_o—rw—R R_o r_o—Rh—r—r*).

- (*r*) a sharp beat produced by allowing emitted voice to flap the tip of the tongue, and this is the true 'trill' as heard in Italy, in Scotland, in Wales, and in Sh.; the strength and length of the beat vary much, but when there is no beat, there is

- some substitute, as (r_o), now common. Enumerated kinds, 294. Simple (r) is constantly written for any kind, and the particular kind is often specified in a note, but is not always known; but real (r) is the exception in English.
- (.r) strongly flapped L.-Scotch (r).
- (r) the tip of the tongue advanced quite to the gums, during the flap, used after (t) in dialects.
- (r) with retracted instead of reverted tip of the tongue, which approaches the hard palate; the tongue however retains the spoon-shaped hollowness of (R) towards the throat, 41*d*; (R) has usually been printed instead of (r).
- (r^o) the Northern buzzed r, described 542, last line but one.
- (r^o) the same as (r^o), but with the tip of the tongue advanced towards the gums, used after (t) in Northern dialects.
- (r_o) the buzzed r of the East of England, the tip of the tongue almost in the (d) position, but not touching the palate, a mere imperfect (d); a degradation of (R, R_o), at times very difficult to distinguish from (v), 1098*b*, 189*c*, 222*a*.
- (r_o) advanced alveolar (r_o) used after (t) in dialects.
- (rh) flated (r), flatus instead of voice being used to produce the trill; it probably does not occur in English.
- (rh) flated (r).
- (rh) flated (r), a milder form of (rh), which is usually written, 42.
- (r) uvular r, the beat or interruption of sound being produced by the flapping of the uvula, which is brought to lie over the top surface of the tongue; it is possible to make this trill very hard, and even metallic as in Paris, 642*b*; its usual effect is like (gh).
- (r_o) the uvular rise, a stiffened uvula which does not flap as in (r), 642*c*.
- (rw) the (r) labialised, by bringing the lips nearly into the position for (o), the full Nb. *burr*, of which there may be several kinds, 641*d*.
- (R) reverted (r), the under surface of the tip of the tongue turned to the hard palate, and the flap indistinct and less sharp than for (r); some deny that it is ever trilled, 23*b*, 41, apparently combined with vowels (æ, a, A), etc. 42*b*.
- (R) untrilled (R), this form is chiefly

- recognised by natives who consider that (R) is never trilled, because the effect of the trill is so different from that in (r), 23*b*, 53*a*.
- (r_o) the syllabic (R) for which (æR) is usually written, 42.
- (rh) flated (R), the common initial r in D 4, p. 42*a*.
- (r) Irish r written (.r) on 1232*c*.
- (a) permissive (r), that is, where r is written, either (æ) or (æR) may be pron., but the first is more usual. 1099*c*, 1153*a*, 189*c*.

S. (s s sh shj sh srh sh).

- (s) common s in *see*, *cease*, missing. 1104*c*, a pure hiss, with no voice.
- (s) the tongue for (s) is advanced close to the gum in making the hiss in cats, 1105*a*, line 3: LLB. hears this, and not (t s) in the Italian z.
- (sh) 'concave swish,' hiss with the tongue retracted and hollowed, in *she*, *leash*, *wishing*, 1117 to 1121.
- (shj) 'convex swish,' the upper surface of the tongue is convex to the palate: this seems to be the High German s in *st*, *sp* initial, where 'concave' (sh) with a hollow upper surface of the tongue is not admissible: (tj) may be taken as (tjshj) as well as (tsh).
- (sh) an advanced (sh), which may be heard in *catch* (kætsh), written (kættj), where LLB. hears only (sh). 1117 to 1121.
- (srh) voiceless Polish rz, tongue in the position for (sh) and the tip slightly trilled, 295*a*, line 4.
- (sh) 'reverted swish,' made with reverted tongue, that is, sh_v as affected by a preceding R, 41*c*.

T. (t t' t t_v—tj th th, tj tw—r —tj th).

- (t) as in *taught*, *tatting*, with the tendency in some speakers to (th, tj, t_v) when initial, 1095, and (t_v) final in the pause, 1111, col. 2.
- (t) suspended (t) used for the definite article in the North, 18*b*, 20*b*, especially considered, 317*b*.
- (t) alveolar t, with the tip of the tongue against the gums, used before r, then pron. (r), in many English dialects, 542*b*, see (d).
- (t) retracted (t), see (d), 41*d*.
- (tj) as in *cheese*, *catch*, *hatching*, a contraction for (tsh, t_vsh) or (tjshj). see (dj), 1154*b*, 542*b*.

- (th) dental hiss, as in *thin breath pith* nothing, the tongue fully against (not between) the teeth, 1097*d*.
 (th.) alveolar hiss, the tongue on the gum, Spanish *z*, scarcely distinguishable from (th).
 (tj) palatalised (t), an attempt to utter (t, i) at the same time, 1115.
 (tw) labialised (t) as in *twine*, an attempt to utter (t, u) at the same time, 1115.
 (ɾ) reverted *t*, with the under surface of the tongue against the palate, 42*c*.
 (ɾɿ) reverted (ɾɿ) formed of (ɾsh), 41*d*.
 (rh) an attempt to say (th) with the under surface of the tongue against the teeth, 41*e*.

U. (u ũ—*u w' u'—u_o u_o u_ou—*
uh úu—u₁ u₁' ú₁ú₁ úu₁ə
ú₁u—u).

- (u) Bell's No. 3; when long as (uu) in *too food pool*; it does not occur short in an accented closed syllable in English, but often occurs short in an open unaccented syllable as in *influence to-day to-night*, 1097*d*, 540*d*; found medial in *L.* (*buk*, *book*, see (*úu*)).
 (ũ) very short diphthongising initial (u) used where (w) is now employed, 1103, 543*b* under (w).
 (u) Bell's No. 4, the common short *oo* in an accented syllable, *full good*, distinctly different from (u), 1114*c'*, where read (*u₁*) for (*u_o*).
 (u') the form in which (*u₁'*) is usually written, 711, No. 10.
 (u') a higher form of (u) almost (u), 53, par. 8, 554*e*.
 (u_o) peculiar Midland transition sound from (ə) to (u), described, 291*e*, and compare, 292*a*, 365, 554.
 (u_o) the sound of (u_o) with the tongue more advanced.
 (úu) TH.'s sign for my (*u'u*), 292*c*, used on 327, under O'.
 (uh) Bell's No. 16, which he assigns to unaccented *-are* and American *do*, but Sweet to *value*.
 (úu) Midland inchoant diphthong commencing with (u) and passing on to (u), probably Sweet's *uw*, which he analyses as (*úuu*), that is (u) passing into an 'overrounded' (u), see (*ú₁u*).
 (u₁) a low form of (u), scarcely distinct from (o^l) the high form of (o), which see, 291*e*, 389*b*, 540*d*. For a long time I confounded this with (u_o) under one sign and hence some errors in

Part IV., thus (u_o) on p. 1107*d'*, 1114*c'*, should be (u₁).

- (u₁') a peculiar fracture heard in D 33, so written on 682*d*, but written (u') on 711, No. 10.
 (ú₁ú₁) a Northern fracture similar to (*i₁á₁*), 542*a*.
 (úu₁ə) JGG.'s form of (u'), 721*c*.
 (ú₁u) Northern inchoant diphthong commencing with (u₁), almost (o^l), and ending with (u), 494*e*, 541*d*, 595*b*.
 (v) Bell's No. 15, Bell and Sweet both consider it to be Swedish *u*; it may be conceived as (y) with more flavour of (u) in it.

V. (v Δ).

- (v) the voiced form of (f), a buzz, with the lower lip firmly placed against the teeth, the despair of Germans who use (bh), 1101, col. 2.
 (Δ) written like Greek η, the sign of French nasality; the four French nasals in *au vin un on* are conventionally represented by (aΔ eΔ œΔ oΔ), but the relaxation of the uvula necessary for nasalisation prevents any exact reference of oral to orinal vowels, 1123, col. 2.

W. (w wh wr^o w 'w wj).

- (w) a peculiarly English buzzed consonant with nearly closed lips, which are compressed in the middle but inflated on each side by the emitted voice, the back of the tongue raised as for (u); the side inflations distinguish (w) from (bh), and the buzz from (ũ), 1091 to 1094; used for (v) in some dialects, 132*b*, 143*a*.
 (wh) flated (w), that is, with unvoiced breath through the same position, which makes next to no hiss, only a blow, see the long discussion, 1125 to 1145, 543*c*.
 (wr^o) initial *wr* still heard among old people in the North, 543*c*, the oldest form was perhaps (ɾw) or labialised(ɾ).
 (w) mark of labialisation, that is, of closing the lips more or less during the sound, or holding the position of the previous letter, as in (*kw, gw, tw, dw*), that is, an attempt to pronounce (w) at the same time with (k g, t d) respectively; it may also be used with vowels to indicate greater labialisation, or more than the normal closure of the lips, thus (*ow*)=(*o_w*), which see.

(*w*) the indefinite voice sound (*h*) labialised, which therefore approaches to (*u*) and forms the 'vanish' of (*oo*), see (*oo'w*), and 1152, col. 1.

(*wj*) palatalised labialisation, or an attempt to pronounce (*u*, *i*) or (*y*) with the preceding letter, as (*nu'ji*) or (*nyj*), French *nuît*, 1115*d'*.

Y. (*y* *y*₁—*y* *y*₁—*Y*).

(*y*) Bell's No. 28, the sound of French *u*, German *ü*, which are perhaps not quite the same, lying intermediate between (*i*) and (*u*). The presumed transitional sound from (*u*) to (*y*) is (*u'u*). Perhaps pure (*y*) does not occur in our dialects.

(*y*₁) a modification of Fr. *u* in a direction not precisely ascertained, admitted in D 10, p. 146, D 11, p. 156*d*, and D 19, p. 261*a*.

(*y*) Bell's No. 14, said by Melville Bell to be heard in the last syllable of houses and -shire, a peculiar sound used in 540*b*, and stated to lie between (*i*, *e*), compare (*i*₁₁); it is commonly transcribed (*i*₁) by me, see 756*d* and 767*c*.

(*y*₁) a variant of (*y*), the value not precisely ascertained, 560*a*.

(*y*) Bell's No. 13, Russian **Ѣ** (*jerj*) according to Bell, and Welsh *u* according to Sweet.

Z. (*z* *z*—*zh* *zh* *zhj* *zrh*—*zh*).

(*z*) the buzz of (*s*) produced by laying on the voice in the (*s*) position, as in any his whizzing; often preceded when initial by an (*s*) in German as (*szii*) sie, and followed by an (*s*) in the pause in English as (*hizs*) his, 1122*e'* 1104*d*.

(*z*) the voiced form of (*s*), which see, according to L.L.B. the voiced Italian *z* generally taken as (*d*, *z*).

(*zh*) the buzz of *sh*, initial in Fr. *je* (*zhə*), in English occurs only between two vowels as in division, measure, and where it has been recently developed except in S. dialects, 40*d*, 1118.

(*zh*) advanced (*zh*), this may be the second element of (*dj*) usually assumed to be (*dzh*), 1154*b'*.

(*zhj*) voiced (*shj*), convex tongued (*zh*), this also may be the second element of (*dj*).

(*zrh*) voiced Polish *rz*, the tongue as for (*zh*) and the tip trilled, 295*a*.

(*zh*) reverted (*zh*) with the under surface of the tip of the tongue against the palate, occurs in (*bj* = *bzh*), 41*c*.

Numerals (¹ ₁ ₁₁ _ε ⁴ ⁵ ₂).

(¹) with a higher tongue, or appreciated as a higher sound, 1107.

(₁) with a lower tongue, or appreciated as a deeper sound, 1107, often used as a mere diacritic.

(₁₁) doubly lowered, see (*i*₁₁) p. 82*.

(_ε) is used for the Arabic **ع** or bleat which it greatly resembles in shape; it is produced in the glottis, and may be considered as an exaggerated catch or (*ʔ*).

(⁴) rounding by palatal arches, as in a parrot's (*p^hu's*) pass, 1114*d'*.

(⁵) with pursed and protruded lips, 158*c*, 322*d*.

(₂) unilateral palatal click used to start a horse with in England, usually spelled *cl'ek*; there are several other clicks represented by turned numerals, or by aid of † below, 725, No. 17.

Points (, ; † : . . ' ' — : † : †).

(^ʔ) preceding a vowel, the clear glottid, 1129*d'*.

(_ʔ) the check glottid or Arabic hamza, regularly used when a word begins with a vowel in German, not usual in English, 1130, 725*d*, 730*d*, used instead of musical accent in Danish.

(^ʔ) indicates the absence of glide or recoil after a mute, see p. 77* on length of consonants.

(_ʔ) after a vowel or syllable, denotes secondary stress; before a word indicates that it would begin with a capital letter in received spelling.

(.) period, before any letter, indicates that it receives a peculiarly vigorous utterance; it is only used in phonetic discussions as (*r*) Lowland *r*.

([˙]) after a vowel or syllable, denotes primary stress, and before a word emphasis, as (*tu prize'nt v prez'nt*) or (*tu prizen't v prez'nt*) to present a present.

(^ʰ) after or before another consonant, = (^h), that is, voice in its simplest form independent of the position of the organs; in former Parts much used where (*v*) is now written by preference, see (*l*, *'m*, *'n*).

(^ʰ) after another consonant = (^h),

THE EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this treatise is to determine with considerable accuracy the different forms *now*, or *within the last hundred years*, assumed by the descendants of the same original word in passing through the mouths of uneducated people, speaking an inherited language, in all parts of Great Britain where English is the ordinary medium of communication between peasant and peasant. This limitation excludes those parts of Wales and Scotland where Celtic is habitually spoken by the natives. Ireland has also been excluded, except in the south-east of Co. Wexford—an old English colony—because it has otherwise a comparatively recently imported speech. The exact limits are marked on the Map by the CB or Celtic border, and traced in words below. Of course the oldest form of English existent within these limits was itself imported from North Germany, modified by Old Norse and subsequently Old Norman, which was a form of Old French modified by Old Norse. And equally of course the immigrants aboriginally spoke differently, so that there was not really one original form for any word within the whole limits thus described.

To solve this problem perfectly every word used by native peasants in every part of the country should have its pron.¹ observed and written phonetically. But this was obviously impossible. Hence a selection of typical words had to be made. Before investigating it was naturally impossible to make a proper selection, but without some sort of selection no investigation could have been commenced. At first I tried any collections of words I could obtain. Then finding how vague, defective and redundant these were, with the help of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, author of DSS. and editor of the new English Dictionary, I constructed in 1873 a *Comparative Specimen* (referred to as *es.* and given in the Preliminary Matter No. III.), containing at least many typical words and constructions, run into sentences. This then I endeavoured to get “translated” into the idiom and pronunciation of the place.

¹ See list of abbreviations in frequent use, pp. 4* and 6*.

Constantly complaints came to me from correspondents in different parts of the country that "our people don't speak so." Of course they did not. That was inevitable, and indeed intentional. But the intention was also to have the idiom corrected, at the same time that the pron. was assigned, and this was seldom attempted. Notice of my attempt was given in the *Athenaeum* and *Academy*, and numerous ladies and gentlemen who were familiar with dialectal speech gave me their assistance. But there was great difficulty in expressing their meaning through lack of phonetic knowledge. Fortunately many were able to give *vivâ voce* readings, and most kindly laboured hard to make me understand the sounds, while I wrote them in palaeotype. Their names and work are recorded in the Alphabetical County List in the Preliminary Matter No. VI. In other cases I endeavoured by written questions to obtain a clue to the sounds. But this was heavy and laborious, and the result was not satisfactory on the whole, although the versions of my es. thus obtained were the nucleus of my work.

Finding that the words I wanted particularly were often ingeniously avoided in the translations given, and that the idiom presented great difficulties, in Sep. 1877 I got out *Word Lists* (referred to as wl.), following the order and etymology in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*. This step indicated a further advance in the conception of the problem. The Wessex, or literary Saxon form of King Alfred's time, was now, where possible, adopted as the language of comparison, even for those Midland and Northern regions, where different forms of Low German were originally spoken. In some instances of course this comparison could not be made, and the word had to be referred to a Norse or French form, or classed as of unknown origin. We had now a standard of comparison. The problem then assumed this form, *given the Wessex vowels* (or consonants, but the vowels were most important) *of certain words, to find their dialectal equivalents in different parts of the country*, and this is the form under which its solution is attempted in this treatise. The order and classification used by Dr. Sweet, proving inconvenient for rapid reference, I subsequently modified this list, and it finally assumed the form of the Classified Word List (referred to as cwl. as distinct from the preceding wl.) given in the Preliminary Matter No. V.

With this wl. I gave a list of the principal sounds to be observed, with their glossic representation and a number attached. I regret to say that these proved useless and confusing. I could seldom rely upon the figures given. Some unfortunate misprints, arising from extending the list of sounds, increased the perplexity of many correspondents, and the result was that where I was unable to obtain *vivâ voce* or palaeotypic information, I had the same difficulty as before in interpreting the informants' orthography (here referred to as io.), and occasionally the still greater difficulty arising from the wrong use of numbers. Still I managed to obtain a very considerable amount of local information from all parts of the country by means of these wl., over which many of my

informants gave themselves an immense amount of trouble, for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful. About 1700 of these lists were sent out, chiefly to the clergy in those parts of the country from which information was most needed, and of these about 500 were returned with some though often very little information.

In 1879 I tried the use of a much shorter specimen called the Dialect Test (referred to henceforth as dt.), containing only 76 independent words, which exemplified all the principal classes, or rather would have done so if my informants had not constantly avoided or changed some of the important words. This dt. with the words numbered and the original notes designed to draw my informants' attention to the points of the investigation and to record the pron. to a considerable extent without having to acquire the use of a systematic orthography, is given in the Preliminary Matter No. IV., and has been of much service.

These three modes of obtaining information were necessarily addressed to educated people who did not speak dialect naturally, and hence had only more or less observed what was said, and imitated it as well as they could. They all spoke "received speech" (abbreviated to rs.) in "received pronunciation" (abbreviated to rp.), and endeavoured more or less successfully to impart their impressions of dialectal pron. (abbreviated to dp.) by means of "received orthography" (abbreviated to ro.). Here were many possible sources of error. 1) The sounds may have been wrongly appreciated. 2) The sounds may have been wrongly imitated. 3) The rp. adopted by my informants may have been different from my own, for there is no such thing as a uniform educated pron. of English, and rp. or rs. is a variable quantity differing from individual to individual, although all its varieties are "received," understood and mainly unnoticed. 4) There are many dialectal sounds which are not recognised at all in rs. and which hence required more than ro. to represent, so that my informants frequently used combinations of letters which are not in ro., and these they generally did not attempt to explain or frankly declared to be inexplicable. 5) There was my own conjectural interpretation of my informants' orthography, which was at first very venturesome and unsatisfactory to myself. The hours, days, and sometimes months and years which I have spent over endeavouring to avoid these sources of error would be in themselves sufficient to account for the delay in completing this treatise.

But why not go to the peasantry at once? Why not learn from word of mouth, so that the errors would be limited to the writer's own appreciation? Where possible, this mode of obtaining information has been followed. But I have myself been able to do so in very few cases. There are many difficulties in the way. First the peasantry throughout the country have usually two different pron., one which they use to one another, and this is that which is required; the other which they use to the educated, and this which is their own conception of rp., though often remarkably different from it, is absolutely worthless for the present purpose.

If I, having no kind of dialectal speech, were to go among the peasantry, they would of course use their "refined" speech to me. I have therefore not attempted it. But I have occasionally been able successfully to obtain information from domestic servants, from railway porters, and principally, through the kind cooperation of the Principal, from the students at Whitelands Training College in Chelsea. These last were young women generally about twenty years old, fresh from the country, who, though they now spoke rs. very well, had been from earliest childhood accustomed to the speech of their own districts, or had learned that of other districts by long teaching of natural dialect speakers in national schools. To the interest taken by the Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, the Principal, in my work, the help from the teachers themselves, and the willing assistance of the students, I am indebted for information which has cleared up many difficulties and helped me to fill up many gaps.

But my chief aid in this way has come from three important sources. 1) Mr. C. Clough Robinson (henceforth referred to as CCR.), author of a Leeds Glossary, and subsequently of the Mid Yorkshire Glossary (the latter published by the English Dialect Society), a natural dialect speaker, acquired my glossic in personal interviews with me, and was of the utmost assistance in phonetically rendering the pron. of South and Mid Yo.

2) Mr. J. G. Goodchild (henceforth referred to as JGG.) a Londoner, who had been many years employed on the Government Geological Survey, and had thus been constantly in the society of dialect speakers, having acquired a knowledge of my palaeotype (verified by many personal interviews between us), was able to furnish me with wonderful phonographs, so to speak, of the pron. in Cu. We. and nw. Yo., which he had again and again verified by the speakers themselves.

3) Mr. Thomas Hallam (henceforth referred to as TH.), a native of n. Db., a natural dialect speaker, for many years a book-keeper in the Canal Department of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Offices at Manchester, having acquired the use of my palaeotype in great perfection, as verified by many personal interviews between us, has rendered me the most important services in the Midland Counties, La. Ch. Db. St. in especial, and in various other counties of England, as will be seen in the lists Nos. VI. and VII. given in the Preliminary Matter. His position in connection with the Railway Offices gave him facilities for travelling over these regions, and as he has been helping me for fully twenty years, there has been time for collecting and imparting great stores of information. His method of proceeding was this. On arriving at a station he would inquire where he could find old and if possible illiterate peasants, whom he would "interview," gaining their confidence, and then noting their peculiarities of pron. in his note books (now more than lxx. in number, a goodly Septuagint), using palaeotype, which he wrote most accurately. In the same books he entered all passing pron. which he heard, forming the "words noted" (abbreviated to wn.), which are so frequently referred to hereafter,

reduced to the form of my owl. Also, making acquaintance with native dialect speakers, he obtained numerous es. and dt., most of which are given below, and thus enabled me to illustrate dialectal pron. in a most unexpectedly accurate manner over about 22 counties; for the exact enumeration see the Alphabetical County List, and Informants' List in the Preliminary Matter, Nos. VI. and VII.

A large number of the names there recorded recall to me long correspondence or lengthy personal interviews, and I beg to return to all my informants grateful thanks for their help, which has made my work possible.

Finally I wish to record my obligations to H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (henceforth referred to as LLB.), who, though he was able only on one occasion to take down a portion of a es. in pal. himself, yet procured me many versions of the es. from others, and a large amount of incidental dialectal information. To him I owe especially my first conceptions of a classification of the English Dialects, and he has been throughout a warm sympathiser and a ready helper. Possessing a large collection of English dialect books, consisting of various specimens, besides those versions of the Song of Solomon made for himself, and all the best glossaries, with many of his own notes in travelling, he allowed me to examine them all, and abstract what was needed, so that I was made thoroughly acquainted with all that had been done before, and saw how necessary it was to treat of the pron. separately.

To clothe all these sources of information in a proper garment, which would admit of accurate comparison, a sufficiently copious phonetic alphabet was necessary. The palaeotype used in Parts I. to IV. of EEP. was of course adopted. But the direct investigation of living speech has rendered numerous additions or modifications necessary. Hence I have considered it advisable to prefix to this treatise a new table of Dialectal Palaeotype (in the Preliminary Matter No. VIII.), containing all the signs employed in this treatise in an order which can be readily referred to, so that no reader can have any difficulty in ascertaining the value of any symbol he meets with. Great peculiarities will generally be specially explained where they occur, and in the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype (which for that purpose has been printed last) references will be given to these explanations. The use of pal. of course requires much careful study to understand it thoroughly and read it easily, but I must assume that this work will be used by readers who are prepared to study. There is no help for it. If the sounds were merely uttered to them without being fixed by signs, they would forget or confuse them immediately. I do not add a general treatise on phonetics. Much can be gathered from the discussions in Part IV. of EEP., and a condensed account of the theory of phonetics, with a long list of my palaeotype symbols, drawn up by myself, will be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 22, or part 86, pp. 381-390, published 1887.

There is so much difficulty in limiting the conception of a

dialect, so as to distinguish it from a language, that I have thought it best not to attempt distributing the English language into precisely defined dialects, but to take the range of country where English is acknowledged to be spoken by peasants to one another in some one or other of its forms, and then to divide it into districts where the form of speech can be tolerably well defined. Hence the first thing is to lay down the limits assumed for English as against Celtic. This is a division of entirely unrelated languages, differing in sound, vocabulary, grammar and history. But this is the only case in which all these four points will have to be considered. This is a treatise on the existing phonology of the English dialects, meaning simply peasant speech. Hence, when the area of English is once determined, the geographical divisions must depend mainly, if not always, entirely on pron., with the least possible admixture of considerations founded on vocabulary and grammar (indicated in the note appended to the ewl. in Preliminary Matter No. V. p. 25*), and none at all on history.

The first broad points in the phonology of English which struck me were the treatment of Wessex U and U' (capital letters will always be used, as in the headings of the ewl. in the Preliminary Matter No. V.), of the letter R, and of the definite article. To my surprise I found that the lines separating these different treatments could be traced completely across the country from sea to sea, and hence I obtained TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, which form the first broad phonetic distribution of English speech. I had hoped indeed that they would form the basis of the ultimate districts. But I gradually found that this was not the case, so far as the treatment of U, U' was concerned, for reasons which will be best explained hereafter; but in other respects the transverse lines do really limit divisions and districts.

Then by tabulating and comparing, especially by means of the ewl, I obtained SIX DIVISIONS, with sufficiently distinct differences and characters, to which I give the geographical names of Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern, and Lowland, the last being almost entirely in Scotland. The characters by which these are distinguished will be given in detail hereafter.

Then commenced the more difficult task of separating these Divisions into such DISTRICTS as had a considerable claim to be considered uniform in the pron. they used, and were sufficiently distinct from their neighbours. The difficulty was to make these districts wide enough, by resolutely refusing to be led away by small differences. Properly speaking there is no uniformity. Not only will a practised ear tell the village in a district from which a speaker hails, but a more accurate examination will shew that families in the same village do not speak exactly alike, nay, that the individual members of the same family will have generally some differentiating peculiarity. My information, however, seldom went into such fine details, although that obtained from Messrs. Goodchild and Hallam often reaches the stage of individualism. My first attempts almost always erred in making the districts too

small, but finally I left very few small districts, because, among other reasons, of the difficulty in determining their boundaries with the information at my command, and contented myself with mostly large districts, in which I recognised VARIETIES only roughly located, and not always accurately or completely characterised.

The result of this has been to divide the whole country into 42 numbered districts, of which 21 contain 89 varieties. In eight of these varieties I have even distinguished 19 subvarieties. Thus stated, the distribution appears rather complex, but the complexity will disappear on examination. The whole of these 10 Transverse Lines, 6 Divisions, and 42 districts, with the Celtic Border, are clearly shewn in the little maps of England and Scotland, drawn from my instructions by Messrs. George Philip and Son, and given with this treatise, and the Key to these maps in the Preliminary Matter No. II. indicates the position of the varieties and subvarieties. In the subsequent pages each District and Variety will be considered in the order of their numbers, and their numbers will be placed at the head of the pages. Hence the reader, after having consulted the map which gives him the number of the district, and the key which shews the number of the Variety, can immediately turn to the page containing the information.

In the course of tracing the boundaries, or of giving the information, I shall have frequently to refer to places whose names are not on the maps here given, and indeed are often difficult to find on any but the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. But it is necessary that the reader should have a good conception of their situation on the little maps which have the districts marked on them. This is effected thus. Take the village of Harrold referred to as "Harrold, Bd. (8 nw. Bedford)," that is, Harrold (not on the map) is in Bedfordshire, 8 miles to the north-west of the town of Bedford (which is on the map). Any series of county maps will then enable the reader either to find the name or the exact locality. I have found G. Philip and Son's penny county maps of England and Scotland very useful, but they are not on a uniform scale. W. H. Smith and Co.'s maps (on the uniform scale of 4 miles to the inch) will enable the reader to follow all the boundaries of districts here given. Stanford's Railway map of three miles to the inch, and the Ordnance maps, may be further referred to if necessary, but Philip's and Smith's are the most convenient, as I have found by extensive use.

This geographical distribution, which was not possible until information had been obtained from all parts of the country, and the limitation of the investigation to phonology now existing either in absolute use of living people or in their memories, form the two distinctive characters of this treatise. It was necessary for this purpose to localise information, and hence to reject almost all printed books, which generally refer to very vaguely defined or, more accurately speaking, undefined areas. This localisation, except when I could secure the assistance of my three chief informants, was very difficult to procure. No doubt many local

readers will object to some of my lines of demarcation, or to the sounds themselves attributed to certain classes of words. This is really inevitable. I have not swept the country, and most of my brooms so far as I went were not of perfect construction. I can only say that I have done my best, and at my advanced age, after twenty years' work on the subject, the main point was to secure what had been gained, and leave corrections to future workers.

The present plan of this enlarged treatise, as distinguished from that in Chap. XI. § 2, No. 3, which has been cancelled, is as follows.

At the commencement is placed a quantity of Preliminary Matter, paged with a star, as 1*, 2*, etc., to which the reader will have constantly to refer.

The contents already sufficiently indicated consist chiefly of the means for procuring information, the geographical representation of the dialectal districts by maps, with their key, the lists of my informants, and the table of Dialectal Palaeotype.

In the work itself, after this Introduction, I proceed direct to the CELTIC BORDER, which I give in two forms: first, as the late Mr. Green conceived it to be in A.D. 580, after the Low Germans had been in England about 130 years, with his supposed distribution of the different tribes; second, as results from inquiries made by myself in Wales, and Dr. J. A. H. Murray in Scotland. Ireland I consider for present purposes as entirely Celtic, with the exception of the little peninsula containing the baronies of Forth and Bargo in Co. Wexford. This Celtic Border, which is boldly drawn on the maps, will be immediately very carefully described in words, so that it can be readily followed on any maps of Great Britain. It limits to the west and north the country considered in these pages.

After this follows an account of the TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, with a verbal description of the route taken by each, shewing the belts of different pronounciation into which they divide the country.

Then I consider the S. div., giving its boundaries and general character, followed by the districts or D. 1 to 12 which it contains.

Each district is treated thus.

It is first numbered and then named. The exact BOUNDARY, as well as it can be ascertained, is next given, followed by the AREA it occupies, expressed in terms of counties or parts of counties. Then come the AUTHORITIES or list of places from which information has been received, with a rough indication of its nature. These names refer to the Alphabetical County Lists in the Preliminary Matter No. VI., which contain detailed information. Then is given the general character of the whole district and an account of each variety. Finally come the ILLUSTRATIONS, consisting generally of es., dt. and cwl., but occasionally others, where fortune favoured me. The main scientific interest, however, centres in the es., dt. and cwl., because the different pron. of the same words are thus so easily compared. Occasionally I give many es. or dt. belonging to one district, and even to different districts, in an interlinear form, which furnishes a remarkably easy method of comparison.

The other divisions and districts are treated in the same way precisely.

Although this has a very complete and systematic appearance, I do not disguise from myself the real incompleteness of the whole exposition and the great desirability of using it merely as a nucleus round which the results of other investigations may be grouped.

Finally there will be a Section on RESULTS, shewing how modern dialectal phonology is related to the ancient Wessex form in particular. This section especially shews the bearing of the present investigation on my complete work. It will necessarily involve the philological question of the alteration of pronunciation in the descent of various languages from one source, for the divisions of English pronunciation are in fact only the illustrations on a small scale which can be observed in actual process of growth, of the changes which in a large scale have been going on within different families of languages throughout the world.

THE CELTIC BORDER.

This is considered under two aspects, ancient and modern. The Ancient is that which divided the immigrant Low Germans from the resident Celts after the first period of conquest had subsided and settlement proper began. The Modern is that now existent.

Ancient.—About A. D. 408 the last Roman forces were withdrawn from Great Britain, and probably in the same year the Low German invaders, who will here be collectively termed Saxons, though they consisted of many different tribes, began to appear. They are however generally credited with having first landed in A. D. 449. These different tribes were constantly fighting with the Celts, but after the battle of *Deorham* (a village near Bath, Sm., overlooking the valley of the R. Severn, A. D. 577), when half the country had been conquered, there was more settlement than conquest, and the different invading tribes rather contended with each other for supremacy, than fought against the “Brut” or Celts. At this time Mr. J. R. Green (*Making of England*, p. 203) apportioned the country roughly between Saxons and Celts as follows, by a line running nearly n. to s. from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel. The details of this line are mainly conjectural, and in default of precise information, Mr. Green follows *co. b.* in a great measure. But as the division corresponds to an existing contrast of dialects—on the e. side older Saxon with subsequent Danish influence, on the w. side later Saxon with Celtic influence—it is convenient to describe it, in such a way that it can easily be followed on the maps. This opportunity is also used for localising the various invading tribes to the e. according to Mr. Green,¹ and of giving two groupings of a much later date.

¹ Mr. Green considers that the British were entirely exterminated or driven to the w., so that the population to the e. was purely Saxon. Mr. Grant Allen,

in an article headed “Are we Englishmen?” (*Fortnightly Review*, 1880, vol. 28, new series, pp. 472-487), says (p. 485), “A small body of Teutonic

This ancient Celtic border which, to prevent confusion, is not laid down in the maps, begins on the Firth of Forth on the w. b. of Ed., and passes w. of Pb. and Rx. to w. of Nb. and Du. Along s. of Du. Mr. Green places the s. b. of the *Berenicians* that extended on the e. side n. to the Firth of Forth. On the w. side were Strathelyde in Scotland and the Cumbrians in England.

The old Celtic border then continues first w. of n.Yo., and then through Yo. to the e. of the great forest of Elmete, which extended down to Sherwood in Nt. and Db. It then turns w. and n., and afterwards s. again, in order to run on the n. and w. side of Db., and then to the w. of St., till it had to go suddenly e. in order to skirt the great forest of Arden in Wa.¹ Having done so, it resumes its n. to s. direction, passing through Wo. until it strikes the R.

immigrants descended some time about 5th century and onward, to the Eastern shore of South Britain. They occupied the whole coast from the Forth to the Isle of Wight, and spread over the country westward, as far as the central dividing ridge. Though not quite free from admixture with the aborigines, even in this limited tract, they still remained relatively pure in their strongholds, and they afterwards received a fresh Teutonic reinforcement by the Danish invasion. Westward of the central line they conquered and assimilated the aborigines upon whom they imposed their language and laws, but whom they did not exterminate. In the extreme west and in Ireland, the Celts long retained their language and nationality undisturbed. During the middle ages the English people formed by far the most powerful body in the island, and even now they have imposed upon all of it their name and language. But since the rise of the industrial system the Celts have peacefully recovered the numerical superiority. They have crowded into the towns and seaports, so that at the present day only the rural districts of Eastern England can claim to be thoroughly Teutonic. The urban population consists for the most part of a mixed race. Moreover, since intermarriage is now so very frequent, it seems probable that almost all English families, except those of the stationary agricultural class in the East, have some small proportion of Celtic blood. In the upper classes, where numerous intermarriages are universal, this proportion is doubtless everywhere very great. Out of Britain the Celts have it all their own way." And again (p. 487): "We may sum up the result here indicated, in a single sentence:

though the British nation of the present day is wholly Teutonic *in form*, it is largely and even preponderantly Celtic *in matter*." It seemed proper to give these results; but they do not affect this investigation. On the e. people do not speak a language shewing Celtic influence in either grammar or pron. On the w. pron., but not grammar, betrays Celtic influence. This is not an ethnologic treatise. Difference or similarity of language are no guarantees of difference or similarity of race.

¹ *Rosalind*. Well, this is the forest of Arden. *Touchstone*. Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I: when I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content.—*As you like it*. Act 2. Sc. 4, speeches 6 and 7. Lord Byron, speaking of the soldiers at Waterloo, says: "And Ardennes waves above them her green leaves, Dewy with nature's tear drops, as they pass," *Childe Harold*, Canto iii. st. 27, and the commentator in Moore's ed. 1833, vol. 8, p. 144, says: "The wood of Soignies is supposed to be a remnant of the forest of Ardennes, famous in Boiardo's Orlando, and immortal in Shakspeare's *As you like it*." Probably many schoolboys have thought the same, as I did fifty years ago also. But Arden, joined as a parish with Temple Gratton, is only 5 w. Stratford-on-Avon, Wa., and Henley-in-Arden only 7 n.w. Stratford, and I certainly agree with Sharpe's Gazetteer that this Arden "probably is the true original of Shakspeare's Forest of Arden." It was a forest he was thoroughly well acquainted with, and geography was a trifle to him. Besides, where did "the Duke" of *As you like it* abide?

Severn near Gloucester. It reappears on s. of Gl. opposite the end of the Forest of Deau, and going e. to avoid the great Forest of Selwood, passed on southwards through w.Wl. and e.Do. to the sea near Portland.

The Saxon settlements on the e. of this b. were according to Mr. Green as follows :

Berenicians in Scotland, Nb. and Du. with capital Bamborough (12 ne. Wooler), Nb.
Deirians in Yo. with capital York. The large marsh at the junction of the Ouse with the Humber, and the great forest of Elmete to the w., were uninhabited.

Lindiswaran in Li., except the great marshes near the Wash. The n. of Li. is still known as "the parts of Lindsey."

Snotingas, a tribe of Angles settled on the edge of Sherwood, Nt., and extended to the valley of the R. Soar (say to Loughborough, Le.)

Picsættan or Peak-settlers, a tribe of West Angles, inhabited Db. and were separated both from Yo. and Nt. by Sherwood and Elmete forests.

West Angles, excepting those last mentioned, settled in St.

Gyrwas, or marsh-dwellers, settled w. of the Wash.

South Angles were in s.Np.

East Angles were in Nf. and Sf.

Middle Angles were in Le.

Hwiccas, a West Saxon tribe, settled in Gl. along the R. Severn.

Wilsætan, also a West Saxon tribe, were in Wl.

Gewissas, another West Saxon tribe, settled in the Isle of Wi. and Ha.

Middle Saxons occupied Mi.

East Saxons were in Es. and Ht.

South Saxons in Ss.

Jutes, who are recognised by Mr. Green, although their existence is doubtful, are placed in Ke. The Weald of Ke. and Ss. co. was occupied by the great forest of Andreda, which separated the Kentmen from the South Saxons.

At a later period the Berenicians and Deirians were united as Northymbrians, and one of their kings, Ethelfrith, wrested Ch. and s.La. from the Celts, by the victory of Chester A.D. 613. For lack of information Mr. Green leaves these countries under Northymbria, for 62 years (from 613 to 675), till the revolt of Wulthere king of the Mercians (that is, dwellers on the Marc, or border, of Wales answering to our Midlanders) brought them under Midland influence, which their language still shews most strongly, having nothing Northymbrian in it.

In Mr. Green's posthumous work, *The Conquest of England*, 1883, p. 112, there is a rough sketch, entirely unrevised, of the state of England at the treaty of Wedmore (7 w.Wells, Sm.) between King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, after the battle of Edington (7 sw.Wells) in 878. The Danes then withdrew from Sm. and the sketch-map gives the following divisions :

1. *Bernicia* extends on the e. from the Forth to s. of Du.
2. *Danish Northumbria* covers Lonsdale s. of the Sands m.La. and all Yo.
3. *Danish Mercia* takes in Db. Nt. Li. Ru. Np. forming the districts of the Five Boroughs, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford in s.w.Li. and Nottingham.
4. *Kingdom of Guthrum* comprises Nf., Sf., Es., Mi., Ht., Bu., Bd., Cb., Hu., in fact all my E.div.
5. *English Mercia* takes all the co. w. of the Danish Mercia and e. of Wales, as far s. as the Avon and Thames, and hence includes Gl.
6. *Kingdom of Kent* occupies all my D 9 = ES.
7. *Wessex* occupies all my D 4 and 5, with the exception of Gl.
8. *West Welsh* is my D 10 and 11.

The second, third, and fourth of these divisions constitute the Danelaw or portion of England then ruled by the Danes.

Finally Mr. Green left another unfinished sketch of a map of the

“great ealdormanries” or lord-lieutenancies (*Conquest of England*, p. 316) which were created from 955 to 988. This map, then, forms a later grouping which must necessarily have had an effect on the dialects and which is therefore reproduced.

1. *Northumbrian Ealdorm* comprising the former Bernicia and Danish Northumbria.
2. *Cumbria* containing Cu.
3. *West-Moringa Land* containing We.
4. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* from the Ribble La. e. of the Severn through Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl. to the Thames.
5. *The Five Boroughs* (as above explained) replace Danish Mercia.
6. *The Ealdormanry of East Anglia* comprises Nf., Sf., Cb., Hu., Bd., Ht.
7. *The Ealdormanry of Essex* comprises Es., Mi., Ox.
8. *The Ealdormanry of the Eastern Provinces* comprises Ke., Sr., Ss.
9. *The Ealdormanry of the Central Provinces* contains Wl., Ha., and Isle of Wi.
10. *The Ealdormanry of the Western Provinces* contains Sm., Dv., Co.
11. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* contains s.La., Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl.

These original settlements of the tribes and the various settlements that followed, to which have to be added those resulting from the Danish and Norman conquests, sufficiently account for the existence of great diversities of local speech, and at the same time point to the gradual formation of the divisions S, W, E, M, N here adopted from an actual examination of existing local habits of speech. But it is no part of the work of this book to check the above statements in any way. Whatever their errors may be, they were made conscientiously to illustrate the best general conception that Mr. Green could form, with the aid of the imperfect materials he possessed.

Modern.—The modern Celtic Border in Great Britain, drawn on the map and marked CB., divides those who speak English from those who speak Celtic. But it has here been extended to Ireland so as to include the old colony of Forth and Bargy, which, like sw. Pm. and Gowerland in Wales, was an English settlement from which the Celts were excluded.

The modern CB. therefore begins in Co. Wx., Ireland, and then on the map passes by sea to Pm., Wales, and then by sea to Gm., Wales, then again by sea to Mo., whence through Wales to Fl. Afterwards it passes by sea w. of Ma., but east of the Isle of Arran, to Bute in Scotland, which country it traverses in a ne. direction to Cr., whence it passes again by sea to ne. of Cs., and by sea to the w. of the Or. and Sd. This gives the general run of the line which will now be particularised. The Welsh line was determined by AJE., the Scotch by JAHM.

An English-speaking place is one in which the uneducated, or only elementarily educated people speak with each other habitually in English. The line through Wales, with the exception of the outlying districts in Pm. and Gm., about which there is no trouble, was drawn from the answers of clergymen of the parishes along or near the supposed route in answer to the following questions :

- “ 1. Is Welsh or English generally spoken by the peasantry about [the place addressed] to one another? 2. If Welsh, where is the nearest English-speaking

place to the east? 3. If English, does it resemble in pronunciation the English of [the neighbouring English co.]? Or is it simply book-English?" To which for s.Wales I added, "4. If mixed, how often have you Welsh services or sermons?"

The complete answers which I received are given in my paper "On the Delimitation of the English and Welsh Languages," originally published in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. v. pp. 173-208, and reprinted in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1882-3-4, Part II. App. II. The names of the clergymen who so kindly assisted me will be found in the Alphabetical County List under the Welsh counties considered. Other particulars will be given when treating of D 13 and 14. Here I simply give the line as accurately as I was able to draw it, beginning with the detached districts, including the Irish portion.

Ireland.—The line which separated English from Irish in the xii th and subsequent centuries, till, in the xviii th, it was merged into the Cromwellian English spoken in the surrounding district where Irish had become disused, begins on the s. coast of Wx., Ireland, at the head of Baunow Bay (13 sw.Wexford), and passes nearly in a straight line to Wexford, following the borders of the baronies (or co. divisions, corresponding to English hundreds) of Bargy in the w. and Forth in the e. This line cuts off a peninsula at the se. angle of Ireland. It then passes by sea across St. George's Channel.

2. *South Wales, Pm.*—The CB. cuts off the two sw. peninsulas of Pm., containing the hundreds of Rhôs and Daugleddy (rhoos, dâygledh·y), Pm. I take the line assigned by my informant, Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n. Pembroke), as the probable boundary of the original or very early Saxon colony. It begins at Newgate Bridge (6 ese. St. Davids), the ne. corner of St. Bride's Bay, and proceeds in ne. direction to Ambleston (7 nne.Haverford West, and 1½ ne.Trefgarn), and then turns se. to pass by Lawhaden and Narberth (9 e.Haverford West) going in nearly a straight line just e. of Ludebureh (10 ese.Haverford West), to fall into Carmarthen Bay near Amroth (am·roth), 5 ne.Tenby, at the se. extremity of the co. Mr. Tombs says that he thinks no line can now be drawn between Anglicised Welsh and the border of the early colonists, though it was perhaps possible 100 years ago. It will be observed that this line cuts off two peninsulas separated by Milford Haven and the R. Cleddau (kledh·âx). The CB. then proceeds by sea to

3. *The Peninsula of Gowerland*, in sw.Gm. My informant, Rev. J. D. Davies, of Llanmadoc Rectory (14 w.Swansea), says that the following 17 parishes have spoken English for centuries (I merely give the distances from Swansea, direction from w. to sw.): 1, Cheriton 13; 2, Llanmadoc 14; 3, Llangenydd 15; 4, Rhos-sili 16½; 5, Llandewi 14; 6, Knelston 13; 7, Reynoldston 12; 8, Port Eynon 13; 9, Penrice 11; 10, Oxwich 11; 11, Nicholaston 10; 12, Penmaen 9; 13, Lower Llanrhidian 11 (Upper Llanrhidian 8 does not speak English); 14, Ilston 7; 15, Penard 7; 16, Bishopston 6; and 17, Oystermouth 4. These parishes all lie on the peninsula and their inland boundary is therefore part of the modern CB. It starts from the mouth of a streamlet which runs into the Burry River estuary in Carmarthen Bay, 2 s.Penclawdd (penklaurdh) railway-station, which is 8 wnw.Swansea. The boundary runs up this streamlet over Welsh Moor and Pengwern Moor nearly in a straight ese. direction to Myer's Green, 1 s. Mumbles Station (3 sw.Swansea) on Swansea Bay. The CB. again passes by sea through the Bristol Channel to the estuary of the Usk, Mo.

4. Here the Welsh and English part of the CB. begins.

Mo. Start from the confluence of the Ebbw (eb·u) and Usk, about 2 s.Newport on the Bristol Channel. Keep on the e. bank of the Ebbw, w. of Newport, e. of Risea (6 nw.Newport), and w. of Pontypool, (10 sw.Tredegarr), to the junction of the greater and lesser Ebbw, or Ebbwy-fawr, and Ebbwy-fach (eb·uy váur,

eb'uy vakh), and take the e. bank of the lesser Ebbw, leaving Mo. near Brynmawr (brānmāur) Br., meaning a 'big hill.'

Br. Proceed nearly n. to just w. of Llangattock and Crickhowell = Welsh Crughywel (krvg:ha'ū-el). Then go e. of Tretower, on the high ground to the e. of the River Bryn, turning slightly to nw. up to Talgarth (12 sw. Builth), and then probably still on the high ground on the w. of the Wye pass e. of Gwendwr (gwēndur) and Llangynog (lhangānog), but w. of Builth (by'alhht) to the Wye about 3 ne. of Builth.

Rd. Cross the Wye and proceed nearly directly n. through Rd., which is almost entirely English, just e. of the railway, leaving Rhayader-Gwy and St. Harmon's (both about 18 w. Knighton) on the w.

Mg. Continue to go nearly n., leaving Llanidloes (lhanid:lōes) (11 sw. Newtown), on w., but Mochtre and Penstrowel (3 and 5 w. and sw. Newtown) on e. Then go slightly ne. by Manafon (8 nw. Montgomery), and Castell Caer Einion (4 wsw. Welshpool), w. of Guilfield, 2 n. Welshpool, and e. of Llansantffraid (lhan-santffrāid) (8 n. Welshpool), but w. of Llandysilio (lhandāsi:līo) (7 n. Welshpool), turning n. to enter Sh.

Sh. The line seems to pass directly n. to Llanymynech (lhanāmanekh) (5 s. Oswestry), and thence to Oswestry, and on to just w. of Chirk (5 n. Oswestry).

Dn. The line then makes a gentle sweep to the e. and passes e. of Ruabon (rhūab'on) to Wrexham, through which it passes and deflects to the ne., but turns more n. as it enters Fl.

Fl. The line passes nearly n. through Fl., leaving Hope (8 se. Flint), on the e., and both Mold (6 s. Flint), and Northop (3 s. Flint), on the w., reaching the R. Dee, at 2 se. Flint, halfway between Flint and Connah's Quay.

The line again passes through the sea w. of I. of Man and e. of the I. of Arran to Bt., and the Gaelic and English b. commences.

Scotland.—The line now traverses Scotland, dividing the existing Gaelic speakers and existing Lowland speakers, that is, speakers of English in Scotland. This was determined by Dr. Murray for his work on "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland" (pp. 231-6), with the assistance of the gentlemen named below.¹ This line gives "the outside limits of the Gaelic, that is, every district is included in which Gaelic is still spoken by any natives, regardless of the fact that English may be spoken by the majority of the people." The following account of this Scotch portion of the CB. was revised by Dr. Murray. The line is traced from s. to n.

Bt. After passing through the sea from Fl., w. of I. of Man, and e. of Arran and Cantire, the CB. commences on land in Bt. and traverses the middle of the I. of Bt. and the adjacent channel.

¹ Rev. Wm. Ross, of Chapelhill Manse, Rothesay, Bt., but a native of Cs., for Cs., and co. n. of Moray Firth and islands and coast of the Clyde.

Rev. Colin Mackenzie, of Ardelach (8 se. Nairn, Na.), and Rev. John Whyte, Moyness (12 se. Inverness, In.), for Na. and El.

Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (pītslii'go), 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab., and James Skinner, Esq., factor to the Duke of Richmond, for El. and Ba.

Rev. Robt. Neil, of Glengairn, 11 ne. Braemar, Ab. (through Rev. Dr.

Taylor, of Crathie, 9 ene. Braemar, Ab.), for Ab.

Rev. Neil McBride, of Glenisla, 17 nw. Forfar, Fo., for nw. Fo. and adjacent parts of Ab. and Pr.

Rev. Samuel Cameron, of Logierait (6 n. Dunkeld), Pr. Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of Comrie (20 w. Perth), Rev. Hugh McDiarmid, of Callander, Pr., for the adjoining part of Pr.

Rev. W. Mackintosh, of Buchanan (23 wsw. Stirling, for w. Sg.).

Rev. Duncan Campbell, of Luss (12 nnw. Dumbarton, Dm.), on w. coast of Loch Lomond, for the dist. between Loch Lomond and Loch Long.

Ar. The CB. then continues in a ne. direction by the se. coast of Ar., just w. of Dunoon (9 sse Inverary), skirting the Firth of Clyde to Loch Long, through the middle of which it passes.

Dm. The CB. turns e. and enters Dm. just n. of Gorton (17 nw.Dumbarton), and passes e. through Glen Douglas to the w. shore of Loch Lomond at a point 9 nnw.Dumbarton, where it crosses Loch Lomond.

Sg. The CB. enters Sg. just n. of the Rowardennan Inn (19 n.Dumbarton and 22 w.Stirling), and crosses Sg. in an ene. direction.

Pr. The CB. passes se. of the Trossachs to Aberfoyl (7 sw.Callander), and thence to Callander, whence it passes through Glen Artney to Comrie (14 ne. Callander), and crossing Glen Almond, goes just s. of Amulrie (9 nne.Crieff), after which it follows Strath Braan through Birnam Wood to Dunkeld. The line then passes in a nne. direction over Mt. Blair, where the b. of Ab. intersects the b. of Fo.

Ab. Entering Ab. by Mt. Blair the CB. goes in a n. direction to meet the Dee about 4 e.Braemar, and follows the Dee to 2 e.Crathie and Balmoral, and then suddenly turns nnw. to go to Strathdon, also called Invernochtie (7 n.Crathie), when it turns a little nw.

Ba. The CB. enters Ba. about 6 ne.Tomantoul and skirts the R. Livet on the w. to b. of El.

El. The CB. crosses the Spey nearly at right angles (2 s.Inveraven), Ba., which is 12 nne.Tomantoul, and passes through El. in a wnw. direction crossing the Knock of Brae Moray (15 sw.Roths, El.), and proceeding nw. to Na.

Na. The CB., continuing its nw. dir., crosses the Findhorn R. at right angles, and goes on to Ardelach (8 sse.Nairn), and reaches the Moray Firth about 3 w.Nairn.

Cr. The CB. crossing the Moray Firth cuts off the extreme ne. of Cr. containing the town of Cromarty, and then the line again takes the sea past the e. coast of Ross and Sutherland and part of Cs.

Cs. The CB. reappears on land at Clyth Ness, Cs., 10 ssw.Wick. It proceeds in an undulating line to the n. of Harpsdale (15 wnw.Wick), and through Halkirk (16 nw.Wick) to the River Forss, which it follows to the sea 5 w.Thurso.

The line then takes to the sea again, leaving the Or. and Sl. groups to the e., and after passing them, ceases to exist.

THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

These are marked by broken lines on the map, except when they coincide with any border marked by a continuous line on the map, and then the broken parts are drawn through this line and at right angles to it in order to shew the coincidence of the two lines. Most of the Transverse Lines during part or all of their course so coincide with other boundaries. They are numbered on the map by numbers in (), corresponding to those used in this description.

LINE 1.—The n. *sum* line or northern limit of the pron. of the word *some*, Ws. *sum*, as (*səm*) or (*sæm*) in s. England. The pron. (*səm*) reappears n. of line 8.

Proceed from n., follow the CB. to Chirk on b. of *Sh.*, which enter between Ellesmere *sōm*, that is, which says (*sum*) (7 ne.Oswestry), and Oswestry *sum*, that is, which says (*səm*) or (*sæm*). Thence it passes se. running w. of Hordley *sōm* (6 ene. Oswestry) and e. of Whittington *sum* (2 ne.Oswestry), s. of Wem *sōm* (13 e.Oswestry) and Yorton *sōm* (2 sw.Wem) and just w. of Haduall *sōm* (4 nne.Shrewsbury), going s. between Shrewsbury *sum* and Upton Magna *sōm* (4 e.Shrewsbury) to the Severn at Ateham. Then it follows the Severn to the b. of the co.

Wo. On entering Wo. pass just e. of Bewdley (3 wsw.Kidderminster), *mixed sōm* and *sum* but chiefly *sōm*, and Dunley (5 ssw.Kidderminster) *mixed*, and proceed in a se. direction to

Wa. Stratford-on-Avon. Continuing se. to pass just n. of Kineton (8 ese.Stratford) *mixed*, much, *sōm*, through Fenny Compton (probably) to the b. of the co.

Np. Enter *Np.* just n. of Byfield (16 wsw. Northampton) *mixed*, and turn n. to coincide with Line 3 for a little way passing e. of Weedon (8 w. Northampton) *sōm*, and e. of Daventry *sōm* and going through Long Buckley to Watford (18 w. Wellingborough) *sōm* to w. of East Haddon (14 w. Wellingborough) *sum*. Then quitting Line 3, turn ene. passing by Brixworth (6 n. Northampton) and Hannington (5 nw. Wellingborough) both *mixed*, when turn ne. and go between Islip (8 e. Kettering) *mixed* and Thrapston (9 e. Kettering) *mixed* to the b. of the co. about 2 s. Hemington (11 sw. Peterborough) probably *sum*.

Hu. Enter *Hu.* just n. of Great Gidding (10 nw. Huntingdon) *sum* and go just s. of Sawtry (9 nnw. Huntingdon) *sōm*. Then, crossing the Great Northern Railway, probably turn ne., passing just n. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon) and enter

Cb. Pass just n. of Chatteris (10 nw. Ely) *mixed* and turning ne. go e. of March and w. of Wisbech *mixed* to the edge of the co., and then proceed by nw. b. of *Nf.* to the sea.

For the line as far as Sawtry I am almost entirely indebted to TH., who with great pains took a phonetic survey of this part of the country. The rest of the route to March and Wisbech and nw. *Nf.* I owe to other informants, checked, however, by TH., as shewn in the next Line 2.

The use of (ə, ɛ) for U is of course a modernism and an encroachment, hence we may expect to find that it is not a sufficient mark of a difference of district, because all other characters may remain and the modern (ɛ) may have only partially prevailed. Also intermediate forms may prevail arising from the encroachment being still incomplete. It will be found that both anticipations are fulfilled.

LINE 2.—The s. *sōm* line or southern limit of the pronunciation of the word *some* as *sōm* (*sum*) in England; for the n. limit see Line 9.

Sh. As far as the se. b. of *Sh.* lines 1 and 2 coincide.

Wo. Directly that the n. *sum* line enters *Wo.* there is a mixed district s. of it, where *sōm* is more or less frequently heard, and the intermediate *som* (*som*) is also found. It occupies the whole of s. *Wo.*, *Gl.*, and even n. *Wl.* Proceed direct s. from Bewdley, w. of Stourport, to the Malvern Hills, and continue by Redhill or Redmarley d'Abitot to the s. b. of *Wo.*

Gl. Enter about 8 wsw. Tewkesbury, pass more or less to the w. in order to leave Newent (8 nw. Gloucester) to the e., and go s. to Dursley (14 ssw. Gloucester).

Wl. Take a sweep s. of Tetbury (16 s.-by-e. Gloucester) and proceed e. and ne., going s. of Malmesbury (14 w. Swindon) and Purton (4 nw. Swindon).

Ox. Thence go ne. through a corner of *Be.* to Witney (10 wnw. Oxford) and Bicester (11 nne. Oxford).

Bu. Thence pass through Buckingham and w. of Stony Stratford (7 ne. Buckingham) to b. of *Np.*

Np. Going mostly just w. of the border, sweep just s. of Thrapston, and join the n. *sum* line again at the b. of *Hu.*

Hu. and *Cb.* Through *Hu.* to past Sawtry (9 nnw. Huntingdon) the s. *sōm* coincides again with the n. *sum* line, and both pass between Great Gidding (10 nw. Huntingdon) *sum* and Sawtry *sōm*. But then the s. *sōm* line runs eastwards, s. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon).

Cb. It enters s. of Chatteris (9 nw. Ely) and runs ne. to b. of co.

Nf. The line enters *Nf.* just s. of the new Bedford Rivers, at the s. of the Bedford Level, about 24 s. King's Lynn, and pursues rather a winding course through w. *Nf.*, s. of Downham (10 s. King's Lynn) and Swaffham (13 se. King's Lynn), and e. of East Dereham (23 ese King's Lynn), where it turns n. for about 6 m., and then, after running s. of Fakenham (8 s. Wells-on-Sea), turns nw., and falls into the sea between Hunstanton (13 nne. King's Lynn) and Brancaster.

For this line I am wholly indebted to the "phonetic survey" of the adjacent parts made by TH., who has visited expressly numerous villages along the route here laid down (30 places in Norfolk only), and has himself heard the not unfrequent use of *sööm* and similar words between the n. *sum* and s. *sööm* lines, and, especially in Nf., has observed the use of the intermediate *som*. It would be probably quite impossible to determine the line more accurately.

Here we have examples of the incomplete assertion of (ə, ɛ). It will be observed that Line 2 runs in general much further south than line 1. It is only to the n. of line 1 that the old state of things remains, and to the s. of line 2 that the new state has fully asserted itself. The intermediate country between Lines 1 and 2 is *mixed*, with one or the other form of U fully asserted, or *transitional*, a new form, as (som), which indicates the influence of (ə, ɛ) upon (u) being heard. What it is particularly necessary to guard against is the supposition that (ə, ɛ) is the "correct" form because "received"; it is only a modern form. Even in rp. the (ə) has not fully asserted itself, *full* (fʌl) is itself an example; and we find in the (u) regions an apparently perverse habit to say (fæl). The pron. of *full*, and of similar words, is merely a mark of the conflict, which has been left standing.

LINE 3.—The Reverted *wr* (r) line or n. limit of the pron. of *r* as (r) or (r₁) in England. Sporadically and through natural defects of pron., reverted *wr* (r) may be heard still more northerly, and even to the w. in D 13. But it ceases to be the regular pron. at this limit, and even in D 9 the *wr* (r₀) frequently sinks into the common received vocal *er* (r₀); while in D 6, 7, the tongue is often merely retracted (r₁) or even Midland (r), instead of reverted (r). It is probable that originally the line really commenced at the mouth of Bannow Bay in Ireland, proceeding along CB. to Wexford, and then to Pm. and Gm. But in none of these places can reverted *wr* (r) now be traced with certainty. Hence the line must be taken to begin in England. The map however by the serrated line shews that the reverted *wr* line is supposed to have begun in Wexford.

Gl. Start in England from the mouth of the Wye on the Severn R. and proceed n. by the w. b. of Gl. till you meet the b. of He. just e. of Monmouth.

Hē. Then run in a nne. direction so as to leave Ross, Ledbury (13 e. Hereford), and Much Cowarne (8 ne. Hereford), on the e. At Much Cowarne turn more to ne., leaving on the w. Stoke Lacy (9 ne. Hereford), Pencombe (10 nne. Heref.) and Bromyard (13 ne. Heref.), which are in D 13, and then turning still more to the e. pass near Whitbourne (7 w.-by-n. Worcester) to the b. of the co.

W₀. Afterwards proceed more n. to Bewdley, then turn e. and pass n. of Kidderminster and s. of Stourbridge, Hagley, Cradley and Selly Oak (3 s. Birmingham), and probably n. of King's Norton to the border of

W₁. Where turn se. and pass n. of Packwood, going e. of Henley-in-Arden and Claverdon, but s. of Warwick and s. of Southam to the b. of

Np. opposite Braunston (13 wnw. Northampton), and pursue that b. to the n. as far as Watling St. by Crick. Then go se. joining the n. *sum* line 1 between Watford and East Haddon, but leaving it at the angle se. of Weedon and passing

just s. of Blisworth to the b. of the co. by Hartwell. Pursue this b. to the s. and w. till just e. of Brackley (17 sw. Northampton) it reaches the b. of

Ox. The line is now so ill known or indistinct that I have been obliged to assume the b. of Ox. as its limit to the Thames at Henley, whence it follows the w. and s. banks of the Thames to the sea. Of course through the metropolitan area this line is a mere fiction and shews only what it once *may* have been. In the part adjoining the Thames the reverted *w* (r) sinks to the vocal *r* (r_o).

The great difficulty of obtaining information renders much of the course of this line rather doubtful. Through Wa. and Np. it has been taken as coinciding with the b. of D 6, which at any rate cannot be far wrong.

LINE 4.—The s. *teeth* line, or s. limit of the use for the definite article of a suspended (t'), commonly written *t'* in dialect books, or of the hiss (th) as heard at the end of *teeth*. It is possible that cases of *tee* (t') occur sporadically just s. of this line by assimilation, as they more frequently occur between lines 4 and 5, but in D 24=e.NM. *tee* (t') is the rule. The word *teeth* is chosen because it contains both (t) and (th).

Ch. Line 4 begins on the Dee, about 2 sw. Chester, and passes just within the s. b. of Ch., e. of Farndon (7 s. Chester) and w. of Malpas (12 ese. Chester), reaching the co. b. at Wirswall (2 n. Whitechurch, Sh.); it pursues the b. for a few miles, but at Burley Dam, 1 s. Combermere Abbey, it passes e. round to the n. of Audlem, then goes s., traversing the ne. horn of

Sh. just w. of Norton in Hales, and turning se. at 12 ene. Stone, enters

St., through which it passes to the e. to Stone, and then sweeps round to Rochester (14 ene. Stoke), on the w. b. of Db., along which it runs to the se.

Db. Just s. of Repton (8 sse. Derby) the line cuts across the tail of Db., which projects between St. and Le., and then runs again along the s. b. of Db. to Nt.

Nt. and *Yo.* The line seems to pursue the w., s., and then the e. b. of Nt. to its n. extremity, after which it pursues the b. of Yo. and Li to the Humber, and then runs along the s. b. of Yo. to the sea. In Nt. (dhu) is the rule, yet not only do (t', th) occur, though not frequently, but there is a frequent assimilation, probably of (th) to (s) before (s). See D 27.

LINE 5.—The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or n. limit of the use of *the* (dhu, dhi) and the hiss (th) in conjunction with suspended *te* (t') as the def. article, till *the* returns to the north of line 7.

Ma. The line begins at n. of the Isle of Man and proceeds by sea to

La. which it enters at Cockerham 6 s. Lancaster, and passes in an ese. dir. just n. of Over Wyersdale (6 se. Lancaster) and then follows the b. of La. to about 9 nne. Burnley.

Yo. It then enters Yo. and runs e. apparently to about Burley (8 n. Bradford), where it joins the s. *loose* line 6 (to be described presently), and follows that line to the w. b. of Li. Then it runs along the w. b. of Li. to the Humber, following line 4 already described.

The whole line from the b. of La. and across to Burley is necessarily very uncertain. But it seems to pass between Skipton on the n. and Keighley on the s., a distance of 8 m., which this line bisects, and hence it is probably not far wrong.

This line is here assumed to be the n. limit proper of the use of

the hiss (th) for the definite article. But n. of this line CCR. says that in former years he has traced this form (th) through the whole of Craven in rare occasional use, which has not influenced any printed account of the dialect. He has also heard of the (th) as being in use east of Skipton, Yo., straggling nearly to Harrogate, although s. of this line it is quite unknown, and he thinks that it exists also a little w. of Ripon. This (th) is by far the most heard about Washbourn River (D 30, 10 es., No. 6, intro.) between Skipton and Harrogate. In all these places except the last, the usage is so slight that it has not crept into print, but in the last it has been printed in a newspaper contribution by Mr. Granige, of Harrogate, a local historian.

LINE 6.—The s. *hoose* line, or s. limit of the pron. of the word *house* as *hoose* (huus), which is also the n. limit of the pron. of *house* as any variety of (ha'us), of which those in the M. div. are numerous and singular.

Ma. The line begins on the west at sea at the n. of I. of Man, in which the English uses *house*.

Cu. On the mainland, the line begins at the mouth of the Esk R. by Ravenglass (17 sse. Whitehaven), and proceeds s. of that river on the watershed up to the Wry Nose Fell, on the b. of Cu. and We. So close is the division here, that, as I am informed, at Gosforth (5 n.w. Ravenglass) they say *coo* (kuu) and at Bootle (5 sse. Ravenglass) they say *cow* (kóu). But the real Gosforth pron., as we find mostly to the n. of it, may be (ú₁u).

La. The line then follows the Brathay R. on the n. b. of La. to the head of Windermere, and descends down its w. shore to Newby Bridge (7 ne. Ulverston), at its extreme s. It then sweeps round, in a way which has not been accurately traced, but is certainly some distance n. of Cartmell (5 e. Ulverston) *house* and crosses the Winster R., which forms the e. b. of La., probably opposite Witherslack (7 ssw. Kendal).

We. The line probably passes just s. of Witherslack, n. of Milnthorpe (6 s. Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Kirkby Lonsdale (10 se. Kendal) *house*, going in a ne. direction and crossing the Lune R. about Middleton (8 ese. Kendal).

Yo. The line enters Yo. just s. of Sedberg (8 e. Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Dent, (13 ese. Kendal and 4 sse. Sedberg) *house*, which is a very close and sharp div. The line then runs through Garsdale along the Clough R. to the w. b. of the North Riding of Yo., which it probably pursues to the Wharfe R. The line probably pursues the Wharfe R. to Burley (7 ne. Keighley), and then passes just s. of that river, s. of Otley (9 nw. Leeds) *hoose*, and n. of Leeds and Harewood (6 n. Leeds) *house* (háus), and then bending se., passes e. of Aberford (9 ene. Leeds) *house* (haas), and passes w. of Selby *hoose*. Then taking a more s. direction it passes w. of Snaith (6 s. Selby) *hoose*. After this it seems to go nearly s., and passes e. of Doncaster and Rossington (5 se. Doncaster), both *house*, and turning at once to the e. passes probably along the b. of Nt. to the b. of Li. at the s. of the I. of Axholme in the nw. of Li. between the Old Don and the Trent Rivers, in which both *hoose* and *house* (huus hóus) are heard.

Li. The line probably enters Li. about 3 n. Gainsborough, where the b. of Li. turns suddenly to the s. The passage from about Selby, Yo., up to this point has been difficult to trace, but the information is very precise through Li. The line going e. passes n. of Blyton (4 ne. Gainsborough) *house*, and s. of Scotter (7 ne. Gainsborough) *hoose*, and then passes s. of Redbourne (11 ne. Gainsborough) *hoose*, and n. of Waddingham (11 ene. Gainsborough) *house*, the last two being adjoining parishes. Then it turns suddenly ne. and passes to the n. of North Kelsey (15 ene. Gainsborough) *house*, and to the s. of Howsham (16 ne. Gainsborough) *hoose*, the last two being also adjoining parishes. Moreover, the North

Kelsey folk look down on the Howsham folk for saying a *coo* (kuu) for a *cow* (kón), and probably conversely. After this the line proceeds in a ne. direction s. of Uleebby (10 nw. Great Grimsby), and s. of Killingholme (9 nw. Great Grimsby), both *hoose*; but n. of Broeklesby (8 wnw. Great Grimsby) and of Stallingborough, (5 wnw. Great Grimsby), both *house*, to the sea, 6 nw. Great Grimsby.

I am indebted for the Li. information to a large number of persons, especially clergymen, whose livings were in the neighbourhood. It is remarkable how little aware those who live only a very few miles off this line are of this great difference of pronunciation. Most Li. people hardly believe that in any part of Li. *hoose* is now said, while Mr. Peacock of Brigg, author of the Mauley and Corringham Glossary, did not seem to know that any other pron. but *hoose* was current in Li. And in the neighbourhood of the n. of Nt. I have several times been altogether perplexed by being told that *hoose* was said, when subsequent visits to the place by TH. shewed that this was not the case.

Of course (huus) is the older form, and all the forms of (ha'us) are very modern. Hence the treatment of U' is not sufficient to mark dialects. The transitional form between (uu, a'u) is (ú₁u), which will be discussed in D 31.

LINE 7.—The n. *tee* line, or northern limit of the use of suspended (t') or t', which may be conveniently called *tee*, for the def. art.

Cu. The line commences on the w. in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith, at 13 w. Carlisle, passes just s. of Kirk Bampton (7 w. Carlisle), then turns in a s. dir. as far as about 2 s. of Sebergham (9 ssw. Carlisle), after which it turns ne. and passes e. of Southwaite (7 sse. Carlisle) and Coathill (5 sw. Carlisle) to just s. of Fort, where it reaches the Eden R. by Hornsby, up which it proceeds in a se. direction to Kirk Oswald, 14 se. Carlisle, and immediately turns nne., forming an acute angle with its former course, passes over Croglin Fell, when it again bends through sw. Nb., and passing s. of Alston (20 ese. Carlisle), it re-enters Cu., where, after going s. for a little way, it turns e. at Rother Fell (4 s. Alston) to the b. of Nb.

Du. The line enters Du by the heights on the n. side of Weardale, and passing n. of Stanhope (18 wsw. Durham) and Walsingham (over Skaylock Hill), runs probably to the se. yet n. of Witton le Wear and Bishop Auckland to Merrington (6 s. Durham), and then sweeps to the e. and afterwards ne. past Bishop Middleham (7 sse. Durham) and Trimdon (8 se. Durham), but n. of Sedgfield (10 sse. Durham), passing along the Skern R. to the railway, when it turns suddenly n. and passes w. of Hart and Easington (9 nww. Hartlepool), and w. of Seaham (5 sse. Sunderland), to fall into the sea about Ryhope (3 sse. Sunderland).

For the commencement of this line through Cu. to Sebergham I am indebted to the Rev. T. Ellwood, for the part from Sebergham to s. of Alston I am indebted to the observations made by JGG., and for the part which passes through Du. to the answers kindly given by many clergymen along the route, and a visit made by myself to one of them at Bishop Middleham. Dr. Murray had first drawn attention to the importance of this line as the separation of the Danified from the non-Danified N. (DSS. p. 86 note); but he commenced it at Allonby, avoiding the sinuosities by Kirk Oswald, and lost it at Stanhope (18 w-by-s. Durham). It was to try and recover the lost line that I sent out a series of questions to the clergymen of the neighbourhood. But it should be observed that the custom of speech is very mixed at Wigton and Silloth (10 sw. and 18 wsw. Carlisle, Cu.) and that neighbourhood, although prevailingly (t'). So it is also about Dalston and Wreay (:riv) s. of Carlisle, but

there (dhe) prevails. But from Fort and Kirk Oswald onwards the line is sharper.

LINE 8.—The *s. sum* line in n. England or the *s.* limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (səm, sɜm), on travelling from Scotland into England.

Cu. The line begins on the w. by the Solway Firth, probably at the mouth of the Esk (6 nw. Carlisle), and proceeds in a ne. direction over Beacon Hill (14 ne. Carlisle) and s. of Bewcastle (16 nne. Carlisle) to the w. b. of Nb.

Nb. The line then turns suddenly s. and passes w. of Haltwhistle (14 w. Hexham), and e. of Knaresdale, Nb. (17 sw. Hexham).

Cu. The line re-enters Cu. just w. of Alstone (20 ese. Carlisle), and then striking the n. *tee* line 7, coincides with it throughout the rest of Cu. and throughout Du.

For the Cu. part of this line I am indebted to JGG., the remainder results from many communications, together with some personal observations.

LINE 9.—The n. *sööm* line, or the n. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (sum) or even mixed with varieties of (səm) on proceeding from the M. co. to Scotland.

Cu. Through Cu. this line coincides with Line 8.

Nb. But on reaching Nb. it sweeps in a direction at first e. and at last n. round the base of the slopes of the Cheviot Hills, passing 4 w. of Bellingham (:bel'indjəm) (13 nnw. Hexham), 4 w. of Otterburn on the Rede R. (18 nnw. Hexham), and 2 w. of Harbottle (which is 17 wsw. Alnwick), and goes n. to the Cheviot Hill itself (8 sw. Wooler) on the w. b. of Nb., at the source of the rivers Coquet and Till. Then it proceeds in a ne. direction 2 s. of Wooler to fall into the sea about Bamborough (12 n. Alnwick), the ancient Bebbanburg, the former capital of the Saxon Kingdom of Bernicia.

LINE 10.—The L. line is the limit between L. Scotch and N. English speech, and is not precisely coincident with the political boundary of England and Scotland.

Cu. Through Cu. the line coincides with the two previous lines 8 and 9.

Nb. As far as the Cheviot Hill the line coincides with line 9. But after quitting the Cheviot it proceeds in a nw. direction along the w. border of Nb. to the Tweed, down which it runs in a ne. dir. till it reaches Wateadder Water, the w. b. of the Liberties of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and 2 n. Berwick.

Bw. Locally in the Scotch co. of Bw., but politically an independent territory, Berwick-on-Tweed and its Liberties, extending 2 to 4 miles into Bw., are linguistically part of England, and the L. line passes round the w. and n. of them to the sea about Marshal Meadows, 3 nnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed.

It will be observed that this line of the separation of L. and N. En. does not coincide with the line given by Dr. Murray (D. of S. S. p. 25 note, and map). His L. line proceeds n. from Gretna, Df., to the w. of Langholme, Df., crossing the Esk R. to meet the Scotch range of the Cheviots, along which it continues to the ene. into Rx. as far as Peel Fell, Nb., and then runs in an ese. direction to the Rede R., just west of Otterburn (18 nnw. Hexham), where it intersects my line 10, which it then pursues for the rest of the way. This throws a portion of Df. and Rx. known as Canobie and Liddesdale linguistically into England. He says that the dialect spoken in this region "is still quite distinct from that of the rest of

Df. and Rx., and is rather that of Cu. than L. Scotch." This will be considered hereafter. At any rate it does not agree with the information I have received from other quarters. Taking the Nb. slopes of the Cheviots, which would thus be included in England, I am told that it is chiefly traversed by Scotch, that is L., shepherds. Indeed, JGG.—who was for a long time quartered in this very region, with a companion, both on Geological Survey duty, and for lack of houses had to sleep in a caravan, where his rest was often disturbed at night by the cattle creeping under and using the floor as a back scraper—says that it was difficult to meet any but a Scotchman there. The whole parish of Falstone, on the North Tyne (20 nw.Hexham), which lies in the middle of this district, with its 57,000 acres of moorland, had in 1841 only 560 inhabitants spread all over it. And Plashetts, 4 miles further to the nw., on the North Tyne, together with Felstone, mustered only 222 inhabitants in that year. Dr. Frank Richardson, a physician, living in 1879 at Harbottle (17 wsw.Alwick), at the foot of the Cheviots (certainly of that part which Dr. Murray also admits to be L.), writes: "I think you will not be wrong in considering that the Scotch occupy the entire hill country in these parts. The Cheviots are entirely inhabited by Scotch families, who rarely descend into the low countries." The Cu. portion which I include in L. has many more inhabitants than the Nb. portion. Bewcastle, 6 nne.Carlisle, may have 2000, and Longtown, 8 n.Carlisle, may have 1200 inhabitants. But, as we shall see, their speech has all the characters of L., and does not even resemble that of Carlisle, much less any district s. of the n. *tee* line 7.

THE ROMAN WALL.—In connection with these lines 8, 9, 10, the position of Hadrian's or the Piets' Wall is noteworthy as pointing to a separation of races before the advent of the Saxons. This wall was built by Agricola A.D. 79 to 85, and repaired by Hadrian A.D. 121, and Septimius Severus A.D. 208. The following are the places through which it runs from w. to e., with their distances and directions from C.=Carlisle, H.=Hexham, and N.=Newcastle.

Cu. It commences w. at Bowness, 12 wnw.C., and goes through Drumburgh, 9 wnw. C., and Beaumont, 4 nw.C. It then turns se. by Grinsdale, 2 nw.C., bending on the s. of the Eden R., sweeping just n. of C. and going in a ne. direction by Stanwix (1 n.C.), crossing the Esk, to Wallby (4 ne.C.), Wallhead (5 nne.C.), Old Wall (6 ne.C.), Newtown (8 ne.C.), Walton (9 ne.C.), Banks (11½ ne.C.), and Upper Denton (14 ne.C.), when it enters Nb.

Nb. It enters near Thirlwall (17 w.Hexham), passes by Wall Town (15 w.H.), Burnhead (12½ w.H.), where it turns slightly ne., by Carrow (7 nw.H.), whence it passes near Carrowbrough and deflects slightly to se., crossing the North Tyne at Citurnum, between Walwick (5 nww.H.) and Brunton (4 n-by-w.H.), and goes by Halton Shields (5 ene.H.) and Harlowhill (8 ene.H.), after which it runs nearly ese. towards Newcastle, by Heddon on the Wall (7 wnw.N.) into N. itself, through which it passes and runs to Wallsend, 4 ene.N., where, as the name implies, it terminates.

The course through Cu. is only slightly to the s. of lines 8, 9, 10. But in Nb. it does not correspond to any dialectal division.

I.

SOUTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

Boundaries.

Ireland. The n. b. commences at sea in Bannow Bay, and coincides with the Celtic Border, p. 13, and thence to the sea by Wexford, and then by the sea to Wales.

Wales. The n. b. coincides with the CB. through Pm., and Gm., and thence passing by sea again enters England.

England. The line passes by the reverted *ur* line 3, from the Bristol Channel across England to the south bank of the Thames, and n. of Ke. and Sheppy to the sea.

Area. All of England and its islands s. of this boundary, except the Channel Islands, where Norman French is still spoken.

Character. The one ancient character which runs more or less persistently through the modern S. div. is the reverted (R) or retracted (r_i), the parent of the point-rise or untrilled (r_o) or vocal (v), which still permeates received speech. In north Germany it is replaced by the laryngal (r) and the uvular (r'). But I believe that the reverted (R) is the true ancient form. The peculiar hollowness and roughness of effect, which once heard is easily recognised, is due to the hollow formed by turning the tip of the tongue up and back so as to point down the throat, and oppose the under (instead of the upper) surface of the tip to the hard palate. This (R) may or may not be trilled. The trilled form has not been generally recognised, but is quite possible. But the untrilled form (r_o), for which here for convenience (R) alone will be generally written, is most characteristic, and seems to blend in a singular manner with the preceding vowel, altering its quality and rendering it difficult to be recognised, almost to the same extent as in nasalisation. The long rough untrilled voice form here written (æR) for greater intelligibility is probably nothing but the prolonged voiced consonant itself ('R_o). Naturally when (t , d , l , n) follow (R), they are also reverted, as ($\text{æRT æRD, æRND, gæRL}$) hurt, heard, earned, girl, for the alteration of the position of the tongue would otherwise be extremely inconvenient. I feel that reverted (t , d , R , l , n) are the regular old Ws. forms whence have descended our peculiar English "coronal" (t , d , r , l , n) as distinguished from the continental "dental" or rather "alveolar" (t , d , r , l , n). The Indians always represent our sounds by their "cerebrals" (*suprà* Part IV. p. 1096, col. 1). It is evident that the English sounds are merely imperfect utterances of the reverted. This reversion of (R) prevails still over the whole S. div. but the older main characters, as shewn in D. 4, all of which were probably characteristic of the whole division, fade out gradually to the e. of D. 4, and become complicated with other characters to the w. The reader is referred then to D. 4 for an account of the full characteristics of S. div.

D 1, 2, 3 = CS. or Celtic Southern,

That is, the Southern forms of English on Celtic territory, constituting a group by themselves. They occupy the portions of Ireland and Wales to the s. of the CB.

During the xth century parties of Englishmen migrated evidently from Ws. regions. but under Norman guidance, and took possession of three peninsulas previously occupied by Celts, 1) the extreme se. of Wx. in Ireland, 2) the extreme sw. of Pm., 3) Gowerland in Gm. Tradition says that, at least in Pm., they were accompanied or reinforced by Flemings who had been driven out of the Low Countries by floods.¹ The people of Wx. believe that of the little band of 140 knights and 300 infantry, who came there with Strongbow in 1164, the infantry were recruited from the Flemings in Pm. and Gm.² But in the xth century the distinction between Flemish and Ws. must have been slight, and the Ws. element must have predominated, for Higden in the xivth century finds the people speaking "good enough Saxon." At the present day Wx. presents no peculiarity, although a century ago, it was truly S. English. But Pm. and Gm. still possess remnants of the old forms. It is notorious that emigrants preserve the traditions of the old speech longer than the old country. In this case each settlement was surrounded by speakers of an unintelligible language. Hence the settlers scattered over a small extent of country were necessarily in constant communication, undiverted by other habits of speech. Consequently they preserved the old language with only natural changes. I regard these districts then as presenting remnants of a very old dialectal form, and hence place them first. But, as will be presently seen, they are now so worn away that their relation to S. cannot be properly felt unless D 4 be studied first.

¹ 1. William of Malmesbury, 1095-1143. "Gesta regum anglorum," ed. T. Duffus Hardy, Hist. Soc. ed. 1840. Lib. iv. § 311. p. 493, A.D. 1091. "Flandritis in patria illorum [i.e. of the Welsh] collocatis." Lib. v. § 401, p. 628. "Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolæ eo traduxit."

2. Ranulph Higden (d. 1367), "De rebus Britannicis et Hibernicis. ed. Th. Gale. Oxford, 1691, p. 210, l. "Flandrenses . . . ad occidentale Walliæ partem apud Haverford sunt translati — Flandrenses, . . . dimissa jam barbaria, Saxonice satis proloquuntur," or as Trevisa translates, "speketh Saxonlych ynow."

For the three next citations I am

indebted to Herbert Jenner, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum.

3. Geraldus Cambrensis. b. 1147, in Pm., 'Itinerarium Cambriæ,' lib. i. ch. xi. de Haverfordia et Ros: "gens hæc originem a Flandria ducens."

4. 'Brut y Tywysogion' (under year 1105, translation sent by Mr. Jenner), "that nation seized the whole cantred [? *cantref* = hundred] of Rhos . . . and was derived from Flandryns."

5. 'Annales Cambriæ' [under date 1107, Florence of Worcester makes it 1111]. "Flandrenses ad Ros venerunt"

² The Very Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., paper read at the Dublin meeting of the British Association, 1857. Dr. R. does not give his authorities.

D 1 = w.CS = western Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The CB. in Ireland and the sea on the se.Wx.

Area. The baronies of Bargo on the w. and Forth on the e. in the se. corner of Wx., Ireland.

Sources of Information. All that is known of the dial. as it once existed is contained in "A Glossary with some Pieces of Verse of the Old Dialect of the English Colony in the baronies of Forth and Bargo, County of Wexford, Ireland, formerly collected by *Jacob Poole*, of Growtown, Taghmon [9 w.Wexford in the adjoining barony], County of Wexford, and now edited, with some Introductory Observations, Additions from various sources, and Notes by *William Barnes, B.D.*, author of a Grammar of the Dorsetshire Dialect," London, J. Russell Smith, 1867, pp. 139. With which compare the older paper of *Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A.*, "Baronies of Forth and Bargey, County of Wexford, Ireland: an Inquiry into the Origin and Philological Relations of the Antique Dialect formerly spoken in this district; read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1866." This gives much additional information, but the subject is not looked at phonetically. Though the dialect is ancient, we meet with it in a modern form, affected by Celtic influences. The orthography is modern, and the words were written from dictation evidently by persons unaccustomed to a systematic representation of sound, and like all such, not thinking it necessary, or not being able to explain the orthography they used. Hence many inconsistencies and probably double uses. Dr. Vallancey published his paper, reprinted by Mr. Barnes, in Mem. Irish Acad. 27 Dec, 1788. Mr. Poole, whose glossary is the foundation of Mr. Barnes's book, collected his words in 1823-4. Mr. Edmund Hore, author of the Forth and Bargo address to Lord Mulgrave in 1860, was of this century, and kindly wrote a letter to a friend of his for me on 5th Oct., 1873, shewing by numerous examples that the old pron. had died out. "The Barony Forth dialect," says he. "was dying fast at the close of last century. It was in extremis by 1825, and in the present year, 1873, I am confident that there are not half a dozen young persons of and under 25 years, who understand a sentence of it. I have scarcely met one who did not laugh, and admit his ignorance of it. I was born in 1801, and my schoolmates never used a word of it between each other, except when in want of one to convey their meaning. They learned it, however, as children do, from their seniors, spoke it, with a mixture, to them, and hence it became more weakly by degrees, and would have expired in a shorter time, only that it was the language of the *illiterate* alone." I felt therefore that it was useless searching further among the people. I was unable to hear Mr. Hore read, and he was apparently unable to make his pronunciation clear by writing, saying to his correspondent Mr. Walsh, "I have not sufficient confidence in myself to finish the task" of writing the pron. of a lw. which I had sent him, "and therefore leave you to do the Glossic." This was

tantalising, for he adds: "A stranger, or more correctly a person who *has not* heard the dialect from the lips of an old Forthian, has only such knowledge of its pronunciation as Moderns have of the ancient pronunciation of the Dead Languages. A stranger reading it after the manner of English is as near the true sounds as he would be in reading French with the English sounds. The letter *A* had *invariably* the sound of *A* in the English word *father*." To this he added in the preface to the Address (Barnes, p. 113), "Double *ee* sounds like *e* in *mē*; and in most words of two syllables the long accent is placed on the last," and also directed the reader to speak slowly.

Under these circumstances we have to divine the pron. from the habits of different persons in writing dialects, of which I have had a great and unsatisfactory experience, and I have by no means felt certainty in phonetically rendering the isolated words and short extracts which follow. Thus *a, e, i, o, u* are assumed as (a, e, i, o, u), not distinguishing (e, E) or (o, o, o). But this is uncertain, as persons constantly write *u* for (*u, ə*), as we do in *dull, bull*, without any indication of the change. In Pm., however, it seems certain that (*u*) is still occasionally heard. For digraphs I take *ee, oo, aw* = (ii, uu, aa). I am not so sure of *au*; it may have been used of (áv) or (éu). As for *ie*, it seems to have been sometimes (ái) and sometimes (ii). But *aa, oa, ea* are the greatest stumbling-blocks. Most dialect writers use them for (éee, óov, iie) or some such forms. Here, however, I have generally taken (aa, oo, ee) as the sounds, not distinguishing (oo, oo) or (ee, ee) even when long, as all is utterly conjectural. There may have been two diphthongs (ə'i, a'i), but they are hopelessly confused by the writer, yet *ay, ai, any, aui*, were almost certainly (ái, áai), but for safety I use unanalysed (a'i). As to *ow*, I use unanalysed (a'u) as a general expression, though I think (əə'u, ə'u, a'u) at least likely. But *ou* often quite puzzles me. It may be (óv, ə, u, u, áu). For the consonants I assume *r* to be (r), because the dialect is Southern, and *dr* is used for *thr*, but it may have become fully (r) under Celtic influence, centuries ago. The *th, dh* seem to be occasionally (th, dh), but also (th, dh) or (th, dh), and *dh* final was perhaps (dth). *Lh, rh* were possibly (lh, rh), but may have been (lh, rh), as these sounds seem still to occur in S. The postspirates are probably all Celtic in origin, being frequent all over Ireland. The *f* when replacing (wh) may have been a strong (wh) misheard, but as (f) occurs in Aberdeenshire, probably under Celtic influence, it must be accepted; *fh* may be simply an exaggerated or postspirated *f*. The *gh* I attribute to the scribal habits of the writer. I cannot think (kh) occurred even 100 years ago. Mr. Barnes unfortunately frequently "regulated" the spelling of his authorities—Vallancey's certainly, for I have compared the original, and Poole's probably—so that we have not by any means the words as those who heard them tried to represent them, which greatly increases my difficulty, as I have to conjecture what is meant by Mr. Barnes's conjecture as to the meaning of the original spelling. But assuming these values of the letters, we find on going through Mr. Poole's Vocabulary as printed and enlarged by Mr. Barnes, as decidedly characteristic: initial *dr* for *thr* implying (dr) or reverted (r); initial *z, v, zh*, for *s, f, sh*, and *ich* (itj) for the pronoun *I*; (a'i) in *tail, main, brain, rain, twain, eight, they*, (ii) for long *I, Y'*, which is very old. All these (except the last) also characterise D 4, so that the S. character of D 1 is established. The particulars are put in the form of a cwl. below, p. 30.

Illustrations.

1. Extract from Vallancey's *A Yola Zong* (1) (ə joo'lə zoq)

Fade teil thee (2)—fartoo zo hachee (3)?

Well, gosp, e'hull be zeid (4); mot thee fartoo, an fade (5)

Ha deight ouz var gabble (6), tell ee zin go t' glade (7)?

Ch'am a stouk, an a donel; (8) wou'll leigh out ee dey (9)

Th' valler w' speen here (10), th' lass ee chourch-hey (11).

Conjectural pronunciation.

fadt áid dhi—fartuu· zo atjii· ?
 wel, gosp, tʃɛl bi záid ; mot dhi far·tu ? ɛn fadt ?
 ha diit uz var gab'l, tel i zín goo te gladt.
 tʃam ə stóek ɛn v duu·nel ; wóel lii ɛut i dáí ;
 dhe val·ɛr wɛ spiin hiir, dh' las i tʃɛrtʃ háí.

Translation and Commentary.—(1). *An old song.* Old, commonly loses its d, and becomes (ool). Then a fractural (j) is prefixed, forming (jool), which form occurs in the *Bride's Portion* (Barnes, p. 102, l. 2). The additional a making (jool·lɛ), is perhaps solely due to the following z, before which the l was lengthened by the speaker, and then the (ɛ) was inserted by the literariser.

(2). *What ails thee?* I consider the original *fade teil*, to be an error for *fadt cil*, the reporter, Dr. Vallancey, 1788, having been misled by the running on of a t after *fadt* to the following vowel. The *fadt* for *what*, may be also a mistake of the transcriber. Although (f) for (wh) occurs in Aberdeenshire, it is very likely that Dr. Vallancey may have misheard (wh) as (f). The rest of the stanza contains many un-English words, and is omitted with the exception of the last words.

(3). *Whereto (i.e. wherefore) so agee?* The *fartoo* is evidently *where-to* on the analogy of *fadt* for *what*. *Agee* out of sorts, “ill-tempered.” Sir JAP. suggests Old French *hachée*, which Roquefort translates “peine, fatigue, pénitence,” supposing that Old French formed part of the language of the original settlers, adducing *core* heart fr. *cœur*, *benisons* blessings, *memies* wives and families fr. *mesnie*, *pouste* power fr. *poste* [ʔ *postéis* “un grand seigneur, un homme puissant”], *mire* wonder fr. *mirer*, *avanet* arrived fr. *avenir* [ʔ]. Whence *haehee* really comes is unknown, and I am far from suggesting that it is the same word as *agee*, which translates it so well.

(4). *Well, gossip, it shall be said.* I take *ei* here to represent (a'i).

(5). *But thy wherefore and what.* *Mot* is translated by *but* in Dr. V.'s glossary, but he translates this passage as “you ask what ails me and for what.”

(6). *Have dight (or prepared) us for gabble.* I doubt whether *gh* was a guttural in Dr. V.'s time. The pronunciation of *ouz* (as Dr. V. writes, Mr. Barnes has *ouse*) is conjectural. Observe *for* with southern *v-* in *var*.

(7). *til the sun go to valley.* The *zín* is thorough Devonshire. *Glade* is translated *valley* by Mr. Hore in the address to Lord Mulgrave, Icel. *gladr*, bright shining. You see the sun set through an opening only.

(8). *I am a stock and a fool.* *Cham=ich-am*, is a regular old Southern form. *Stouk* I suppose to have been meant for *sto-uck*, that is (stóek), a stock or blockhead, and *donel* is unknown. Sir JAP. suggests Irish *dona*, a poor unfortunate fellow. Dr. V. translates *dunee*, and Sir JAP. a *simpleton*.

(9). *Will lie (i.e. idle) out the day.* The pronunciation of *wou'll* is quite doubtful. I take it for *wol*, that is, *will*. Sir JAP. considers it *w'oul* we will. *Leigh* is translated “idle” by Dr. V. Mr. B. compares “to lake” or play, ags. *lácan*, but this would hardly give anything written *leigh*. Dr. V. translates “idle.” Poole's glossary has *leigh* to laugh, with which it may be related. The use of *ee* for “the” is regular. *Dey* gives the Southern pronunciation (da'i).

(10). *The longer we spend here.* *Valler* may have been an error for *vuller* = fuller. Dr. V. translates “more, longer in time.” Sir JAP. suggests *value*. *Speen* for “spend” is like *ɛn* for “end.”

(11). *The less in church-hay.* *Hay* an inclosure, with regular pronunciation. Sir JAP. says, “The meaning of this is, I suppose, that the churchyard on Sundays and holidays being the great mart for gossip, the time in telling the story now would be so much saved at the Sunday meeting.”

The rest of the text is so difficult, and evidently corrupt, that it is passed over.

2. Casteale Cudde's Lamentation
for loss o' his Cuck at vas
ee-took be a vox.

Recited by Tobias Butler, 1823.

Original.

1.

Ye nyporès aul, come hark to mee,
Faade ee-happen'd me lautest
Goonde Vreedie,
Mee cuck was liveen miehty
well,
Dhicka die fan ich want to a
mile.

Ho ro! mee cuck is ee-go (*bis*),
Neen chickès hav hea ee-left
vatherless,
To fho shall ich maake mee
redress?

2.

As ich waant draugh Bloomere's
Knough,
Ich zide [a] vethers o' mee cuck,
Aar was nodhing ee-left mot a
heade,
Which maate mee hearth as coale
as leed.

3.

'Cham afear'd ich mosth cress a
Shanaan,
And lea a pariesh o' Kilmannan,
Mee piggès, mee gecarthès, nor
nodhing threewe,
Lickweese mee been deeth in aar
heeve.

4.

Zimaan Haay is a wicked man,
Hea pryet ich mought na ha
chieke or hen,
Ar aany noor dthing at woode
comfort mee,
Fan ich aam in this miseree.

5.

Mizluek mye lhygt on Tam
Busheare,
Hea zed mee cuck vlew in a aare.

kastee·l⁽¹⁾ kudz⁽²⁾ lamentee·shøn
for los o hiz kʉk, ʉt wəz i-
tak bi ʉ vokz⁽³⁾.

(Barnes, pp. 102 to 106.)

Pronunciation.

1.

ji na'iporis⁽⁴⁾ áaæl⁽⁵⁾, kuum haark
tə mi,
fàdt i-hap'nd mi laa'test gúuəd
vriidii',⁽⁶⁾
mi kʉk wəz l'vii'n miiti wəl,
dhik·ʉ⁽⁷⁾ da'i fan itʃ want tu ʉ
mɛl⁽⁸⁾.

hoo roo! mi kʉk iz i-goo! (*be's*)
niin tʃikiz həv hee⁽¹⁾ i-left
vaadherles⁽⁷⁾,
tu foo⁽⁹⁾ shəl itʃ mək mi
ridres·? ⁽¹⁰⁾

2.

az itʃ wənt drə'u⁽¹¹⁾: bluume·res
knuk,
itʃ zid⁽¹²⁾ [i] vedh·ərz⁽⁷⁾ ʉ mi
kʉk;
àr⁽¹³⁾ wəz nədh·iʃ⁽⁷⁾ i-lef mot
ʉ hiid⁽¹⁾,
whitʃ mət mi hartʃ⁽¹⁴⁾ ʉz kool
əz liid⁽¹⁵⁾.

3.

tʃam əfii'rd itʃ mostʃ kres ʉ
:shanan·⁽¹⁶⁾,
ən lee ʉ pari'sh ʉ :k'ilmanan·⁽¹⁷⁾
mi pi'g'is, mi gi'ərthi's, nor
nədh·iʃ⁽⁷⁾ dʉriiv⁽¹⁸⁾,
likwii'z mi biin diith in e'r
hiiv⁽¹⁹⁾.

4.

:ziman· :ha'i iz ʉ wɪk'əd man,
hee pra'iet itʃ mót nɛ ha tʃik
or hen⁽²⁰⁾,
ʉr ani nuur⁽²⁰⁾ dhiʃ⁽⁷⁾ ʉt wəd
komfu·rt mi,
fan⁽²¹⁾ itʃ am ɪn dhi's mi'zerii·.

5.

mizluk· ma'i lháit⁽²²⁾ on :tom
:busheer,
hee za'id mi kʉk vliú in ʉ éeʉr⁽²³⁾.

6.

Lhaung life to Mistear Reed-
forth an his vamilee,
Lhaung mye thye live in pros-
peritee;
He zide hea'de help me udh o'
hoan
To hint dhicke cursed vox vrom
Bloomere's hoan.

6.

LHAAQ liif tu :mistee'R :reedforth
un iz vamilií·⁽²⁴⁾,
LHAAQ ma'i dha'i liiv in pros-
peritii·;
hee záid hee-d help mi udh v)
hoon⁽²⁵⁾
tu hint dhík kærased voks vrom
:bluumee·ris hroon⁽²⁶⁾.

Notes.

1. *Casteale*, Castle. The pronunciation (kastee'l) is doubtful. It is impossible to say that Mr. Poole would have written consistently, or what phonetic analogies would strike an Irishman 60 years ago. The *ea* is now, and was then, generally (*ee*) or (*ee*) in Ireland. Mr. P., like other dialect writers, often uses it I think for (*ií*), but probably he used it in both senses, for few dialect writers are consistent. This is stated to be a nickname.

2. Patrick Codd is given as the man's real name.

3. 'Cock that was i-taken by a fox.'

4. 'Neighbours,' the (p) occurs in other districts.

5. As 'aul' could hardly have been used for the ordinary pronunciation of 'all,' I have assumed it to be *a-ul*, which agrees with Southern usage.

6. 'what happened [to] me last Friday.' The rhyme requires (dii), but (da'i) would have been expected; see cwl. p. 30, No. 161.

7. *th*, *dh* in F. and B. writing generally mean (tʰ, dʰ) or postaspirated *t*, *d*. But here and there (*dh*) is a dialectal change from (th). I think *dh* means to imply (dh), or at least its Celtic substitute (ðh).

8. Written *mile*, where the last letter seems to have been misread for *l*, as many writers make *ll* resemble *te*. In Poole's glossary *mele*, *mell* occur for *flour*, and Mr. Barnes inserted *mile* from this passage.

9. That is (whoo) for *whom*.

10. "Make my redress," instead of "apply for" or "go for." Tobias Butler, who recited this in 1823, may have been in error. The verse is throughout so faulty that this was probably often the case.

11. Interpreting *au* as (a'u), but this

is quite uncertain, *drough* may have been written, and meant merely for (druu), as I have had sent to me many times by informants.

12. *zide* would be 'said,' as given in the glossary, hence this must be an error for *zede* = *see'd*, that is, saw.

13. For (dhe'r), a regular Forth form.

14. Here I suppose the *-th* indicated only a strong final flatus, which is written as (l).

15. 'There was nothing i-left but the head, which made my heart as cold as lead.' In *cold* the *d* is omitted as in *yola* old. In this example *the* instead of (i) often becomes (y).

16. 'I am afraid I must cross the Shannon.' I feel doubtful about the pron. of (kres) and (Shanan).

17. 'And leave the parish of Kilmannan.' Kilmannan is a parish in Bargo (6 sw. Wexford).

18. 'My pigs, my goats, nor nothing thrive.' The insertion of *r* in *gearthés* for 'goats' may be right, for such insertions occur in w.Sm. But on the other hand it may be entirely due to the transcriber. In *thrive*, *th* must be an error for *d* or *dh*, as the *thr*- regularly becomes (ðr-) or (ðnr-).

19. 'Likewise my bees die in their hive.' Observe (l'kwii·z, hiiv), (biin) as a plural in *n* and (diith) as the Ws. verbal plural in *-eth*.

20. 'He prayed I might not have chick or hen or any other thing.' Observe (prái'et) ending in *t*. Compare *muate* for *made* in stanza 2. Observe (núer) for *another* (sometimes spelled *anoor*, and then *another* for *other*).

21. *Fan* of course represents (whan when).

22. I have taken *lh* to be a post-aspirated *l* rather than the voiceless (lh).

23. 'He said my cock flew in the air.' Here *zed* is apparently an error for *zide*,

just as *zide* was miswritten before for *zede*, see note 12. The last two lines of this stanza are missing in Barnes, p. 102.

24. The (v-) in this Latin word is doubtful, see introduction to D 4.

25. 'Out of hand.' Here several things are uncertain, the pronunciation

of *u* in (udh), the effect of (dh) which can only be shewn on the following vowel, and the sound of *hoan*, which I assume here to be (hoon) and not (hóen), just as in *Thaung* I took *au* to = AA).

26. "To hunt this cursed fox from Bloomer's land."

3. FORTH AND BARGY CWL.

Collected from the glossary and specimens in Mr. Barnes's book. The spelling there used is placed first in Italics, and then the conjectured pron. in pal. Observations are included in []. The numbers refer to the cwl. on p. 15*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *taake* tàk. 5 *maake* màk. 6 *maate* màdt. 14 *dra* draa. 18 *eaake* kàk. 19 *taale* tàl. 21 *naame* nàm naam. — *gam* *gaume* gàm [game]. — *glade* glàd [glade, valley]. [In all these words I feel that *aa*, *au* may have meant (áv, év.)] A: 40 *khime* khjáim. 43 *hoan* hoon. 44 *loan* loon. 53 *eoan* koon. 57 *ess* es. A: or O: 58 *vram* vram. 61 *amang* vma'q. A'- 67 *goan* góen [going]. 72 *fho* fhoo. 73 *zo zoo* sae zoo zuu see [the last form is anomalous]. 82 *oanes* óvnes. 86 *oates* óuts. 94 *eroove* kriu [?]. 95 *droue draugh* droo. A': — *laady* laadi [lady]. 108 *doagh* *dhoagh* *dough* doo. 115 *hime* hyme ha'im. 117 *oan* oon. 118 *bane* baan. 124 *sthoan* sthooon.

Æ- — *aake* aak [ache]. 138 *rather* vaadhur. 141 *niel* na'íl. 141 *tyel* ta'íl. 144 *agyne* ega'in. 146 *mhyne* mha'in [main, very]. 147 *bryne* bra'in [the *y* spelling in these last four words seems to indicate (a'i) with certainty]. 152 *waudher* wadhur. Æ: 155 *detch* dett. — *bhlock* bhlok [black]. 156 *glaud* glàd. 161 *die dey* *daaily* da'i da'ili. 165 *zide* za'id. — *smaal* smaal [small]. 179 *faade* fàdt. Æ'- — *leache* lectt [physician from Stanyhurst 1577, misprinted *leech* in glossary]. 187 *laave* *lea* lév lee. 194 *aany* àni. — *erroave* eróon [errand]. 200 *whet* whett. Æ': 211 *gray* *grey* gra'i. — *meale* meel [a meal]. 217 *varch* eertt [ever-each, every]. 218 *zheep* zhiip. 223 *aar thaave* aar dhaar. 224 *far* far.

E- 231 *ee* i [and] *a v* [compare omitted consonant in the D 40]. 238 *hey hye* ha'i. 241 *rhyme* rha'in. 242 *twine* twy twa'in twái. 245 *mele* mell meel [meal, flour]. — *brimel* brimel [bramble]. 251 *maate* méet. — *rether* vedhur [feather]. E: 260 *laaye* lái. 262 *wye wyse* wa'i wa'iz. 263 *awye* wwa'i. 266 *waal* wál. — *dell* del [delve]. 279 *waant* wéent [?]. — *seen* spiin [spend]. — *zeen* ziin [to send]. — *een* iin [an end]. E'- 296 *bileuve* bulee-v. 301 *heerveen* heerveen hiirriin ha'irriin [hearing, the second form is still heard in D 4, but is dying out]. E': 305 *heeigh* hii.

EA: 324 *ayght* a'it. — *ayghteen* a'itii'n. 326 *yole yola* jool joo'lv. 328 *eole* *khool* khool. 330 *houle* ha'ul [?]. 346 *yat* jett jitt [?]. EA'- 347 *haade* hād. 348 *ou* iin [eyes]. EA': 350 *deed* diid. 351 *leed* liid. 352 *reed* riid. 353 *breed* briid. 358 *meeghe* nii. 359 *nyporis* na'iporis. — *reem* rhyme riim rha'im [ream]. — *aycnst* venst. — *thowse* *thause* *lowse* loos la'us [? loose]. — *eath* *efc* iith iif [easy].

EI- 373 *thye* dha'i. 374 *naay* na'i. EI: 379 *haail* ha'íl. 380 *aam* éem [(am, em) ?].

EO: 388 *mulke* malk [or? (m'lk) see D 10]. — *barrm* barm [barm = yeast]. — *hearth* heerttt [heart]. 406 *cart* card eert eerd. EO'- 409 *beu* biin [bees]. — *flen* fiin [flies, Mr. Barnes says 'fleas,' but that is impossible]. 411 *dhree* drii. 412 *shoo* shuu. EO': 436 *drue* dhruu [? (thrau)]. EY- 438 *dee* dii. EY: 439 *thrist* thrist.

I- 443 *vredie* vriidii [see p. 29, note 6]. I: 452 *ich* itt [and in composition *cha cham chas chood choote chull* = I have, am, was, would, wot, will]. 455 *lee* lii [hence to idle, and then spelled *leigh*]. — *michty* miiti. — *deight*

düit. 458 *neeght niegght* niit na'it. 460 *waaight* wáit. 470 *aam* e'm [see 380]. 475 *wéend wyéene* wúind wa'im [? Vallancey gives *wéend* only]. 480 *dhing* dhúq [(dúiq)?]. — *zhip* zhip [ship]. — *dhurth* dhúrtú [dirt]. I'- 492 *zeide* zeed [taking *ei* as a mistake for *ee*]. 493 *dhreere* dhriiv. 494 *dém* diim. — *peepare* piipéer [piper]. 496 *ereen* iiren. I': 502 *veere* viiv. — *hye* ha'i [hay, and also 238]. 510 *my* ma'i. — *leen* liin [line]. 515 *veezér* viizer [? (wii'zér)], otherwise this is the only case where w=v.

O- 518 *buthee bodhee bothige* butúii' bodhiir. O: 531 *doughtere* da'uteer. — *cawl* kaa [? (kool) a colt]. 552 *coorn* kuurn. 553 *hoorn* huurn. O'- 555 *shoon* shuun pl. 564 *zoon* zuun. 565 *nize niz* náiz niz. 566 *anoor* anuur [another]. O': 571 *gooude goouness* gúuud gúuues. 572 *blood* bláuud. 579 *veew* iniu'. 597 *zoot* zuut.

U- 599 *aboo* abuu. 603 *ecome* kuum. 605 *zin zin* [common in D 11]. 606 *dher* dhær. U: 609 *valler* [? misprint for *vuller*] valer, ? vader. 612 *zim zin*. 616 *greoune* grea'un. 629 *zin zin*. U'- 640 *keow* kea'u. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *about* abut abea'ut [?].

U': 658 *deown* dea'un. 662 *ouse ouz* uz ? 663 *heouse* hea'us. 667 *outh udh* útú edú, *udho* edúv [out of]. 671 *móuth* me'uth.

Y- — *heere* hiiv [hive]. — *ree* riiv [rye]. 679 *chourch* t'úrtú [? t'úrtú]. Y: 684 *burge* bárdú. — *hele* hel [? a hill]. 690 *keene* kiin. 701 *vúrst* vúr-st. Y'- — *keen* kiin [kine, from Ws. *ey'* plural of 240]. 705 *skee* skii. — *theene* thiin [tine]. Y': — *breede* briid [bride].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *knayle* ka'il [kail]. E. — *lear* leer [empty]. — *skéine* skyne skáin [skein]. O. — *poul* pa'ul [poll of the head]. — *mot* mot [but]. U. — *unket* a'qket [unkid].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *faace fauce* fás. 812 *lance* làs. 813 *hawcoon* bàkuurn. — *pyle* pa'il [... *paèle*, a pail]. — *plague* plág [plague]. 820 *gaaye* gái. 827 *aayer* éyger. — *gryne* grá'in [grain]. 835 *raaison* ra'izoorn.

E.. 885 *veree* veriiv. — *feyer* fa'ir [a fair]. 890 *beasthès* beesti'is. I.. and Y.. — *pee* pii [a mag-pie]. 900 *pry* pra'i. — *gimlie* djimli [chimney].

O.. — *faaighe* fythe fa'i fa'ith. — *geint* dja'int [joint]. 925 *vire* váis. 937 *euck* kuk. 947 *bile* ba'il. 956 *kiver* kíver. U.. 960 *kie* ka'i. — *wauite* wa'it [wait]

D 2 = m.CS. = mid Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The CB. in Pm. and the coast sw. of it.

Area. The two peninsulas to the sw. of Pm., formerly known as "Little England beyond Wales."

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under Pm., Rhôs and Daugleddy, information from Rev. J. Tombs, Mr. Elworthy, Mr. E. L. Jones, Mr. W. Spurrell, and Archdeacon Edmondés.

Character. The S. reverted (r) according to Mr. Elworthy, who says the dial. is "most like a book version of w.Sm.," see D 10, and thinks he heard some (y₁), though Rev. J. Tombs says there is nothing like it there. Mr. Tombs also thinks the *r* is "not materially different from the Welsh *r*," fully trilled (r), and that Pm. speech is very different from a Sm. or n.Dv. But initial *dr-* accepted by Mr. Tombs in *three, through, throw, threaten*, implies (dr-). The (a'i) for ÆG, EG, initial (z-) for (s-), though only preserved among old speakers, and of (éi) perhaps (é'i) for I', the use of (iin) for *him*, and of (dhiivz) as one of the forms of *this*, the (v-) before the past participle, are all of them S. forms. The

only words I have heard are 3 or 4 pron. by Mr. Elworthy. Hence I give the original spelling in the following owl. The indications respecting the value of short U have been most diverse. It will be seen by the dt. furnished by Mr. Spurrell, from dictation of a Castle Martin man, that short U is invariably (*u*) or (*u*). Mr. E. L. Jones says it is "never" like the La. (*u*), but "always" as *u* in rec. buck (*ə*, *ɜ*). As *Zoonday* occurs in a subsequent specimen, I endeavoured to clear up the matter, without much success. Mr. Tombs gave (*ə*, *ɜ*) in *love*, *come*, *summer*, *son*, *butter*, *ugly*, *some*, *drunk*, *under*, *tongue*, *hunger*, *Sunday*, *nan*, *sun*, but allowed (*u*, *u*) in *fall*, *cap*, *dust*. Archdeacon Edmondson, of Warren, close to Castle Martin, says that a girl in his service speaks of "carr'ing things *oop*, taking in *lounch*," but her parents come from Narberth. Under these circumstances it seems that (*u*) still exists, but is not general. It is of course a mark of antiquity, and for this reason I assume it in the older form of D 1. There is no trace of it in D 3. For D 4 see the s. *soom* line 2, p. 16. Mr. Tombs or else Arch. Edmondson admits *v* for *f* in *fair*, *farm*, *fast*, *feed*, *fiddle*, *four*, *fox*, *flail*, *from*, *furrow*; (*væqk*) for spark is known to Mr. Thomas; and they admit *z* for *s* in *say*, *self*, *seven*, *sick*, *six*, *soon*, *son*, *Sunday*, and lastly that the *f* and *s* remain in *face*, *fail*, *fall* v., *false*, *far*, *fat*, *fault*, *friend*, not very regularly; and in *sad*, *sand*, *saw*, *song*, *so*, *such*, *sweet*, *swallow*, *swine*, still less regularly. As to *ov*, Mr. Tombs does not admit (*éu*), but Archd. Edmondson hears *caoo* (*kéu*, *ké'u*, *kæ'u*?)

1. TWO INTERLINEAR PEMBROKESHIRE dt.

T. written in io. by Rev. J. Tombs, Rector of Burton, Pm., and pal. conjecturally by AJE.

S. written in a phonetic alphabet by Mr. Spurrell from the dict. of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Castlemartin, Pm.

- (1) T. zoo éi zái, ba'wiiiz, je zii mia'u vz éi bi réit vba'ut -dat
S. zoo éi záai, bə'iz, jæ zii néu æz éi)m 'réit æba'ut dhæt

T. líd'l máid kəm'n vrom dhe [skuul]
S. líd'l [hiid'l] máaid kəm'n [gum'n] vrom dhæ skuul [skuuld]

T. a'ut dheer.
S. éut dheer.

- (2) T. shii'z a)gwáin dia'um dhe rhóord dheer, dria'u dhe rid
S. shii'z æ gwáain déim dhæ róord dheer, dhru dhæ rid

T. gee't pen dhe líft han zéid v dhe wáiz.
S. gaat pən dhæ líft hænd [hæn?] zéid o dhæ wáai.

- (3) T. shuur enóu dhe tjéil hev v-gon stráit [ɛp tɛ] dhe
S. shuur enéu dhæ tjéil[-d] hæv æ gən stráit ʌp tæ dhæ

T. duur v dhe raaq [ha'us]
S. duur ʌv dhæ rəq héus

- (4) T. weer (waar) shi ul léiklì féim [dhat] draqk'm diif (díf)
S. weer shii ul léiklì féim dhæt draqk'n díf

T. sriv'lt felv bi dhe nécem v :toməs.
S. skravk felæ béi dhæ néæm o :tómæs.

(5) T. [wi AAL] NAAZ iin [VERi] wel.
S. wii óæl NAAZ iin veri wel.

(6) T. [woont] dhv AAL [tʃap suun] laRN vR not tɛ duu)t ægen,
S. wunt dhi áaul tʃæp suun laarn ɔr not tæ duu)t ægen,

T. puuR dhíq!
S. puur dhíq!

(7) T. [luk !] been't [it] TRÍU?
S. luuk beent ít tríu?

Notes to T. version. Words in [] were not filled in by Mr. T. and are supposed to be in (dialectal) rs. Mr. T.'s spelling may be seen in the cwl.

1. *So say*. The initial (z) is heard only from old people.—*I be* is more heard in the n. and *I am* in the s. of the district.—*right*. The pron. (éi) is adopted from Mr. Jones, who says it is most like the Cockney *a* in *fate*, which sounded to the Tenby schoolchildren in Mr. Matthew Arnold's pron. like their own pr. of *fight*.—*boys now about*. I have interpreted Mr. T.'s *ou*, *ow*, *cow* as (a'u, ia'u) using the unanalysed form. The triphthong (ia'u) possibly occurred in D 1. We find (éau) in M. But Mr. Spurrell's version points to its meaning (éu).—*from*. I adopt (r) everywhere on Mr. Elworthy's authority. Initial it is probably aspirated as in Mr. T.'s *rho-ad*. His *dr* for *thr* implies (DR), and perhaps *tr* would be (TR). But I leave (r) in Mr. Spurrell's phonetic writing.—*that* (dat) is very peculiar. Its appearance and present gradual disappearance may be compared with D 9. That *the* should not be similarly affected is singular.—*little*, (lid'l) is found elsewhere.—*maid, going* (á) in (máid, gwáin) is regular S.—*from* (vrom) is regular S., but the other forms *from*, *throm*, which Mr. T. has heard, seem to be foreignisms.

4. *where*. I considered Mr. T.'s written *wh* to be an accident for *w*. He says, however, that *h* is "very well and correctly used generally speaking; it is occasionally but rarely omitted where it should be heard; but still seldomer inserted where it should not be; these are, I think, faults of recent growth."

4. *shrivelled*. (shr-) seems to be a difficulty. In this word (sr-) is used, in others (shv-r-), see—*shrub* before 543, and *shrimp* 756 in cwl. *infra* p. 35.

5. *we all know him* (wi AAL NAAZ iin). "*We* is sometimes heard as the objective case, and *us* as the nominative, but rarely; and this usage has grown up within the last twenty-five years [dated Mar. '79] by the advent of English navvies into the district to form the railways; many such have married and settled here, and the natives have partly followed their usage sometimes." The usage is common in Do. The form (NAAZ) for the pl. is common S. (iin), which Mr. T. writes *ihn* as in German, is the regular S. *en* (en), from Ws. *hine*, the true acc., for which the dative *him* has been substituted in rs.

6. *thing* (dhiq) is old.

7. *is not*. *I be* is heard more in the n., *I am* in the s. of the district.

2. *Example* given at the Swansea meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, 1861:

"I'ze a gwaaing to zell zum vish to buy zum vlesh vor that blezzed day zounday."

This Mr. T. thinks "unmistakably Flemish." It is "unmistakably" S. But *I'ze*, as thus written for *I is*, is the N. form, and is of course an error. There is a possibility that it stands for *ees be* (iis bi). In a cutting from a Carmarthen newspaper I find *I's* regularly used for *I*, as "I's so [= *saw*, the distinction (AA, oo)

is heard with difficulty], I's tell, I's cud, I's hasn't, I's goin, I's did, I's isn't, I's does, I's has, I's propos, I's thinks, I's has, I's was," where *I's* is simply an old S. (iis) = I, and only in "I's goin" is the verb omitted. A man who left Narberth about 1864 told Mr. Spurrell he had heard (éiz thiqks) for *I think*. This is very doubtful. I cannot get any other confirmation of the use of such a form. Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, a Tenby man, never heard it. And *oo* in *zoonday* is also N. Perhaps, using (*u*) as in the dt. from Mr. Spurrell, we may read (iiz bi v)gwáin te zel zom vish te bœ'i zom vlesh vër dhat blezed dái zundá'i).

PM. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Compiled from words furnished me from different quarters, distinguished by initials.
Ed. From Archdeacon Edmondes of Warren (4 sw.Pembroke), in answer to questions.

El. From Mr. Elworthy after a visit to Tenby, communicated vv.

Ev. From Miss Evans's "Molly and Richard" in Chambers's Journal, quoted as Pm. in Rev. J. Tombs's lecture. Her spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

J. From Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, native of Tenby.

N. Words from Narberth furnished by Mr. Spurrell of Carmarthen.

T. From Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n.Pembroke). His own spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

Th. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas of Castlemartin (5 wsw.Pembroke), obtained vv. by Mr. Spurrell and written in his phonetic alphabet here transliterated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T. *naame* néem, Th. *néem*. A: 43 T. *han'* han. A: or O: 58 T. *vrom rom throm* from rom throm [but the speaker had Welsh blood]. 64 T. *raung* raaq Th. *raq*. A'- 67 T. *agwaayin'* egwáin. 73 T. *zo zoo* [(z) used only by older people]. 92 T. *we know's* wi naaz [see 98]. 98 Ev. *knawed* naad [? nood]. A': 104 T. *rho-ad* rhóaed [Mr. T. does not acknowledge (r)], Th. *róaed*. 123 Ev. *nawthin* naathin.

Æ- 138 Ev. *feither* feedher, T. *veedher*. — Ev. *spaid* spáid [spade]. 141 Ed. *náil*. 142 Ed. *snáil*. 143 Ed. *táil*. T. *aghen* egen. 146 Ed. *máin*. 147 Ed. *bráin*. 148 Ed. *váir*. 152 Th. *weeter*. Æ: 160 Ed. *dái*. 161 Ev. *to daay*. 162 Ed. *te dái*. 164 Ed. *mái*. 166 Ed. *máid*, T. *maayd* máid N. *máid*. 177 T. *dat* dat [Mr. T. says, "d for th was a characteristic mark in 1860, fast disappearing"]. Æ'- — El. *æth* [heath, as well as 405 hearth] æfel [Heathfield]. Æ: 224 T. *whair wharr* weer war.

E- 231 *tha* dhe. E: 261 *zay* zái. Th. *záai* [used only by older people], Ev. *saay* sái. 262 *wæy* wái. 265 *strayet* stráit. E'- 297 T. *fellah* fláh fel'v fla [?]. EA: 326 T. *awle* ool, áaul. 332 Ev. *tould* tóold? 335 Th. *doæl*. 346 T. *ga-at* géeut. EA'- — El. *æfer* [heifer]. EA': 352 T. *rid* rid. 355 T. *deef* diff diif dif. — Ev. *yasy* jee'zi [easy]. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used]. 402 T. *larne* larn [teach]. 405 El. *æth* [also used for *heath*, see under Æ'-]. EO': 427 *bain't* beent [be not, for is not]. 428 T. *zee* zii [z used only by old people]. 436 *trew* triu [rhymes to *new*].

I- 447 *hur* ur her er. — *yis* jis [yes]. I: 452 J. Th. *éi*. 459 J. Th. *rite* réit. 469 *ool* ul. 470 T. *ihn* in iin [?]. 477 T. *fine'* fa'in. 480 T. *thing* dhiq ["flat th as in *then* among old people"] 484 El. *dhiéz* [a distinct form of this]. I'- 492 T. *zide* zéid [z used only by old people].

O- — N *shuv'l* [shovel]. O: — T. *shurrub* sherab [shrub]. 543 T. *'pan* pen. O'- 560 Th. *skuul* skuuld. O': 578 Ev. *pleugh* pliu. 579 *enaf* enóu [sing. and pl.]

U- 603 T. *cummin'* kəm'in, kəmin. 606 T. *doore* duur. U: 613 Th. *draqk'n*. — *skruqk* [skrunk]. 632 Th. *up*. 633 Ed. *kup*. 634 T. *dreow* driou, Ev. *throu* thra'u, ? dra'u; Th. *dhru*. U'- 643 T. *ncow* nia'u, Th. *néu*. U: 658 T. *deown* dia'un, Th. *déun*. 663 Th. *héus*. 667 T. *out* a'ut?

Y- 682 *liddle* lid'l. Y': 709 Th. *vəir*.

II. ENGLISH.

- E. 749 T. *lift* lift.
 I. and Y. 756. T. *shur-rimp* sheri'mp. 760 *srivolet* sriv'lt [often heard by Mr. Tombs, not known by Mr. Thomas].
 O. 791 T. *bouiese* bóiz ba'uiiz [?].

III. ROMANCE.

- A.. 866 T. *poour* púuēr.
 E.. — T. Ed. *eractur* KRAATÜR [creature].
 O.. — Ev. *join* dja'ujin [join].

D 3 = e.CS. = eastern Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The Gm. CB. and the Bristol Channel.

Area. The 17 En. speaking parishes of the peninsula of Gowerland, Gm., enumerated under Gm. CB. p. 13c.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List, Gm. Gowerland.

Characters. Reverted (r) inferred from (ruáu) through, (z) initial in place of (s), ('n) for *him* are all distinctly S. The dialect seems to have been greatly worn, as my informant, the Rev. J. D. Davies, alters the spelling of but few words in the dt. and says that the others are in rs. No specimen has been printed. Not having been able to find or obtain any complete specimen of the dialect, and Mr. Davies's dt. being very defective, I merely add the words in the cwl. form.

GOWERLAND CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Containing the words supplied to me by Rev. J. D. Davies, giving his spelling first, followed by the conjectural pron. in pal.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A'- 67 *gwain* gween [going]. 73 *zo* zoo.
 Æ- 144 *agen* ege'n.
 E: 261 *zay* zái [possibly (zee)]. E'- 297 *fellah* felv. EA: 326 *auld* Aald.
 EA': 355 *defe* diif. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used] EO': 427
bean't béent [is not]. 428 *ze* zii.
 I- 447 *er* ēr. I: 470 *n 'n* [after verbs]. I'- 492 *zide* zéid [?].
 U- 606 *daur* dār [probably, Mr. Davies says, like the French *swur* (sœœr)].
 U: 634 *drough* (DRA'u?) [may be (DRU)].
 Y- 682 *lil* líl.

III. ROMANCE.

- A.. — *gracieuse* grashæz.
 E.. — *précieuse* preshiæz.

In the Philological Transactions for 1848-50, vol. 4, p. 222, is a list of 68 Gówer words, given by Rev. J. Collins, with no explanations of spelling. Of these the following are common words. I do not trust myself to give the pronunciation.

Brandis (brandrith), iron stand for pot or kettle. *Cammet* (cammed), crooked. *Eddish*, wheat stubble. *Hay*, an inclosure attached to a dwelling. *Main*, strong, fine (but here said of growing crops). *Nommet*, noon-meat, luncheon. *Plym*, plump, full. *Peert*, lively, brisk. *Quapp*, to throb. *Rathe*, early. *Revermouse*, bat. *Sneud*, handle of scythe. *Songulls* (songles), gleanings.

The following are Southern or Western :

Caffle, entangled, Sm. *Cloam*, earthenware, Co. *Clit*, stiff, sticky. *Dreshel*, (drashel), a flail. *Ecil*, a three-pronged fork. *Flect*, exposed in situation, Sm. *Flott* (float), aftergrass, Dv. *Foust*, tumbled. *Frithing*, wattled fence, *to frith* a fence, Dv. *Nesseltrip*, small pig in a litter. *Orice* (ovis), eaves of house, Dv. *Planche*, boarded floor, Do. *Party*, to turn sulky. *Quat*, to press down or flatten, Do. *Show-y*, to clear (of weather), the verbal termination -y common. *Soul*, cheese, butter, etc., as eaten with bread. *Slade*, a valley, ground sloping to the sea. *Sul* (zul), a plough. *Suant*, regular, working smoothly, Dv. *Toit*, small straw seat, Dv., frisky, Co. *Want*, a mole [the animal]. *Wimble*, (wine), winnow.

Of the other words I am not so sure.

Angletouch, warm. *Bumbagas*, bittern. *Charnel*, place in roof for hanging bacon. *Deal*, litter of pigs. *Dotted* (? doted), giddy, of a sheep. *Dome*, damp. *Firmy*, to clean out (-y is S.). *Flauiring*, an eruption like erysipelas. *Fraith*, freespoken, talkative. *Flathing*, a dish made of curds, eggs, and milk. *Gloy*, refuse straw after the "reed" has been taken out. *Gloice*, sharp pang of pain. *Heurgar*, heavier (so also *near-ger*, *far-ger*). *Homrath*, harness collar made of straw. *Kittybags*, gaiters. *Lipe*, matted basket of a peculiar shape. *Letts*, a lout. *Noppet*, *Nipperty*, lively, convalescent. *Ryle*, angle in the sea. *Riff*, a scythe sharpener. *Seggy*, to lease (the -y is S.). *Semmatt*, a sieve made of skin for winnowing. *Shout*, a small wheaten loaf. *Stiprog*, a mode of fastening a sheep's foreleg to its head by a band of straw or withy. *Susan*, a brown earthen pitcher. *Sump*, any bulk that is carried, Sf. *Slade*, ground sloping to the sea. *Tite* (toit), to tumble over, N. *Fair*, a weasel or stoat. *Wing*, a willow. *Weest*, lonely, desolate. *Wash-dish*, the titmouse.

Hence, although vocabulary is a very uncertain test, the dialect has a clearly S. character, agreeing with the small evidences furnished by pron.

D 4 and 5 together form the MS. = Mid Southern Group.

This was the principal seat of the Wessex tribe, and the strongly-marked peculiarities tend to shew that the people have preserved much, although they have altered much of the original pron., more marked on the w. side than on the e. Although no strict line can be drawn separating the two, yet the peculiarities die out so rapidly to the e. that I have thought it best to divide the group into two districts, by a rather arbitrary, nearly direct n. to s. line, which is the best I can draw. D 4 on the w. must be regarded as the typical form of S. speech. It is not quite uniform, but nearly so.

Boundaries. The n. and s. b. of D 4 and D 5, the w. b. of D 4 and the e. b. of D 5.

Area. All Wl., Do., and most of Gl., with n. and e.Sm.; most of Be., all Ha. and Wi., s.Sr. and w.Ss.; with narrow slips of e.He. and w.Ox., and the extreme se. corner of Dv.

Character. Phonetically, reverted (r) or retracted (r₁), and (DR-) for thr-; (z, v) initial for (s, f) in Ws. words, but not in Romance words; the use of (áí) for ÆG and EG; the broad (æ'i, œ'u) for I', U'. Grammatically, *I be* for *I am*; *a* becoming (v) before past participle. All these are subject to slight variations.

D 4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern.

Boundaries. *Do.* Begin on the English Channel just w. of Axmouth (20 e-by-s. Exeter), on the Axe R. Proceed in a n. direction e. of Colyton (20 e-by-n. Exeter), through Yarcombe (22 ne. Exeter).

Sm. Enter Sm. a little w. of Buckland St. Mary (8 s. Taunton), and e. of Otterford (7 s. Taunton), and keeping e. of Wellington (6 sw. Taunton), and w. of Thurlbeer (3 se. Taunton), proceed nearly to Taunton, then n. to just e. of Kingston (4 nw. Taunton), when it deflects to nw. and follows the Quantock Hills to the Bristol Channel at East Quantock Head.

Bristol Channel. Proceed along the coast of Sm. and Gl. to just opposite the mouth of the river Wye.

Gl. Cross the Bristol Channel and follow the reverted *w* line 3 to just opposite Monmouth.

He. Continue along the reverted *w* line 3 in a nne. direction, w. of Ross, Stoke Edith (6 e-by-n. Hereford), and Much Cowarn (9 ne. Hereford), but e. of Bromyard (10 ese. Leominster), and then passing w. of Whitbourn (14 e. Leominster), enter

Wo. Continue in nearly a straight line to Bewdley (3 se. Kidderminster), where quit line 3 and return suddenly s. along the Malvern Hills in a nearly direct line to the s. b. of Wo. by Staunton (7 wsw. Tewkesbury), then turning e. pass s. of Eldersfield (6 wsw. Tewkesbury), into

Gl. Go through Tewkesbury and proceed direct e. to Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e. Tewkesbury), and continuing e. to the w. b. of Ox. Then turn s. along the w. b. first of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w-by-s. Reading), and then continue in a n. to s. line through

Ha. Passing just w. of Andover to Nursling, just at the n. point of Southampton Water, and then to the sea near Lymington (10 e. Christchurch), and turn w. along the coast to the starting-point by Axmouth. About Lymington and Christchurch there is no dialect. The line is intended to avoid the whole of Wi., which is all in D 5, but accidentally it appears on the map as if a small portion of Wi. belonged to D 4. The whole line from the w. b. of Ox. is very uncertain for want of sufficient information, but it cannot be far wrong either way.

Area. All Wl. and Do., n. and e.Sm., most of Gl., the extreme se. of Dr., and small parts of w.Be., and w.Ha.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‡ per J.G.G., || in so., ° in io.

Dr. °Axminster.

Do. °Bingham's Melcombe (or Melcombe Bingham), °Blackmore Vale, *Blandford, °Bradpole, °Bridport, °East Lulworth, °East Morden, *Hantford, °Sherborne, °Sturminster-Marshall, °Swanage, °Walditch, || Whitchurch Canonicorum, || Winterbourne Came.

Gl. *Aylburton, °Berkeley, †Birdlip, †Bishop's Cleve, °Bisley, †Bristol, †Brockworth, †Cheltenham, *† Cirencester, *Coleford (= Forest of Dean), °Compton Abdale, †Fairford, †Gloucester Town, *Gloucester Vale, †Highnam, †Hucclecote, °King's Wood, †Maisey Hampton, †Tetbury, †Whitcomb.

Ha. °Broughton, °Christchurch, °Iford, °Nursling, *Ringwood.

He. || Eggleton, *Ledbury, || † Much Cowarn, °† Ross, † Stoke Edith, °Upton Bishop.

Sm. || Bath, °Burtle Turf Moor, °Castle Cary, °Chard, °Chedzoy, °Combe Down, °Compton Dando, || Crewkerne, °Croscombe, °East Harptree, °High Ham, °Langport, *Merriott, *Montacute, °Nailsea, °North Wootton, °Sutton Mallet, °Swanswick, °Wedmore, ‡ Wincanton, °Worle.

Wl. °Aldbourne, °Calne, ‡ Chippenham, *Christian Malford, *Corsham, °Corsley, °Damerham, °East Knoyle, † Kemble, °Maddington, °Orcheston St. George, °† Purton, °Salisbury to Warminster, °Seend, °Sopworth, *Tilshead, °Wilton, °Yatesbury.

It will be necessarily impossible to give all the information received from so many places. My best help has come from Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, and as n.Wl. seems the most typical form of D 4 = w.MS., I shall examine this part of the district at great length. The use of these numerous sources of information is necessarily to shew the continued prevalence or the change of any form of speech. Indeed without this large body of evidence, it would have been totally impossible to map out the district even roughly with any degree of accuracy. Hence my investigation is greatly indebted to those who have furnished some clue to the prevalent speech sounds, even when it manifestly became impossible to give their communications at length.

Character.

Consonants (f v, s z). The conspicuous feature of D 4, which most strikes the visitor from any other part of England, is the use of (v, z) initial in place of (f, s). But undoubtedly for Ws. words (v, z) were the original forms, just as to this day (z) initial is the received form in Dutch where *z* is written, and High German where *ʃ* is written in German. In both, however, the pron. when no vowel or voiced consonant precedes is (sz-), thus High German *sie sehen* is (szi *zee*-en) they see. The (f, s) are later developments, and seem to have been introduced by the Normans, for as a general rule, to which even at this late period there are very few exceptions, and those chiefly in words familiar to particular districts, "Ws. words have (v, z), and Romance have (f, s)." This custom once prevailed over the whole s. of England from Ke. to Dv. It has altogether disappeared in Ke. and Ss., and has almost disappeared in Ha. and Be. But it is rarely lost in D 4, and in D 10, 12. In order to test the prevalence of the rule just given, I examined all the words in question in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*, which is in Kentish of the xivth century, and the words in Mr. Elworthy's lists attached to his *Dialect of West Somersetshire*, and then I sent lists of most of them to Rev. W. Barnes for Do., and Rev. A. Law for Wl., requesting them to mark the words for (f v, s z, sh zh, th dh), etc. The result is given in the following table, where the words in usual spelling are arranged in alphabetical order under appropriate headings, and against each word is written the sound of the letter used, *f*, *v*, *s*, *z*, etc., or *vf*, *zs*, when sometimes one letter and sometimes the other is heard, adding M for Dan Michel for Ke. in xivth century, D for Do., W for Wl., and S. for w.Sm., in the order from e. to w. An * points out Fr. or Romance words.

F INITIAL.

*fable <i>f</i> DS	*faith <i>f</i> S	farrow <i>v</i> WDS
*face <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W	fall vb. <i>v</i> MDWS	farther <i>v</i> S
*facia <i>f</i> S	fall sb. <i>f</i> D	farthing <i>v</i> MDWS
*faet <i>f</i> DWS	fallow <i>v</i> DWS	*fashion <i>f</i> S
*factory <i>f</i> DS	*false <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> M, <i>vf</i> W	fast vb. adj. <i>v</i> M
*fade <i>f</i> S	*fame <i>f</i> DS	fast adj. adv. <i>v</i> S
fag <i>v</i> S	*family <i>f</i> DS	fast sb. <i>f</i> S
*fail <i>f</i> MDWS	*famish <i>f</i> D	fat (vat) sb. <i>v</i> M
fain adj. <i>f</i> S	fan <i>v</i> MS	fat adj. <i>f</i> DW, <i>v</i> M, <i>vf</i> S
*faint <i>f</i> S	far <i>v</i> MDWS	*fate <i>f</i> DWS
fair adj. <i>f</i> DWS, <i>v</i> M	fare <i>f</i> DWS, <i>v</i> M	father <i>f</i> D, <i>v</i> MW, <i>vf</i> S
*fair s. <i>f</i> DS	*farm <i>f</i> DS	fathom <i>v</i> S
	*farmer <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W	*faucet <i>f</i> S
	*farrier <i>f</i> DS	*fault <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W

- *favour *f* MS
 *fawn sb. *f* S
 *fawning *v* S
 fear *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 fearless *v* S
 *feast *f* MDS, *vf* W
 feather *v* MS
 *feature *f* S
 *february *f* S
 fed *v* M
 fee *f* S
 *feeble *f* MDWS
 feed *v* M
 feel *v* MS
 feet *v* MS
 *feign vb. *f* S
 fell *f* M
 fell sb. *v* M
 fell (in sewing) *v* S
 fellow *v* DS
 fellow *f* DS, *v* MW
 *felon *f* MS
 felt *v* DW, *vf* S
 *female *f* S
 fennel *v* S
 *fence *f* S
 *ferment *f* S
 fern *v* S
 *ferret *f* DS, *v* W
 ferry *f* DS
 ferule *v* S
 *fervent *f* M
 fester *f* D, *v* M, *vf* S
 fetch *v* DWS
 fetters *v* M
 fetlock *v* S
 *fever *f* MDS, *vf* W
 few *v* MDWS
 fiddle *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fidget *f* S
 field *v* MDWS
 fieldfare *v* S
 fiend *v* M
 fifth *v* M
 fife *f* S
 *fig *f* DW, *vf* S
 fight *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
 *figure *f* MS
 *filbert *v* S
 fill *v* MDWS
 film *v* S
 *philosophy *f* M
 *filter *f* S
 filth *f* DS, *v* M, *vf* W
 fin *v* S
 goldfinch *v* S
 find *v* MDWS
 *fine *f* DS, *v* W.
 *finger *v* MDWS
 *finish *f* DS
 fir *v* S
 fire *v* MDWS
 firkin, *v* S
 firm *f* S
 first *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fish *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fist *v* DWS
 fit *f* S
 fitch (polecat) *f* S
 five *v* MDWS
 *fix *f* S
 flag *v* S
 flagon, *v* S
 *flail *v* DWS
 *flame *f* S
 flange *v* S
 flank *v* S
 flannel *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 flare *v* S
 flask *f* S
 flat *f* S
 flatter *v* *f* M
 flaw *v* S
 flax *v* S
 flayed *v* M
 flea *v* S
 *flea *f* S
 fled *v* M
 fledged *v* S
 fleece *v* DWS
 *phlegmatic *f* M
 flesh *v* MDWS
 flew *v* S
 *flich *f* M
 fling *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 flint *v* MS
 *flippant (elastic) *f* S
 flitch *v* S
 flock *v* DWS
 *flog *v* S
 flood *v* MS
 floor *v* DWS
 *flour *f* MDS
 flow *v* S
 *flower *f* MDW
 *flue *f* S
 *fluent (said of quickly
 running water only) *f* S
 flush *v* S
 flute *f* S
 flutter *v* S
 fly vb., sb. *v* MDWS
 foal *v* DWS
 foam *v* S
 foe *v* M
 fog *v* S
 fold *v* DWS
 folk *v* MS
 follow *v* M
 *folly *f* M
 *fool *f* M
 *foolish *f* M
 foot *v* MDWS
 for *v* MDWS
 *forage *f* S
 forbear *v* MS
 forbid *v* MS
 force *f* DS, *vf* W
 ford *v* DS, *vf* W
 fore *v* S
 forehead *v* S
 *foreign *f* DS, *v* W
 *forest *f* DS, *v* W
 forgive *v* MS
 *forge *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 fork *v* DWS
 forlorn *v* M
 *form *f* M
 *form (bench) *f* S
 forsake *v* MS
 forsooth *v* M
 forswear *v* M
 forth *v* M
 forth *v* DWS
 fortnight *v* S
 *fortunate *v* S
 fortune *f* S
 forty *v* MDW, *vf* S
 forward *v* WS
 foul *f* D, *v* M
 found *v* MDWS
 *foundation *f* S
 *fountain *f* S
 four *v* MDWS
 fourfoot *v* S
 fourth *v* M
 fowl *v* MDWS
 fox *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
 *fracas *f* S
 *fraction *f* S
 *a-fraid *vf* S
 *frail *f* S
 frame *f* S
 *fray *f* S
 freak *f* S
 free *v* MDWS
 freedom *v* M
 freehold *v* S
 freeze *v* S
 *frequent *f* S
 fresh *f* D, *v* WS
 fret *f* W, *vf* S
 Friday *v* DWS
 *fried *f* S
 friend *v* MDWS
 fright *v* S
 *trill *f* S
 *fringe *vf* S
 fro' *v* S
 *froek *v* S
 frog *f* D, *v* WS
 frolick *v* S
 from *v* MDWS

*front *f* S
 frost *v* MDWS
 froth *v* DWS
 *fruit *f* MS
 *tryings *f* M
 *irry *f* D, *v* S
 full *v* MDWS
 *tuller sb. *f* S, *v* M
 fumble *f* D, *v* W, *v* S
 *funeral *f* D
 *furbish *v* S
 *furl *v* S
 furlong *v* S
 furlough *v* S
 *furnace *f* MS
 furrow *v* DWS
 further *v* S
 furze *v* DWS
 *fusty *f* DS, *v* W
 *physic *f* M
 *physician *f* M

F FINAL.

(*o* means not pronounced.)

*bailiff *o* S
 calf *f* DW, *v* S
 half *f* DW, *v* S
 *handkerchief *o* S
 herself *o* S
 himself *o* S
 leaf *f* DW, *v* S
 life *f* DW, *v* S
 loaf *f* DW, *v* S
 *plaintiff *o* S
 roof *f* DW, *v* S
 sheaf *f* DW, *v* S
 turf (*tarv*) S
 wife *f* DW, *v* S

GH FINAL.

cough *f* S
 dough (occ.) *f* S
 enough *o* S
 plough *o* S
 slough *o* S
 though *f* S
 through *o* S
 tough *f* S
 through *o* S

S INITIAL.

(*s* = *z*, *S*, before *k l m n o w*
 except as below.)

*sabbath *s* D
 sack *z* DWS
 *sacrament *s* D

sad *z* MWS, *s* D
 saddle *z* DWS
 *safe *s* M, *z* W
 *sage *s* D *z* WS
 said *z* MDWS
 sail *z* M
 sailor *s* D, *z* WS
 *saint *z* s M
 sale *z* DWS
 sallow *z* S
 salt *z* MDWS
 sand *z* DWS
 sap *z* MS
 sat *z* S
 Saturday *z* MDWS
 *save *s* M
 I saw *z* DS
 a saw *z* S
 say *z* MDW
 scrape *s* D
 sea *s* D, *z* M
 sedge *z* DWS
 see *z* MDWS
 seed sb. *z* MS
 seek *z* M
 seem *s* D, *z* WS
 *segment *z* S
 self *z* MDWS
 sell *z* MDWS
 send *z* M
 *sentence *s* M
 *sergeant *s* M
 *sermon *s* M
 *servant *s* D
 *serve *s* MW
 *sessions *s* D
 set *z* MDWS
 settle *z* S
 seven *z* MDWS
 sew vb. *z* DWS
 sick *z* MDWS
 side *z* MDWS
 sieve *z* DWS
 sift *z* DWS
 sigh *s* D, *z* WS
 sight *z* M
 silver *z* MDWS
 *simple *s* M
 sin *z* M
 since *s* D, *z* WS
 sinew *z* S
 sing *z* MDWS
 *single *s* MD, *z* WS
 sink *z* DWS
 sip *s* D, *z* WS
 *sir *s* D, *z* S
 sister *s* D, *z* MWS
 sit *z* S
 *site *z* S
 six *z* MDWS
 *sire *s* DWS

sketch *s* D, *z* S [(*z*kiti)
 almost two syllables]
 skill *s* D
 slack *s* M
 slay *s* M
 sleep *s* M
 sly *s* M
 small *s* M
 smell *s* M
 smith *s* M
 snail *s* M
 snow *s* M
 so *z* MW
 sob *z* M
 *sober *s* M
 soft *z* M
 sold *z* M
 some *z* DMW
 son *s* D
 song *z* M
 soon *z* MW
 sooth *z* M
 sorrow *z* M
 *sort *s* S
 sought *z* M
 soul *z* M
 sour *z* M
 south *z* M
 *sovereign *s* W
 sow vb. *z* M
 sparrow *s* M
 spring *s* D
 string *s* D
 *subtle *s* M
 such *z* MW
 suck *z* M
 *suffer *s* MD
 *sugar *sh* S
 sul (plough) *z* M
 *sum *s* MD
 summer *z* MW
 sun *z* MD
 Sunday *z* M
 *sup *s* M
 *supper *z* W
 *sure *zh* W, *sh* S
 *sustain *s* M
 swallow *z* M
 swear *z* M
 sweat *z* MW
 sweep *z* M
 sweet *z* M
 swift *z* M
 swine *z* M
 sword *z* M

SH INITIAL.

share (part) *sh* DW
 share (of a plough) *zh sh* S
 shave *sh* DW, *zh sh* S
 she *zh* W

sheaf *sh* D, *zh* W, *zh sh* S
 shear *sh* D, *zh* W, *zh sh* S
 shepherd *zh* W
 shoot *sh* W
 should *zh* W
 shred *sh* D, *zh* WS
 shrew *zh* S
 shriek *sh* D, *zh* S
 shrimp *sh* D, *zh* S
 shrink *sh* D, *zh* S
 shrivel *sh* D, *zh* S
 shroud *sh* D, *zh* W
 shrove *sh* D, *zh* W
 shrub *sh* D, *zh* WS
 shrng *z* S

TH INITIAL.

thatch *v* S
 thick *th* S as distinguished
 from (dhik) this
 thief *th* S
 thin *th* S
 thing *dh* W
 thirsty *dh* W
 thistle *d* S

though (dháu) *dh* W,
 (thAAf) *th* S
 thr- *dr* WS, not M who
 has *þr*.
 th- *dh* S except in the
 above cases

TH FINAL.

sheath *f* S
 moth *f* S
 cloth *f* S
 tooth *f* S

V INITIAL.

*value *f* S (tali) [common]
 *variety *v* M
 *veal *dh* S (dhe'el) [some-
 times]
 *venial *v* M
 *venom *v* M
 *very *dh* S
 *vestments *v* M
 *vetches *dh* S (dhatjes)
 *vice *v* M
 *victuals *f* S (fet'lz)
 [common]

*vile *v* M
 *village *f* S (fu'lidj) [com-
 mon]
 *villain *v* M
 *vouch *dh* S (common)

V FINAL.

(*o* means omitted.)

above *o* S (ebuu')
 cleave (klef) *f* S
 curve *b* S
 give *o* S
 have *o* S
 heave *f* S
 leave *f* S
 lieve *f* *o* S
 *serve (earn wages) *o* S
 themselves *o* S
 valve (valb) *b* S
 -ive *o* S [= (i, if) never (iv)
 common in: expensive
 abusive native laxative
 active destructive de-
 ceptive

(R). The most important character of the S. dial., the reverted or retracted (r, r₁), is, as has been mentioned, not confined to this district, but spreads more or less strongly over the whole S. div. Its nature was explained *suprà*, p. 23, together with the way in which it affects a subsequent *t*, *d*, *r*, *l*, *n*, which were probably originally reverted. But I think, although I have not been able to verify the conjecture, except by private trial, that it also affects (sh, zh; th, dh), converting them into (sh, zh; rh, dh). In this case (sh, zh) would be spoken with the tongue quite turned back, a true "cerebral" (sh, zh), and in (rh, dh) the under part of the tongue tip would be brought against the teeth. The (sh, zh) would occur in the diphthongs (rj, dj), or (rsh, dzh), in place of the ordinary (tj, dj). These forms would probably arise from the convenience of the tongue remaining in its reverted condition. The most doubtful are (rh, dh), because we do not find *thr*- initial, that is, (dhr-), but the easier *dr*- (dr-). The (rj, dj) are however almost necessary in such combinations as *hurchard* (hærtjærd) for Richard and orchard, and *burdge* (bærdjɪh), bridge. And in the same way it would be easier to say (ærtɪh, wærdɪh) earth, worthy, than (ærtɪh, wærdɪh), the last word usually omits the (r). In process of time, however, especially as the dialect advances eastwards, the actual reversion ceases, and the effect is pretty well produced by retracting the tongue, and arching its back so as to allow a hollow to exist behind the raised tip and the raised back of the tongue. Towards the w. and n. of the district there seems to my ear to be no such retractive tendency. JGG., however, regards retraction as the typical formation. In the E. div. we shall find (truu, tred) through, thread, which probably point to an original but

now lost (TRHU, TRHED). This retraction accompanied with hollowing is further refined by omitting the hollowing, so that we have merely a raised tip of the tongue, producing the coronal English (t̄ d̄ r̄ l̄ n̄), etc., which are so distinct from the continental (t̄ d̄ r̄ l̄ n̄) that they must evidently have had a different genesis. We shall meet with (t̄) before (r̄) in the M. and N. div. Now the English coronal form was the only one acknowledged by Mr. Gupta (Part IV. 1096b', 1137c') for Indian pronunciation of the Sanscrit cerebrals, so that the same refining system has gone on in both countries, but in our own dialects we have all the stages (R̄ r̄, r̄, r̄ t̄, t̄) now coexistent. This (R̄) is constantly flated when initial, and often transposed with an (h) prefixed, as (hARD, hĀRX), red, run, from (RHED, RHĀN).

Another very important character of this (R̄) is its amalgamation with a preceding vowel. In fact, it seems to give a new series of vowels (AR̄ AR̄ AR̄), etc., and even (īR̄ eeR̄ uuR̄). With regard to the first, it was a great difficulty with me how I was to represent such words as *her*, *burn*, and for some time I thought that they had merely vocal ('R̄), thus (h'R̄, b'R̄), but I latterly came to the conclusion that there was a preceding vowel followed by an amalgamation of the vowel with A + AR̄ (R̄). What that vowel really was, however, I found so difficult to determine, that I finally adopted different hypotheses as I heard different speakers. I have used (AR̄, AR̄, UR̄), and JGG. writes (UR̄, UR̄). But latterly I have fallen back on (AR̄) accented, and (UR̄) unaccented, whether rightly or not I cannot quite make out. With this explanation, however, this sign will suffice, and it must be left to actual audition during a long period and with many speakers, for good phonetists to determine the best representative of the actual sound. I have not met with any instance in D 4 and 5 of the introduction of an (R̄) after a vowel which was not justified by the orthography, but in D 10 and 11 there seem to be some cases, there to be noted.

With regard to the complete series of sounds (T̄ D̄ N̄ R̄ L̄), etc., it was only on the close of a second revision of his wl. taken from his stepmother, that JGG. (although he had been familiar with Wl. dialect from childhood) recognised that they invariably took the place in her pronunciation of the usual (t̄ d̄ n̄ r̄ l̄), etc., just as these in English and in the pron. of continental languages by Englishmen invariably replace the continental (t̄ d̄ n̄ r̄ l̄), etc. For myself I had not observed it, although it seems to me most probable. In JGG.'s Chippenham wl. and spec. therefore the complete substitution is made, but as in those specimens which I took down from native speakers, I only detected (R̄), and the other letters when juxtaposed, and therefore as it seemed to me assimilated, I have thought it best to retain what I wrote from their dict., although I have now, in the course of many years, come to the conclusion that my former appreciation was probably erroneous and ought to be amended in this direction throughout. And the same is probably the case for my (sh zh t̄ d̄), which in the S. div. should prob. be (sh zh t̄ d̄). The final (D̄) is frequently lost

after (L, X). The ending of the present participle, modern *-ing*, was ancient *-ande*, hence the (-uX, -iX) now heard, really arises from the omission of (D) after (X), and not from the use of (X) for (q).

(h). In D 4 and 5, as well as in almost all our dialects, (h) is naturally omitted, but with no hiatus to indicate the speaker's knowledge that it is absent. My authorities differ very much as to its presence. It seems decidedly used when (hæR-) is employed for (rh-).

The other consonants have no peculiarity. There is for example no use of (b D g) for (p T k), parallel to (v z) for (f s).

Vowels. The following gives the principal characters of the vowels, for details see the various cwl. that follow.

A- is often represented by (ie), reduced to (íə ív ii'), and finally to (ii' ii), as in name (níem níam níem níi'm níim), or else (é'ə év ee) as (xé'um xé'um xeeum). The former prevails over the m. and n. part of the district, (ii) being especially prevalent in towns, e.g. in Gloucester, and (év) in rural districts.

A: varies from (æ) to (a', ah), but hardly reaches (a).

A' is normally (úa), whence (úv, úo), but it varies.

ÆG and EG are normally (ái) not (a'í ai), but this falls locally into (æ'í æ'í EE), and sometimes into simple (ee), and similarly for Fr. ai. This (ái) sound is a very strong mark of the w. forms of S., but it is not peculiar to D 4.

I', in contrast to this clear (ái), has (æ'í, æ'í) or (ai), which strangers hear as (ó'í) and write *oy*.

O I generally hear as (o), but JGG. only hears it as (ó). The latter sound, being the modern received form, is always given me by people of education. But it is, I think, a modernism or misappreciation.

O' is properly (uu), but occasionally (æ) and rarely (æ), a sound of (æ) with (AA) running through it which I have heard only from Mr. Law in the words EY: 439 TRÆS, O' 567 TÆDHER, 587 UÆD'N, U 604 ZÆMÆR, 627 ZÆNDI, Y 673 MÆTI, U 804 DRÆQK'N, O .. 950 ZÆPP'R, and in no other words. JGG. has, however, quite recently observed what I suppose is the same sound.

U is regularly (æ), but there is a trace of M. (u) as far s. as Purton (4 NW. Swindon, Wl.), see s. *sööm* line 2, p. 16.

U' is regularly (æ'u, æ'u) not (áu, áu).

In *grammatical construction*, that which strikes a stranger most is *I be* for *I am*, the prefix (v) before the past participle, as (æ'iv adæ'n) I have a-done; and the periphrastic form *I do go* for the simple *I go*, together with the curious use of the nominative for the objective case, and sometimes the converse. Remarkable survivals are first (en) for *hine*, the true acc. of *he*, for which the dative *him* is substituted in rec. sp. This (en) is very widely spread in the S. div., and is also used where *it* is said in received speech, on account of the general use of *he* applied to inanimate objects; and secondly, in a small district of Sm. hereafter described as the *Land of Utch*, the forms (ætj, etjii') for the personal pronoun I, which in old writers is the usual mark of our S. dialects. But these are forms which cannot be more than alluded to. For vocabulary, see the printed Glossaries, which, however, must generally be used with great caution.

Varieties. Over such an extensive tract of country there must necessarily be many slight varieties, some of which are mentioned in the preceding table of vowels. But I have not been able to mark out any sharply-defined varieties or subdistricts. I find it,

however, necessary to draw attention to six different varieties or forms, which, on account of the importance of this district, I proceed to illustrate at considerable length.

- V i. The Middle or Wl., typical or standard form of D 4, of which three phases are given, Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, all from vv. information.
- V ii. The Northern or Gl. form.
- V iii. The North-Western or e. He. form.
- V iv. The South-Eastern or Do. form.
- V v. The land of Utch, or region of the continued old use of (eʃ, æʃii) for the first personal pronoun.
- V vi. The South-Western or Sm. form.

VAR. i. THE MIDDLE OR TYPICAL FORM IN Wl.

Phase I. *Christian Malford* (11 mw.Devizes), Wl.

Rev. Arthur Law, son of the Rector, whose curate he became (he is now rector of Dauntsey, 4 me. Christian Malford), was born there and lived in constant communication with the peasantry, entering heartily into their mode of speech, which he acquired with remarkable accuracy and fluency. He wrote a version of my *cs.* in *io.* and kindly came to London on two occasions (in 1874 and 1878) on purpose to work it over with me *vv.* As this was the foundation of my knowledge of D 4, I add the whole *cs.* as he rewrote it, with additions, to give it more of the character of a Wl. peasant's speech. And as it departs so much from the original in the Preliminary Matter, No. III. p. 7*, I add a slavishly literal interlinear translation. Some separate sentences written from his dict. are annexed with notes and a *cwl.*

0. wɑ'i :dʒɒn æ'vʌz nɔr)vɛ dɑ'ʊt.
 why John has ne'er)a doubt. [The peasant would probably say,]
 z)dhii want d)náʊ wɑ'i :dʒɒn biɪ zi zɑɑrt'n bɑ'ʊt dhæk)ʊr
 dost)thou want to)know why John be so certain about thick)e'er
 d)hɛq, wɑ'i dhɛn ɑ'i)l tɛl)i.
 thing, why then I'll tell)ye.
1. wəl, wɔt bi læfɪn [lɛfɪn] ɛt ʔi vʌr, dhɛ gɛɑrt zilɪz? ɑɑ!
 well, what be (you) laughing at I for, the great sillies? ah
 ɛ)mɔd) læ'af bʊʊɔdh ɔn)i, ɪf)i mɑ'in tʌ, ɛt)wɑt ʔi dɛ)tɛl)i.
 ye)mote = may) laugh both of)ye, if)ye mind to, at)what I do)tell)ye.
 ʔi dʊ)ɛnt kiɪr! t)ɪ)ɛnt nɔ ɔdz tʊ ʔi, nʊ nɑɑ'bdɪ ʊɛls
 I do)n't care! it)is)nt no odds to I, nor nobody else
 ɛz)ɛ)náʊz ɔn.
 as)I)knows of.
2. t)wʊ)ɛnt kil)vɛ tʃæp biɪn [kɛɛz] ɛ)dʊ) læ'ɛf ɛt)ɛn, ʔi)
 it)will)not kill)a chap being [because] ye)do) laugh at)him, I)
- dɛ)lɔt)'n)! t)ɪ)ɛnt læ'ikli.
 do)allot)him, it)is)not likely.

3. wat ɛ'i bi ɡwóin tɛ)TEL)ɪ, v(WEV)ER, bi TRU)EZ EVER ɛ'i
 what I be going to)tell)ye, however, be true)as ever I

WER báa)RND. dhUR [dhi'R] nɛ'u! zɛ dʒɛz bɛ'id kwɛ'ɪ'ɛt,
 were born. there now! so just bide quiet,

en let ɛ'i spée)k.
 and let I speak.

4. wɛl, ɛ'i hɛ'ɪ)ERD)EM zái, v)WEVER, EN zɛM)v dhái vɛ)ri
 wel, I heard)them say, however, and some)of they very

vɛ)ak tu, v)z)zid)ɪt v)R)M)DHE vɛS d)HERZEL)vz, ái)há)í! !
 folk too, as)see'd)it from)the first themselves, igh-high!

·dhæ)ti)d)ɪd TRU nɛf—
 that)I)did true enough—

5. dhɛt)d)hɛ)JEQ)ɪst zɛN ɪz)ɛ'lf, v)ɡɛ)RT b)wó)ɪ v)nɛ'ín, ná)ud)ɪz
 that)the)youngest son his-self, a)great boy of)nine, knowed)his

v)EED)HURZ v)ú)ó)is v)z)zU)ND)EZ EVER i)hɛ'ɪ)ERD)EM, dhá)u
 father's voice as)soon)as ever he)heard)him(=it), though

[d)hɛ'u] t)w)ER zɛ) k)om)ɪ)k)el) lɛ'ɪ)k. lɛ) b)lɛs)ɪ, t)w)ER)z
 it)were so) comical like. Lord bless)ye, it)were)as

sk)w)ɛ)ki en b)ɛ)æ'ɛ)li v)z) E'v'R)k)ed)bi, b)ɛt ɪ)ɪ ná)ud)ɪ'n,
 squeak-y and bawl-y as) ever)could)be, but he knowed)him(=it),

en ɪ)ɪ'l sp)ɛ)k d)hɛ TRU)th a)ar)v d)é)ci (d)á)ɪ, ɛ'ɪ)l w)ar)R)ɪn
 and he'll speak the truth e'er)a day, I'll warrant)him

[w)ar)R)D)ɛN].
 [warrant)him].

6. en dh)ɛ'ɪ)l)d)ɪ)M)EN ɛ)Rz)ɛ'lf, 'ɪ)l)t)ɛ)l ɛ)Nɪ on)ɪ, v)z)STR)æ'ɪt
 and the)old)woman herself will)tell any of)ye, as)straight

v)OR)D EZ ɛ)Nɪ d)hɛ)Q, ɛ'ɪ)l w)ar)R)D)ɛ)R, ɪ)ɪ'l ɛ)k)S)ɛ)R.
 forward as any thing, I'll warrant)her, if)you'll ask)her

7. l)ú)st)w)ɛ'iz ɛ)R t)ɛ)ld ɛ'ɪ) W)EN ɛ'ɪ) ɛ)k)st)ɛ)R t)u)u)R)DR)ii t)ɛ'ɪ)mz
 leastways her telled I when I asked)her two)or)three times

a)av)ɛ)R, ɛ)R)d)ú)ɛ)ɛ', en ɛ)zh)ii)d ná)u, ɪ)ɪ ɛ)R)ɛ)N u'l, ɛ'ɪ) d)ɛ)l)ot)
 over, her)did, and (she)would know, if e'er)one will, I do)allot)

ɛ)R, w)at d)ɛ)d)h)ɛ)k)on)t, ɛ'ɪ)?
 her, what do)you)think)of)it, eh?

8. w)ɛ)l, v)z)ɛ'ɪ)w)ɛ)R)v)z)á)ɪ'ín [z)æ'ɪ'ín], ɛ)R)D)t)ɛ)l)ɪ w)ɛ)R)ɛ)R
 well, as)I)were)a)saying, her)would)tell)ye where)her

v)ɛ'ɪ)m d)h)ɪ)k)ɛ)R DR)ɔ)k'n b)ɪ)ɛ)S ɛ)z)ɛ)R d)ɪ)k)æ)ɛ'el ɛ)R)ɛ)z)ɛ)N.
 found this)ere drunken beast as)her do)call her)husband.

9. dæld)if)ER di)l)'nt tel æ'i ez ER)ziid)EN ERZE)lf. "dhæR)
dashed)if)her did)not tell I as her)see'd)him herself. "there)

i)wæR," ER)ZED, "læd dæ'um i)wæR wi)iz bes klaaz on,
he)were," her)said, "laid down he)were with)his best clothes on,

ez tɪpsɪ ez EVER)E kəd)bi, e)kud)'nt wæg ize)lf noo æ'u.
as tipsy as ever)he could)be, he)could)not wag his-self no how.

e)wæR)klas æp egi'n dhæ dúr)E)dhæ æ'us et)dhɪ)kARNER
he)were)close up against the door)of)the house at)the)corner

e)dhɪ le'æn.
of)the lane.

10. e)wæR)E) bææ)lɪn en)E)skwææ)lɪn, bles)i, væR)æl)dhɪ
he)were)a) bawling and)a)squalling, bless)ye for)all)the

wæRl le'ik)E zɪk tʃæ'il ER)E)kæt e)miá)uɛtɪn." en)ER)
world like)a sick child or)a)cat a)mewing." and)her)

ækst tu)ER)DRɪi on)EM, ER ZED, ez)wæR)E)NT væRɪ væR
asked two)or)three of)them, her said, as)were)not very far

aaf, en "dhæ elpt æ'i vət)EN úEM," ER)ZED, "en dhái braat)
off, and "they helped I fetch)him home," her)said, "and they brought)

en æl e)dhæRT)E)skwæ)nt vARMER :pæ'iks vɪ'l," ER ZED, "wæR
him all athwart)asquint farmer Pike's field," her said, "where

æ'i dæ) bæ'id, en dhæR dhæ)lɛf)EN."
I do)bide, and there they)left)him."

11. æn dhæt [dhæk] wæR, d)NEE'v? ez zhii)EN)AR dæt)ER lEE
and that [thɪk] were, do)you)know? as she)and)her daughter[in]law

kæmd in) DRU) dhɪ bæK jIÁRD, wæR)ER bɪn e)æqɪn æ'ut
come'd in through the back yard, where)her [had] been a)hanging out

dhɪ klaaz tɛ DRÆ'i.
the clothes to dry.

12. en)ER)wanted tɛ bɔw'ɪl dhɪ kɪt'l væR tee. "it) gɪd æ'i æl)
and)her)wanted to boil the kettle for tea. "it give'd I all)

e)E) TÆRN," ER ZED, "en mɪvəd æ'i zɔw)ET e)Múv)s æl aav)ER.
of)a turn," her said, "and made I sweat almost all over."

:bɪl :dʒɪv)ENZ dhæR, e)ed)E dʒu)u)bɪləs dhaat on)ɪn, væR)E)
Bill Jones there, he)had)a dubious thought of)him, for)he

teld æ'i ez)i)zid)EN e)Bæ'ut væ'u'R e)klo:k in) dh)æt)ERNúEN,
telled I as)he)see'd)him about four o'clock in the)afternoon,

en)i)wɛr máin vor'adish dhɛn. v(d) waakt pɛrti nɛ'i zɛb'm
and)he)were main forwardish then. he)d walked pretty high seven

mɛ'i'l vlo:q dhe rhaad, en)i)wɛr)ɛz dɛ'ustɪ)ɛz ɛvɛr ɛni
mile along the road, and)he)were)as dusty)as ever any

dhɛq. ɛ'i nɛvɛr zid noo zitɪ dhɛq v'vɛ'r." laa blɛs)i!
thing. I never see'd no such thing afore." Lord bless)ie!

t)w'r)ɛ w'iwɛk ɛg'vɛ kɛm nɛks dhɛrzdɪ, en)v)ɛv'ɪn zɛmɛr
it)were)a week ago come next Thursday, and)a)fine summer

ɛtɛrn'ʊm tuu, t)wɛr.
afternoon too, it)were.

13. an)tel)i wat! ɛ'i nɛvɛr hɛ'ɪvɛrd noo m'vɛr)v)dh'ɛs)ɪɛr
and)tell)ye what! I never heard no more)of)this)here

d)ɔb t'il tɛ dɛɛi. en)v)ɛd)ɛnt k'ɪɛr wɛr)v duu ɛr naa,
job till to-day and)I)do)n't care whether)I do or no,

aa)lɛk)i!
ah)look)ye.

14. en)dhɛr)ɛ'i bi g'w'ɔɪn ʊm tɛ hee)v bit v zɛp'p'r, zɛ)g'ʊd
and)there)I bi going home to have)a bit of supper, so)good

nɛ'it, en)du)en)i bi zɛ kwik tɛ lɛ'ɛf)ɛt)v tɛɛp ɛg'vɛn.
night, and)do)not)ye be so quick to laugh)at)a chap again,

w)en)v)ɛ tel)i)v ɛni dhɛq.
when)he)do tell)ye)of any thing.

15. en)dhɛt)s ɛl ɛ'i got tɛ)zái tu)t. g'ʊd bɛ'i.
and)that)is all I [have] got to)say to)it, good b'ye.

Notes. The figures refer to the paragraphs of the above es.

* * Perhaps throughout (t d tɪ dɪ n l) should have been (t d tɪ, dɪ, n l).

2. Being (bin) for *because* is used by older people.

4 and 13. *Heard*, this is the form used by older people, see D 1, cwl. 301, (i'ɪr'ɔ) is the result of education. The (h) is heard only when the word is emphatic, and is gentle even then.

5. *Bawly*, cats are said to (bɛɛ'ɛl) in n. Wl.

6. in (ɛ'v)l)ɛn)ɛn) *old woman* the d separates from the (l) and is made part of the next word; (d) is dropped in (ɛr bi vɛri, ɛ'v)l) *she be very old*.

7. *She*. Observe emphatic (·zhii); compare (·zhii ɛvz)'n) ·she has)him with (ɛr)z)·got)'n) she's ·got him. — *Know*. This has its regular form, but the final (u) is dropped in (ɛ'i du'n naa, ɛ'i naa nɛ'ut ɛɛ'v't)it) I don't know, I know nought about it, and even the (a) is changed in par. 11 (d)Nɛɛ?) *do(you)know*.

10. *Athwart*, by itself, means across a field at right angles to its sides, (ɛdhɛɛt ɛsk'vɪnt) *athwart* *asquint*, is diagonally, from one corner straight to the next but one.

Phrases and sentences originally heard from peasants, and dictated
by Rev. A. Law.

1. (mə'i hɛd bɪt kɪk· dɹe'ɪʃ'lz v)gʷáɪn), my head beat like flails a-going.
2. (dʉ)ntɪ ʃnu:t tɔ'ʉɛɹdʒ dʉ hɔ'uz'n), don't ye shoot towards the houses.
3. (tʉ hee)v bɪt on)t), to have a bit of)it.
4. (i)w'r v)tʃæmpɪn ət 'ɑ'i), he was chaffing at me.
5. (i dɪd dɹɔ'u ɪz hɛd bæk ɛn kæk'ld), he did throw his head back and gargled.
6. (bles)ɪm! ɪt)s v hard mæt'r tʉ kəm ɔpɹə'ɪdz wɪ)ɛn), bless him! it's a hard matter to come upsides [right way up] with him.
7. (i)z nee'tli kɔ'ld), he's naturally cold.
8. (v peen ɑ'i hɛd ɛdʉɑ'r't dʉ sɪnez), a pain I had across the sinews.
9. (ɑ'i)l telɪ ɔ'u v wɹz sɑɑɹd), I'll tell)ye how I was served.
10. (i)z got tʉ voder dʉ bɪs), he has to fodder the beasts [horned cattle].
11. (dʉɛ)z)v pæs'l)v lɪt'l ɔdzɪz), there's a parcel of little odds and ends.
12. (·zhii hævz v vɛɹi gʉd)ɛn), she has a very good one.
13. (gʉ sɔ'ld, ɑ'ɪl mɪk ɪn)kʷɑ'ɪree'sh'n), go quickly, I'll make inquiries.
14. (i)z vɛɹi bæd nɑ'i-tæmz), he's very bad night-times.
15. (dʉæt)s tʉ mɑ'ɪn on)ɛn), that's the mind [intention, bent of mind] of them.
16. (ɑ'i dʉɑt ɑ'i)ʃhɛd)v dɑ'ɪd ɪn)dʉ nɑ'ɪt), I thought I should have died in the night.
17. (hɑ'ɪld)ɛn tɑ'ɪt), hold him tight.
18. (wɛn)ɛn ɛnɑ'dh'rɔ, tuɪ)ɛn)v t)ɔdʉɛɹ), one and another, two and a t'other.
19. (dʉɛn)ɔs? wɔt)ɛd? ɑ'i, ɹɛn)ɪt?) don't us = we? what should? aye, is'n't it?
20. (ɑ'i bɪ zɑɹtɪn zʉɑʉɛɹ; t'l)ɑ'i)v ɛdʉɹn), I am certain sure; till I've done.
21. (nɛ mʉɛɹ nɛɹ dhɪs), no more than this.
22. (t)ɪ)ɛnt nɛ ɔdz tʉ ɹɪɑ'u), it is not no odds to you, it is no business of yours.
23. (bɔ'i dʉ zɪm on)t), by the seem [appearance] of it.
24. (dʉæk)s ɑ'u ɑ'i spɛl fɑ'ɪv), that's how I spell five.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD cwl.

Containing the words from the preceding examples and some others given me by Mr. Law. Probably all the (t d tʃ dʒ sh n l r) should be (τ D Tʃ Dʒ sh X L R) See suprâ p. 23.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 ze. 5 m'æk. 6 m'æl. 8 tɛ hee [to have]. 17 lEE [the older sound was (laa), and Mr. Law himself, who used to be called (laa), is now called (LEE)]. 21 n'əm. — fə'ir [fare]. 34 lE'rst. A: — sæd'l [saddle]. 39 kænd [come'd]. — zæn [sand]. 49 aqin [hanging]. 54 want. 56 wé'ish. — kæt [cat].

A: or O: 58 vrem [weak form]. 60 elo'q [along]. 64 roq [generally, occ. (raq)]. A'- 67 gœ'ðin [going]. 69 naa noo no. 72 húu [when standing alone, otherwise (uu)]. 73 zi ze [weak forms]. 74 tuu. 77 laa [for Lord! is an exclamation]. 79 a'əm. 81 l'əm. 84 m'æu. 87 klaaz. 89 búundh. 92 náu, [but (d)NEE do you know?]. 94 kræ'u. A': 102 æks ækst. 104 rhaad. 107 l'æf. — zhroov [shrove]. 111 aat. 113 ú'uel [h half sounded]. 115 ú'm. 120 eg'á'u.

Æ- 138 vEEDhE. 144 eg'eu. 146 má'in. 148 fá'ir [see 709 and 887]. 150 l'æst wæ'iz [least wise]. 153 zæf'rdi. — wE'r [whether]. — pErti [pretty, tolerably]. Æ: 154 bæ'k. — æd [had, weak form]. — zæd [sad]. 158 æ'tur. 159 hæ'vz. 161 dé'eí [seldom (dá'í)]. 162 tE'dé'eí [to-day]. 165 zE'd. 166. má'id [a little girl, see 758]. 169 wE'n [“not quite a dissyllable” and] wE'n. 173 wæ'r [were, was]. 174 æ'íshen trüi [“always with (en)“]. 177 dhæ't [also (dhæ'k)]. 179 wot wat.

Æ'- 187 l'æf [left, did leave]. — zili [silly]. 194 emi. 196 wæ'rd)'NT [were not]. 198 lE't. Æ': 205 d'ED. 208 E'VEr, æ'v)en [e'er a one], aar)'E [e'er a]. 209 nE'vE'r nO'r [never a]. 213 æ'ídhE'r. 214 næ'ídhE'r. 220 zhE'pE'rD. 221 v'í'r. 223 dhæ'r, dhí'r. 224 wæ'r. 225 vl'esh. 226 em'ú's [almost]. 227 wE'et [“not quite a dissyllable“]. 228 z'wE't. 230 væ't.

E- 231 dhí'dhE dh-. 233 spé'ek. 236 vé'uE'r. 239 zái'lur [sailor]. 244 wæ'l. — tEld [tell'd]. — zhí'ur [shear]. 251 meet. 252 k'á'l. É: — vat vE'ti [fitch]. 256 strE't. 258 zE'd. 260 lE'd [laid]. 261 zái zái'in zæ'í'in [sayin] 263 æw'á't. 265 stræ'ít. — v'íel [field]. 269 zE'lf ízæ'lf ærZE'lf dhú'zE'lvz [self himself herself themselves]. 271 tE'l. 272 el'men trüi [“always with (en)“]. — íels [else]. — el'pt [helped]. — zíl [sell]. 278 wE'nti [a marriageable girl, see 758]. 281 lE'p'h. — v'esh [fresh]. 284 d'resh [see after 735]. — udhæ'rt [uthwart, across from side to side, (ædhæ'rt, usk'æ'nt) athwart asquint, diagonally from one corner to the next but one]. — vE's'ter [fester]. — bE's [best]. E'- 289 i [weak]. 290 ü, v, ' [(v)ad, 'd) he had, weak form]. 297 vE'ur. 298 v'áld [felt]. 302 m'æt. É: 307 næ'í. 312 hE'r. 313 hark. 314 hæ'rd [older people]. — bles [bless]. — tæ'ít [tight]. 316 nE'ks.

EA- — shí'v [shave]. — væ'le volE [fallow]. 320 kí'ur. EA: 322 læ'f læ'f'in lE'f'in [laughing]. 325 waakt [walked]. 326 æ'ul-d. 328 kæ'ul. 329 vó'ul. 330 tE hæ'uld [(t) hooft) subs.] 333 kæ'uf. 334 hæ'uf. 335 æ'l. 336 væ'el. 338 kæ'æ'el. — zæ't [salt]. — sh'úr [share]. 340 jí'ard. — vore [farrow]. EA'- — zhred [shread]. 347 hE'd. 348 æ'í-z. 349 ví'á'u. EA': 354 zh'æ'f. 356 l'æ'f. 357 dhá'u dhæ'ú. 359 næ'í'ur. — eg'á'u [against]. 364 t'ap. 366 gæ't. 367 d'RET.

EI- 372 á'i. 373 dhái'dhEe. EI: 378 wé'ek. EO- 383 zE'b'm. 387 nia'uz [news]. EO: 390 zhæ'd. — ziv'r. — væ'r'mE'r [farmer]. 402 læ'rn. 403 vE'r. 407 væ'd'in. — zí's'tE'r [sister]. 408 ná'ud [made weak from (ná'u) know]. EO'- — vrüi [free]. 411 d'rüi. 412 zhii. 414 vl'á'í. — shuut [shoot]. 420 væ'ú'ER. 421 v'á'rti. EO': 422 zik. 426 væ'ít. 427 bín [being = because]. 428 zid [see'd]. 430 v'EM. 434 bí'et. 435 æ'á'u [not used]. 436 trum. — d'ræ'u [threw]. 437 trau'uth. EY- 438 dæ'í. EY: 439 træ'ps.

I- 440 wí'ek. 441 ziv. 443 vræ'í'dEe. 446 ná'in. — ín, en [him, old

acc. form]. — *sine* [sinew]. 447 *er*. — *éz* [yes]. 448 *dhíez*. — *bít* [a bit]. 449 *got* [p.p. of get]. — *víd'l* [fiddle]. 451 *záu*. I: 452 *á'í*. 453 *kóok*. 465 *la an* [lying]. — *zít* [sit]. 458 *ná'it*. 463 *tí*. 465 *zít* *sít*. 466 *tá'í*. 469 *á'l* [will, for wól]. 477 *vá'in*. 480 *dhéq*. — *zÉq* [sing]. 481 *vÉqer*. — *zÉqk* [sink]. 483 *iz*. 484 *dhús dhús*. — *vísh* [fish]. — *zans* [since]. — *ziks* [six]. I'- — *bá'id* [bide]. 491 *zá'í*. 492 *zá'id*. — *gád* [give'ed = gave]. 494 *tá'im*. 495 *wá'in*. I': 500 *h'ók*. 502 *vá'iv*. 503 *lá'í*. 505 *wá'if* [generally my (míes) or (áol) d'áman]. 506 *ámun*. 508 *má'í*. 509 *wá'í*.

O- 519 *aaver*. 521 *vá'vél*. — *evúer* [afore]. — *voréd* [forward] *voréd-ish* [getting forward, tipsy]. — *baarnD* [born]. 524 *wárl*. — *droot* [throat]. — *vrath* [troth]. — *vlok* [flock]. — *odz* [odds]. O: 525 *aaf* [off]. — *vroq* [frog]. — *zhráb* [shrub]. 528 *dhaat*. 529 *braat*. 531 *deter*. 535 *vaak*. 538 *áad*. 541 *t wu'nt* [it won't]. 543 *on*. 544 *dhén*. 546 *vér* *vá'r*. — *vark* [fork]. 548 *várd*. 550 *wárd*. — *vrás* [frost]. — *varth* [forth]. — *voks* [tox]. O'- 556 *d' tv*. 557 *tuu*. 558 *aa'lak'i* [ah! look ye! exclamation]. 564 *zuund*. 567 *tádhur*. — *tá'ardz* [towards]. O: 571 *g'éd*. — *raf* [roof]. 579 *naf*. 586 *á'í* *de*, *á'í* *du'nt*. 587 *edá'n*. 588 *áerbnáen*. 590 *vá'r*. 592 *zwárd*. 595 *vát*.

U- — *ud* [wood, not [həd]]. 601 *vá'vél*. 603 *kám*. 604 *zámber*. 605 *zán*. 606 *dúer*. U: 609 *vál*. 612 *zám*. 616 *grá'm*. 619 *vá'vnd*. 627 *zándi*. 631 *dhá'zdí*. — *vare* [furrow]. 634 *drum*. — *dhésti* [thirsty]. 639 *da'usti* [dusty]. U'- 641 *á'u*, *á'osundé'v'r*, *á'osumé'v'r*, *v wé'v'er*. 643 *ná'u*. 650 *bá'ut* *ebá'ut*. 651 *wi-á'ut*. 652 *kad* [weak form]. 653 *bát*. U': 654 *zhrá'v'd*. 658 *de'ám*. 663 *á'us*, *há'us* [pl. (há'uzen)]. 666 *á'zben*. 667 *á'v't*.

Y- 673 *má'v'ti* [greatly resembled (mótí)]. 674 *did* *dúed* [the latter emphatic]. 675 *drá'í*. 681 *bíz'nis* [seldom used]. Y: — *ví* [to fill]. 691 *má'in*. 692 *joqgíst*. — *váz* [rinze]. 701 *vás*. 702 *wí*, *wíi*. Y'- 706 *wá'í*. Y: — *vít* [filth]. 709 *vá'r*. — *víes* [fleece]. — *víst* [fast].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *wæg* [to wag]. 725 *zíel*. 726 *taak*. — *vlaen'l* [flannel]. 732 *ap'm*. — *drá'esh'l* [thresher, flail]. — *bac'vli* [bawly, a crying child is (bac'lin)].

E. — *zím* [seem]. 751 *pí'ert*. 752 *tré'ut*. — *miá'v'tin* [mewing].

I and Y. — *bíl* [Bill]. — *kíl* [kill]. — *eskw'nt* [crosswise, diagonally]. — *vleq* [fling]. — *típsí* [tipsy]. — *zap* [sip]. 758 *g' r, rL* [a long untrilled (r) followed by a trilled (r) and reverted (l) much used for a servant. See 166 and 278].

O. — *eklók* [o'clock]. — *djob* [job]. 765 *djon*. 767 *ná'iz*. — *díáenz* [Jones]. 776 *gád* *bá'z*. 781 *bodher* [usual word (kæd'l)]. — *lot* [allot]. 791 *bá'oi*.

U. 797 *skwæeki* [squalling]. 798 *kæ'ar* [modern (kæ'ur)]. — *vamb'l* [fumble]. 804 *dræqk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — *zæk* [sack]. 810 *vús*. 815 *fieks*. — *vlá'íl* [flail]. — *zeedj* [sage]. — *fáil* [fail]. 835 *reez'n*. — *waarnd* [warrant]. 857 *k'ús*. — *metér* [matter]. 862 *z'íef*. — *fíeet* [fate]. 864 *kæz*. 865 *væet*. — *væ'els* [false].

E.. 867 *tee*. — *peen* [pain]. 885 *vurí*. — *fee'r* [a fair, market, see 148]. — *voríer* [farrier]. 888 *zaart'n*. — *saar* [serve]. 890 *b'ús* [pl. (b'üstz) occ. *b'ús*]. 891 *v'íst*. 893 *vla'v'er*. — *plæ'tiks* [apoplexy]. — *veg* [fig]. 901 *vá'in*. — *zæq'l* [single]. — *záíz* [size].

O.. 918 *íeub'l*. 920 *pá'ómt*. 925 *vó'ois*. — *kom'k'l* [comical]. — *v'ús*. [force]. 938 *kanner*. — *vá'rín* [foreign]. — *vorést* [forest]. — *váurdi* *váurdi* [forge]. 939 *klas*, *klast* [occ.]. 940 *káet*. 941 *vúuel*. 947 *bæ'á'íl*. 950 *zapper*. — *tá'rn* [turn]. 955 *dá'ut*.

U.. — *dpu'v'ides* [dubious]. 963 *kæ'á'v't*. 969 *zhá'v'er*. — *vá'v't*. 970 *díez*. — *vásti* [tasty].

Phase II. *Chippenham*, 9 *mw.* Devizes.

As JGG.'s stepmother (now an elderly lady, who had brought him up) was a native of Chippenham, and though long resident in London, kept up her knowledge of the dialect (which she did not use in speech) by visits, and by seeing many Wl. people, I requested JGG. to ask her to repeat one of those stories with which she used to amuse the children, while he noted it down in pal. As she was good enough to consent, the attempt was repeated on many occasions during the last few years, and the following fable by Akerman is the result, after many corrections. The difficulties in palaeotyping any individual's speech are very great; and of course such minute accuracy as JGG. attempted is liable to the perpetuation of individualisms. Still it is very instructive to compare the result with the specimen by Mr. Law, just given, as the two places are only four miles apart and both must represent a Wl. pron. I must draw attention to the constant reversion or retraction as JGG. considers it of the (T D N L R sh) series and of (κ) and the conversion of (tʃ, dʒ) into (tʃ, dʒ). I am anxious to express my obligations to Mrs. Goodchild for submitting to such a fatiguing trial and for venturing to dictate a complete wl. The original spelling from the preface to Halliwell's Dictionary is added interlinearly.

- dhə aar_onət ən dhə bi¹dəl.
The Hornet and the Bittle. 0
- dhə aar_onət zət in)ə ələ trii,—
a harnet zet in)a hollar tree,—
- ɛ prəpɛr_o spə'ɪftɛl tʃo'əd wɛr_o i; 2
a proper spiteful twoad was he;
- ən)ə mɛrɪli zɛŋ ʔávl i; dɪd zɛt
and)a merrily zung while he did set
- iz stɛ¹ŋ ɛz shaar_op ɛz)ɛ bæ'gɛnɛt : 4
his stinge as shearp as)a bagganet.
- “oɔ uu zə váyv ən bæ¹ul¹d əz áv !
oh ! who so vine and bowld as I !
- “áv beánt ɛfi¹ɛr_od ə ʔəps, nar_o vláy !” 6
I vears not bee, nor wapse, nor vly
- ɛ bi¹dəl' ɛp dhɛk trii dɪd klɪm,
a bittle up thuck tree did clim,
- ɛn skaar_onvəlɪ dɪd lu¹k ət i; 8
and scarnvully did look at him.
- zɛd i; “zər_o aar_onət, uu gɪd dhii
zays he, “Zur harnet, who giv thee
- ɛ rávt tɛ zɛt in dhɪk dhɛr_o trii ? 10
a right to zet in thuck there tree ?
- var_o ɛæl dhii zɛqz zə niishən váyv,
vor ael you zengs zo nation vine,
- áv tɛl dhii t)iz ə ɛ'us ɛ móvɪn.” 12
I tell 'e 'tis a house o' mine.”

dhə aar_onəts kənsəhəns viil'd) v tūi_indzəh
the harnet's conscience velt a twinge,

bət graa'in bə'l'ald ūi iz ləq stē'iq
but grawin' bowld wi his long stinge, 14

zē'd ii: "pəzə'shə)nz dhə bē'st laa'¹
zays he: "possession's the best lāaw;

zoo ūer_o dhii shæ't)'nt pət ə klee;
zo here th' sha'sn't put a clāaw! 16

bī aaf ən l'iəv dhə trii tə a'y!
be off, and leave the tree to me!

dhə mæksən)z gu'd unaf vēr_o dhii!"
the mixen's good enough for thee!" 18

dʒis dhən, v i'uk'l', pæəs'in bā'y,
just then, a yuckel, passin' by,

wəz ækst bī dhē'm dhə kēez tə trā'y;
was axed by them the cause to try; 20

"EE! EE! a'y zii i'u t)iz!" zē'd ii,
"ha! ha! I see how 'tis!" zays he,

"dh'i)ə'l' mi'i'k v viiməs mæn'sh vēr_o a'y!"
"they'll make a vamous munch vor me!" 22

iz b'il wəz shaar_p, iz stəm'ik līer_o,
his bill was shearp, his stomach lear [empty],

zoo əp v snæpt dhə kædl'əns pūr_o!
zo up a snapped the caddlin pair. 24

MORAL.

æəl' juu əz biī tə laa i'ŋklə'v'nd,
ael you as be to lāaw inclined,

dh'i)əs l'i't'l' stəri būr_o in mā'v'nd;
this leetle stwory bear in mind; 26

vār_o if tə laa' juu æ'imz tē gólə
vor if to lāaw you aims to gwo,

juu)l vā'v'nd dhæ'i)l' æəl'əz zaar_o)iī zoo;
you'll vind they'll allus zar'e zo; 28

juu)l' miit dhə vi'i't v dhiiz iēr_o tuu,
you'll meet the vate o these here two,

dhə)l' ti'i'k dhī kóə't vŋ kaar_okəs tuu.
they'll take your cwoat and carcass too! 30

Notes to the above.

0. The references are to the number of the line. In this transcript an endeavour has been made to follow JGG.'s notation of the last of his many transcripts. In the following cwl. as there explained, some compromises have been made. The letters (T D L X R sh) have been used for typographical convenience in place of (t, d, l, n, r, sh), which would represent JGG.'s opinion of their formation as retracted rather than reverted, but we are quite at one respecting the sound. Also throughout this example I have used (r_c) in place of (r) to show absence of trill. I am, however, by no means clear that there is no trill, though the effect of the reverted trill (r_c) is quite different from that of the tip trill (r_t), on account of the dullness and indistinctness of the beats. In the cwl., and also in recording the pron. of other districts, I have used (r) exclusively for this r, whether reverted or retracted, whether trilled or untrilled, because the sound itself is certain, and these four differences are theoretical. In my own pron. I feel that (r) is both reverted and trilled, as the form (r) properly implies.

0. *hornet* (aɑr_cnæt), which I should prefer writing (ɑkɳɛt). The (aa) says JGG. "is not quite pure (aa), there is more or less (a^l) character about it, it is certainly modified before (r_c) by an upturned tongue. The (r_c) is an r with the tongue turned tip upwards, to the highest part of the palate, so as to present a teaspoonbowl-like form towards the larynx and is not trilled wherever I have heard it." JGG. has been constantly in the habit of speaking to Wl. people. The reverted or retracted character of (T D X L) as well as (R) on all occasions has been introduced here as well as in the cwl. as explained to me by him verbally. The aspirate (h) says JGG. "seems to be rather permissive than obligatory, except of course where the word is emphatic, but I have never noticed any of the Wl. people inserting an aspirate in its wrong place, as Londoners do; and I have been familiar with Wl. talk for the last 25 years."

and the (ən dhə), "(ə, v) in unaccented syllables may be simply (ə) throughout. By (ə) I mean my own pron. of the vowels in the words, some one's husband

son or brother comes running in at once."—JGG.

bottle (bi^ldəl): this is a common London mispronunciation, if (d, l) be substituted for (ɒ, l). In Mrs. G.'s first and second dictation, and as JGG. remembered her repeating these lines when he was a child, she said (bi^r'l'), and all my other Wl. authorities give (bi^t'l) both for the mallet and the insect.

2. *spiteful*. The long ī was originally written (ai) in the cwl., and sounded to me rather (æ'i) or (ə'i). But JGG. says the first element is "Scotch or German long (aa) gliding into a rounded (i) almost (y), lips as for (o)," that is, properly (ay_c); (aiy) is here retained, because in JGG.'s very last hearing of the dictation, this still seemed to him the nearest sound, and he has also in correcting the proof introduced it into the cwl. See D 5, Andover.

3. *while*. JGG. did not find a fully consonantal (w) or (j), but felt that they were really vowels, as in Welsh, and hence they are here written (ū, ī).

6. Mrs. G. had (ay bənt et iər d ə bi^l nɛr_c əps, nɛr_c vɛy), as Mr. Akerman's "I years not bee" was not dialectal. But on the line thus becoming two syllables too long, the words *bee nor* have been omitted.

8. *look*. The pron. (lʊ^lk) was obtained specially. "This (u^l) is neither (u) nor (ʊ), but an intermediate vowel," it bears the same relation to (u) as (i^l) to (i), see (gʊ^ld) l. 18. These differences are hard to catch in isolation, but make themselves generally felt in conversation. In the proof JGG. introduced (k) generally.

11. *all* (æəl', eəl'). JGG. says, "I cannot quite make out what this vowel is: it is not quite the same as the Cu. and We. sound, but seems more like (æe). I think it quite likely that I should write it (æe) at one time, and (ee) at another. But I think the last is the nearest equivalent I know, unless we use (ee^o), which would express my idea of it." This would be (ee) inclining to (æe), and might be written (ee_l).

14. *bold*. In this word (ba^lʊld) we meet (a^l) a higher form of (æ). JGG. considers it the same sound as the s. Scotch (ɑ) as pron. by Dr. Murray. It is a shade of sound which I cannot distinguish. See D 5, Andover.

sting not rhyme with *twindge* as Mr. Akerman implies by the spelling

stinge. Mr. A. rhymes lines 7 and 8 *him clin*, but Mrs. G. restoring the dialect has (ii, KLÄN): l. 15 and 16, Mr. A. has *lōāw*, *klōāw*, and Mrs. G. (LAA¹ KLEE). The older sounds I heard from Mr. Law were (laa, klaa¹), the modern (LEE KLEE). Lines 17 and 18 Mr. A. has *me*, *ther*, Mrs. G. says dialectally (*áy*, dhii), and similarly lines 21 and 22. Lines 23 and 24 Mr. A. has *lear*, *pair*, which Mrs. G. reads (LÍBR, pBR). Lines 25 and 26 Mr. A. has *inclined*, *miud*, Mrs. G. leaves out the last (D). Lines 27 and 28, Mr. A. has *gro*, *zo*, Mrs. G. reads (gó¹ə, zó¹). This shews how dangerous it is to write dialect in rhyme. Mr. Akerman's stories have usually been considered first-rate dialect. I found dialectal construction frequently so violated in them that whole passages might be read off perfectly in rs., and I could not use them at all, for present purposes, especially as shades of sound were not distinguished.

16. *here* (iBR.); for the (i) in place

of (j) see note l. 3 *while*. For (v) JGG. says, "as in the 'early bird deserves the early worm,' but the tongue is raised more, I should say it is more *arched*." As I write the vowel in the above words in rs. (ə), generally avoiding (v), except in weak syllables, this might be (ə¹), but from the description it is possibly a new vowel. — *shalt not*, probably, though the form (shæ'tnt) is very singular, but Akerman's *shə'sə't* is quite unintelligible.

19. *yuckel*, a Wl. name for a woodpecker. Mrs. G. seems to have confused it with *yokel* a bumpkin.

22. *munch*, with retracted or reverted (s) and the corresponding (sh), not (mænti). The word *munch* = lunch, or noon-food, seems to have been confused with the more familiar *munch*, which, however, is properly a verb.— *lear* is used for empty, hungry, in many dialects.

28. *serve you so*, the *v* is regularly omitted. The word (sar) is also commonly used for to *earn*.

CHIPPENHAM CWL.

From a complete wl., with the words from the *Hornet*, marked H, in the spelling there used, the whole taken down with scrupulous accuracy by JGG. from his stepmother's pronunciation, a work of great labour extending over many days or rather years, for the list was entirely gone over and retranscribed many times, and finally all doubtful points were re-examined. On the treatment of (T D N L R) see note to title of *Hornet and Beetle*. Here and elsewhere in future (r) and not (r.) is written for typographical reasons. See also the same note for (aa) or (aa¹) and likewise for the use of ə. Also for writing the diphthongal long i as (*áy*), see note to l. 2 in the *Hornet*. The vowel (ii) varied in speech as (i¹) which is used in the *Hornet*, but I have here used (ii) only for convenience. Also (i₁, e¹) occur, but are nearly identical, and were used by JGG. according as the sound seemed to incline to (i) or (e). The series i¹ i₁ i₁ e¹ e₁ is practically continuous from (i) to (e). On (v, ə, ə¹) see note to l. 16 of *Hornet and Beetle*, and on (ü, ı) note to l. 3.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zaa. 3 biik [the rural form for all these (ii) is (e¹ə) nearly (éə)]. 4 tiik. H ti¹k. 5 miik, H mi¹k. 6 miid. 7 ziik. 9 bi¹áy. 10 aa¹. 12 ZEE zaa. 14 DREE. 17 laa, H laa¹. 18 kiik k¹ök [see 3]. 19 T¹é'L' [even accent, almost dissyllabic]. 20 Liim L¹ ə'm [see 3]. 21 Niim N¹ə'm. 22 Tiim. 23 siim. 24 shiim sh¹ə'm. — MEEND:h. 27 NEEV. 28 B¹R. 29 [(bi¹) been used]. 30 K¹BR. 31 Liit. 32 biidh. 33 [(zəN¹) sooner used]. 34 L¹æST. 35 aa. 36 dh¹aa [(m¹l¹r) melt, generally used]. 37 K¹LAA and H.

A: 39 K¹EM. 40 K¹EM [not quite (kwæm)]. 41 theqk [(dheqk) means *think*]. 42 EN. 43 æN¹D. 44 L¹EN¹D. 45 ũANT. 46 K¹æND¹L. 47 [(STR¹e₁) stray, used]. 48 zəq¹. 50 təqzi₁z. 51 mæN. 53 kæN. 54 ũANT. 55 é¹sh₁z. 56 ũsh. 57 EES.

A: or O: 58 vr¹EM. 59 L¹æM. 60 L¹əq and H. 61 əmaq¹. 62 STR¹əq¹. 64 R¹əq. 65 zəq¹. 66 dh¹əq¹. A'- 67 ai g¹ə, H g¹ə. 69 N¹OO. 70 T¹ə. 72 uu. 73 z¹OO and H. 74 tuu and H. 75 STR¹ə'k. 76 T¹əD, H T¹əD. 77 L¹aa'R¹D.

78 a'ən'. 79 [same as 78]. 80 əli₁dii. 81 liin'. 82 ũəns. 83 m'əən'. 84 m'ə'r. 85 z'ə'r. 86 ũəts. 87 klauz. 88 tɛ klauðh. 89 b'əðh. 90 blaʊ. 91 maʊ. 92 naʊ. 93 s'naʊ. 94 kraʊ. 95 draʊ. 96 zaa. 97 s'ə'ul. 98 ũi naʊð. əy d'əd naʊ. n'ə'ən. 99 draʊn. 100 zaʊn.

A': 101 aək. eəkəa'ɪn tʁii. 102 əks. 103 əkst and II. 104 raʊd. 105 raʊd. 106 braʊd [not (aa)]. 107 loʊv. 108 daʊ. 109 laʊ. 110 n'æ't. 113 ũəl [L is very vocal]. 114 m'ə'ul. 115 ũəm. 116 ũm. 118 b'ə'ən. 119 tə g'əð. 121 gaʊn. 122 noʊn. 123 n'ədhiq. 124 st'ə'ən. 125 ənlɪ₁. 126 [raʊə'r] rower, used]. 127 ũəs. 128 dh'əz. 129 g'ə'əst. 130 b'ə'ə't. 131 g'ə'ə't. 132 ə't. 133 raʊt. 134 ũəth. 135 klauðh.

Ē- 138 f'ɪðh'r f'eedh'r. 139 d'ree. 140 e'e'əl a'ə'əl'. 141 n'ee'əl. 142 s'nee'əl. 143 t'ee'əl. 144 əg'e'ən. 146 m'e'ɪn. 147 br'e'ɪn. 148 f'ə'ɪ'r. 149 bl'ɪ'z. 150 l'ə'st. 152 uaʊt'r. 153 z'e'de'r'dɪ₁.

Ē: 154 bæk. 155 dh'æ'th. 156 gl'æd. 157 ri'v'n. 158 e'tɛr. 160 v e.g. 161 dii. 162 tɛ dii. 163 [(l'ev) laid used]. 164 m'e'r. 165 zed. 166 m'e'ɪd [almost m'ə'ɪd] with (i) not (i). 168 t'e'b. 169 uen. — II ũəps [wasp]. 170 r'ə'r'vɪ'st. 171 b'ə'r'lɪ₁. 172 g'rees. 173 u'əz, ũi ũ'ɛr. 174 ə'ɪsh. 175 v'e'st. 176 ə't. 177 dh'æ't. 178 n'æ't. 179 w'ə't. 180 b'ee'th. 181 p'ee'th.

Ē'- 182 zii'. 183 [(tɛ laa'ɪn) used]. 184 tɛ l'ə'əd. 185 ri'ɪ'd. 186 br'ɪ'pθ. 187 l'ɪ'əv, II l'ɪ'əv. 188 n'ee. 189 w'ee. 190 k'ee. 191 ũ'əl'. 192 m'ə'n. 193 kl'ə'ən. 194 ə'nɪ₁. 195 m'e'nɪ₁. 196 ũ'ɛr. 197 t'ʃhi'z. 198 tɛ l'et. 199 [(tɛ b'ee) =baa, used]. 200 w'ɪt. 201 ũ'h'ɛn. 202 ũ't.

Ē': 203 [(t'ee) =talk, used]. 205 d'red. 206 ũi ri'ɪ'd. 207 n'ɪd'əl'. 208 e'vɛr. 209 n'evɛr. 210 k'lee. 211 g'ree. 212 u'ee. 213 [(a'ə'n) =e'er a one, used]. 215 [(ũi ti'ɪtʃt) =he teached, used]. 216 di'ɪl. 217 t'ə'tʃ ɒn ɒm, ũ'ɛr v ũ'ən. 218 v sh'ɪp. 219 sl'ɪp. 220 sh'ep'ɛr'd. 221 vi'ɪr. 222 e'ɛr. 223 dh'ɛr. 224 w'ɛr. 225 vl'ɛsh. 226 m'ə'əst. 227 ũ'et. 228 z'æ't. 229 br'e'θ. 230 f'ə't.

E- 231 [(dh'ɪk, dh'æk) used]. 232 br'ɪ'k. 233 sp'ɪ'k. 234 n'ə'bd. 235 ũ'ɪv, ũ'ɪv. 236 vi'v'ɛr. 237 t'ʃh'ə'l-bl'æ'ɪn. 238 e'd'ɪh. 239 z'ee'əl. 240 l'eed. 241 r'ə'ɪn. 243 pl'ee. 244 ũ'ɛ'l. 245 m'ɪ'ɪl. 246 ku'ɪ'n. 247 ũ'ɛ'n. 248 m'ɛ'r. — II b'ɛ'r₃ [to hear]. 249 ũ'ɛr. 250 z'ɛ'r. 251 m'ɪ't. 252 k'ɪ't'əl'. 253 n'et'əl'. 254 l'edh'r.

E: 256 [(tɛ d'ree ə'ʊt) =to draw out, used]. 257 e'd'ɪh. 259 ũ'ɪd'ɪh. 260 l'ee. 261 z'ee. 262 ũ'ee. 263 v ũ'ee, e'ũ'ee. 265 str'e'ɪ't. 266 ũ'ɛ'l'. — v'ɪ'əl'ɪ'p [field]. 267 [(tə g'ɪ ɪn) used]. 268 ə'ʊ'l'd'ɪs. 269 z'elf. 270, i. b'ɪ'l'ə's'ɪ'z. ũ. b'e'l'e. 271 t'el'. 272 e'lm. 273 m'ɛ'n [not (m'ɛ'n)]. 274 b'ɪ'n'sh. 275 st'eqk. 276 dh'eqk. 277 dr'ɪ'n'sh. 278 u'ɛ'n'sh. 279 u'e'nt. 280 l'eb'm'. 281 l'eqth l'ɛnth. 282 str'eqth. 283 m'ə'rɪ₁, II m'ɛ'r'lɪ₁ [merrily]. 284 dr'ɛsh. 285 kr'ɪ'sez. 286 ar'ə. 287 b'ɪ'zəm. 288 l'et. — II z'et [set]. — II b'e'st [best].

E'- 289 ũi [heard as (i'ɪ)]. 290 ũi [heard as (i'ɪ)] and II. 291 dhii. 292 [(əy) used]. 293 ũii. 294 viid. 295 br'ɪ'p. 296 b'ɪ'lɪ'əv. 298 v'ɪ'əl'. 299 gr'ɪ'ən. 300 k'ɪ'əp k'ɪ'p. 301 ũ'ɛr. 302 m'ɪ't and II. 303 z'ɪ'ɪ't. 304 [(mahlət) used].

E': 305 əy. 306 əyth. 307 [(klauz) used]. 309 sp'ɪ'ɪd [(n'ɪ't) =rate more usual]. 310 'əl'. 311 t'ɛ'n'. 312 ũ'ɛr, II ũ'ɛr₃ ũ'ɛr₁. 313 a'ərk'n. 314 i. ũ'ɛr'd. 315 vi'ɪr. 316 n'ɛks.

EA- 317 [(tɛ s'k'ɪ'n) used]. 318 l'eeft. 319 g'eep. 320 k'ə'ɛr.

EA: 321 z'ɪ'ɪ'd. 322. l'eeft. 323 ũi v'ə'ʊt. 324 ə'ɪ't. 326 ə'ʊ'l'. 327 b'ə'ʊ'l'ɪ'p, II b'ə'ʊ'l'd. 328 k'ə'ʊ'l'ɪ'p. 329 v'ə'ʊ'l'ɪ'p. 330 ə'ʊ'l'ɪ'p. 331 z'ə'ʊ'l'ɪ'p. 332 t'ə'ʊ'l'ɪ'p. 333 k'eev. 334 e'ef. 335 e'el'. II ə'ə'l. 336 v'ee'l. 337 ũ'ə'hl. 338 k'ə'ə'l'. — ə'ə'l'əz [always]. 339 [(əy b'ɪ) used]. 340 ũ'a'ɪ'rd. 341 m'ə'rə. 342 a'a'ɪ'm. 343 u'a'a'ɪ'm. — II sha'ɪ'p [sharp]. 345 d'ɛ'r. 346 g'e'ə'r g'ɪ't.

EA'- 347 e'd. 348 əy. 349 v'ɪ'a.

EA': 350 d'eed. 351 l'ɪ'ɪ'd. 352 r'ɪ'ɪ'd. 353 br'eed. 354 t'hi'əv. 355 d'ɪf. 356 l'ə'v. 357 dh'əə dhoo. 359 n'ɪ'ɛr. 360 t'əm. 361 b'ɪ'əm. 362 z'lee. 363 t'ʃh'əp. 364 t'ʃh'əp. 365 n'ɛ'r. 366 g'ɛ'ɪ't. 367 d'ret. 368 d'əth. 369 sl'au. 370 r'ee. 371 str'ee.

EI- 372 EE. 373 dhEE. 374 [(noo) used]. 375 TƏ rəyz. 376 bə'it.

EI: 377 stĭk. 378 ūik. 380 dhEE ɐm. 382 dhə'ɔr.

EO- 383 zeb'm. 384 eb'n. 385 [(bi'aa')=below, used]. 386 ʔə'u.
387 ŋuu.

EO: 388 mĭɔl'k. 389 ʔak. 390 shɔd shɔd. 391 [(əy bi) used]. 393
biɛ'n'd. 394 ʔen'dɛr. 395 ʔɔq'. 396 ūɛrk. 397 zħɛrd. 398 staarv.
399 brəyt. 400 ɛrnɪs. 402 laark. 403 vɛr. 404 staar. 405 ɛrth-
stħɔn, EEI-, eef-stħɔn [always with *stone*]. 406 ɛrth. 407 vaard'n. 408
[(i naad) used].

EO: 409 bi. 410 [(shii) used]. 411 drii. — II trii [tree]. 412 shii.
413 dĭvəl'. 414 vləy. II vləy. 415 ləy. 416 dĭvɛr. 417 tshaa. 418 bruu.
419 ɛɛr. 420 və'vɛr. 421 faarti.

EO: 422 zik. 423 dhəy-bħɔn. 424 rəf. 425 ləyt. 426 vəyt. 427 tɛ
bi. 428 tɛ zii and II. 430 vɛnd. 431 biɛr. 432 və'vɛrth. 433 brɛst.
434 i b'ɛt. 435 ŋu. 436 truu. 437 truaht.

EY- 438 dəy. EY: 439 trɔɔs.

I- 440 ūk. 441 ziv'. 442 ə'vi. 443 vrəy'dĭ. 444 stəyəl'. 446 nāin.
— II bĭl 'bird's bill'. 447 ɛr. 448 dhĭɔz. 449 gɛt. 450 tshuuzdĭ. 451
zau [confused with 76 to sow].

I: 452 əy II əy. 453 kĭk [(vɛɛst) fast, used]. 454 ūtsh. 455 lɛɛ
[confused with to lay]. 456 əf. 457 məyt. 458 nəyt. 459 rəyt II rəyt.
460 ūə'ɛt. 462 zəyt. 463 təl'. 464 ūtsh. 465 zətsh. 466 tshəyəl'd.
467 ūəyəl'd. 468 tshĭl'dɛrn. 470 [(ii) he used]. — II klĭm [climb]. 471
tĭmɛr. 472 shrɛ'qk. 473 bləyn'. 474 rəyn'. 475 ūəyn'. 476 bəyn'.
477 vəyn'd and II. 478 grəyn'd. 479 ūə'yn'd. 480 dhɛq'. — II zəq
[sung]. — II stɛ'q [sting]. 481 vɛgɛr. 482 iz. 483 iz. 484 dhĭs,
dhĭɔz. 485 dhĭsəl'. 486 ɛst. 487 ɛstɛrdĭ. 488 ɪt. 489 ɪt [only t] as an
enclitic]. — II zɛt zət [sit, sat].

I- 490 bəy. 491 zəy. 492 zəyp. 493 drəyv. 494 təym. 495 ūəyn'.
496 əyɛrn'. 498 rəyt. 499 bĭt'l' [originally, then as in] II bĭ'dəl'.

I: 500 ləyk. 501 ūəyd. 502 vəyv. 503 ləyf [but 'Ləyv) alive]. 504 nəyf.
505 ūəyf. 506 ɔmən. 507 ūəmɛn. 508 məyəl'. 509 ūəyəl' II ūəyl'. 510
məyn' II məyn. 511 ūəyn'. 512 spəyɛr. 513 ūəyɛr. 514 əys. 515 ūəyz
[wiseacre ūəyziiker]. 516 ūzɔɔm. 517 ŋu.

O- 518 bəɔdĭ. 519 əvɛr. 520 bau. 521 və'ul'. 522 aap'm. 523 aap.
524 ūɛrdəl'.

O: 525 əf and II [for off]. 526 kaaf. 526 haat. 528 dhaat. 529
brɔat. 531 dɛtɛr. 532 kaaf. 533 dɛl' [a variant of (ə) in direction of (o, ə)
or (u), ʔ my (ɔ)]. 534 aul'. 535 vaak. 536 grə'ul'd. 537 mə'ul'. 538 ɔd.
— II əlɛ [hollow]. 539 fə'ul'. 540 əl'ĭ. 541 ūɔnt. 542 bə'ul't. 543 ɔn.
544 dhɛn. 545 əp. əp. 546 vaɛr. 547 bħɛrd. 549 ūɛrd. 550 ūɛrd.
551 staarm. 552 kaark. — II skaarkvɛlɪ [scornfully]. 553 aark. 554
krɛɛs.

O: 555 shuu. 556 tɛ. 557 tuu and II. 558 lɔ'k and II. 559 mədhɛr.
560 skūəl'. 561 bləɔm. 562 mən'. 563 mɛndĭ. 564 zu'n. 565 nauz.
— grə'ɪn [growing]. 567 tɔdhɛr. 568 brɛdhɛr.

O: 569 bĭk. 570 tĭk. 571 gĭd II gĭ'd [(u, ɔ) are practically
identical]. 572 blɛd. 573 vlɛd. 574 [(ə ɛtsh) a hatch, used]. 575 stħɔd.
576 ʔɛnzdĭ. 577 bə'u. 578 plə'u. 579 [ɛnɛf [(ɛ, ʔ) hardly audible] II ɛnɛf.
580 tħf. 583 tħl'. 584 stħl'. 586 duu'. 587 dɛn. 588 nuu'n. 589
spuu'n. 590 vlɔɛr. 592 zħɛr. 593 məst. 594 bu't. 595 vĭt. 596
[maə'r) used]. 597 zĭt.

U- 599 bħɔv. 600 ləv. 601 və'ul. 602 zə'u. 603 kɛm. 604 zɔmɛr.
605 zin. 606 dəɛr. 607 bɛtɛr.

U: 608 ɛgl'ĭ. 609 vɛl. 610 ū'əl' [there seems to be a distinct separation
of (i) and (i)]. 611 bħlɔk. 612 zɛm. 613 drɛqk. 614 ɛ'ɔn'. 615 pə'ɔn'. 616
grə'ɔn'. 617 zə'ɔn'd. 618 ū'ɔn'. 619 və'ɔn'. 620 grə'ɔn'. 621 ū'ɔn'.
622 ɛndɛr. 623 vɛ'ɔn'd. 624 grɛ'ɔn'. 625 tɛq'. 626 ɛqɛr. 627 zɛndĭ.
628 nɛn'. 629 zɛn'. 630 ū'ɛn'. 631 dhɔzdĭ dhɛrzdĭ. 632 əp and II.
633 kɛp. 634 drɔɔ. 635 ū'ɛth. 636 vɛrdɛr. 637 tɛsk. 639 dɛ'ɔst.

U: 640 kə'u. 641 ɛ'u. 642 dhə'u. 643 nɛ'u. 645 dɔɔv. 646 bə'u.

647 a'ul'. 648 a'uer. 649 dha'uz'n'. 650 ba'ut. 651 üidha'ut. 652 käd. 653 bät.

U: 654 zhrä'ud. 656 rä'm. 657 brä'us'. 658 dä'us'. 659 tä'us'. 660 ba'uer [arbour]. 661 sha'uer. 662 us. 663 a'us and II. 664 lä'us. 665 ma'us. 666 əzbəx. 667 a'ut. 668 prā'ud. 671 mä'ath. 672 za'ath.

Y- 673 mətsh. 674 dīd. 675 drāy. 676 lāy. 677 drāy. 679 tshəertsh. 680 bizi₁. 681 bizi₁nes. 682 lītāl'. II līt'āl'.

Y: 684 brīdzh. 685 rīdzh. 686 bay. 687 vlāyt. 688 zētsh. 689 b'ēl'd. 690 kāyn. 691 māyn [D II māyn. 692 lēqis. 693 zīn. 696 bēerth. 697 bēri₁. 698 mēerth. 699 rāyt. — II aar₃nət [hornet]. 700 ūas. 701 vāst. 702 ūi. 703 pīt. 704 vāksh'n.

Y- 705 skāy. 706 ūāy. 707 dheertūn. 708 tā āyer.

Y: 709 vaūer. 711 lāys. 712 māys.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 714 læd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l'd eg. — II kædl'in [caddling, quarrelling]. 718 trīd. 722 dræ'is. 723 dæ'iri. 724 bæel'd. 725 rīəl'. 726 tæek. 727 dzhæm. 728 shæm. 729 frīm. — II snæpt [snapped]. 732 ap'n'. 734 daa'rn. 735 smæ'ish. 736 lees. 737 mīt. 738 prīt. 740 ūv' ūiv'. 741 mīz. 742 līzi₁.

E. 743 skūm. — II lūer₃ [lear=empty]. 744 mīzal'z. 745 tshēt. 746 brīdh. 748 frēdzh. 749 lēt, tē lē'v. 750 bæg. 751 p'ert. — II a'im [to aim]. 752 vret.

I. and Y. 753 tīkāl'. 754 peg. 755 vīlbert. 756 zhrīmp. — tū'ndzh [twinge]. 757 taynī₁. 758 gæl. 759 vīt. 760 shīvāl'. — II mēksən [mīxen, dungheap].

O. 761 lūad. 762 akəm. 763 [(r)av] rove, used]. 765 :dzhəx. 767 nē'z. 768 kæk. 770 tēms. 771 vən'd. 772 bənvāyer. 773 dənki₁. 774 pənī₁. 775 b'ūbi₁. 776 gə d b'ūy. 777 shəp. 778 vū'erd. 779 [(l)ovinz] leavings, used]. 781 bōdher. 783 p'æl'tri₁. 784 bā'ens. 786 dā'us. 787 za'uz. 790 gā'm. 791 hūy.

U. 792 skūabal'. — II i'ak'l [yuckel, woodpecker]. 793 əg. 794 dzhag. 795 shrag. 796 bl'ū'. 797 [(skūal'in) used]. 798 kūer. 799 skel'. 801 rām. 802 rām. 803 dzhəmp. — mānsh [munch]. 804 brəp'k [as (-qk) often occurs]. 805 krədz [en ūee]. 806 vās. 807 p'āys. 808 pət, II pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 ūbəl'. 810 fīs. 811 plīs. 812 līs. 813 būk'n. 814 mīs'n. 816 fūd. 817 rēdīsh. 818 ūdzh. 819 rīdzh. 820 gēe. 821 d'el. 822 mēe. 824 tshē'uer. 825 ūēel. 826 ūgəl. 829 gæ'is. 830 træ'is. — II bəgənət [bayonet]. 832 mæ'uer. 833 pēer and II. 834 shæ'iz, shī'z. 835 rīiz'n'. 836 zīiz'n'. 838 trūt. — m'āl [male]. 840 tshəmber. — II vīməs [famous]. 841 tshēens. 842 plə'qk. 843 brēnsh. 844 trēnsh. 845 əqshənt. 846 tshēner. 847 dēndzhur. 848 tshē'ndzh. 849 strəndzh. 850 dēens. 851 ent. 852 ee'pērn. — II kaar₃kəs [carcass]. 853 baarg'n. 854 bərel'. 855 kərət. 856 pēert. 857 kīs. 858 brīs. 859 tshīs. — II pāsēsīn [passing]. — II vīt [tate]. 860 pīst. 861 tīst. — II nīshən [dammation]. 862 siif. 863 tshē'f. 864 b'keez. — II keez [cause]. 865 vāst. 866 p'uer.

E. 867 tīi. 868 dzhēe. 869 vī'əl'. 870 bīiti₁. 871 agrīi. 872 tsh'əl. 874 rē'in. 875 rē'īnt. 876 dæ'īnti₁. 877 bēer. 878 səlērī₁. 879 f'neel'. 880 egzəmp'l'. — II kōnshəns [conscience]. 881 zens. 882 [(l)əvālydāl' used]. 883 dēndīl'ān. 884 əp'rentīs. 885 vūrī₁. 886 vūv'uer. 887 klər'dzhemən. 888 zaart'n'. — II puzē'shəx [possession]. — II zaar₃ [sieve]. 890 b'əst. 891 f'āst. 892 nēvi. 893 ilā'uer. 894 dīzī'v. 895 rīzī'v.

I. and Y. 897 dīlāyt. 898 nāys. 899 nīs. 900 pree. 901 vāyn, II vāyn. — īnk'lāynd [inclined]. 902 māyn. 903 dāyn'. 904 vūylāt. 905 rāyt. 906 vāyper. 908 ədvāy. 909 brīiz. — II spāytēl [spiteful]. 910 dzhē'is. 911 zīstern. 912 rāys.

O. 913 *kaatsh*. 914 *brootsh*. 915 *staf*. 916 *áynin*. 917 *raag*. 918 *viiból*. 919 *a'ntment*. 920 *páynt*. 921 *ekáe'ínt*. — II *stáki* [story]. 922 *bu,shól*. 923 *máyst*. 924 *tsháys*. 925 *váys*. 926 *spáá'vél*. — *stámák* [stomach]. 927 *tráqk*. 928 *na'ns*. 929 *ka'kámer*. 930 *láin*. 933 *fránt*. 935 *kántre*. 936 *ín'ánt*. — II *próper* [proper]. 938 *kaarner*. 939 *klaas*. 940 *káót* II *káóat*. 941 *vá'l*. 942 *bu,tsher*. 943 *tá'tsh*. 944 *vlá'ól*. 945 *vá'ól*. 947 *búáyól*. 948 *ba'l*. 950 *sáper*. 951 *ká'ól*. 952 *kúars*. 953 *káz'n*. 954 *káshól'n*. 955 *dá'ót*. 956 *káver*. 958 *frée*. 959 *kévyee*. 961 *grá'ól*. 963 *kááyót*. 964 *sháót*. 965 *a'íól*. 966 *frá't*. 967 *shá't*. 968 *a'éster*. 969 *sha'áber*. 970 *dchá's* II *dchí's*. 971 *vlá't*.

Phase III. *Tilshead*, 8 sse. Devizes, in the centre of W1.

Theodulf's hide. Tydulviside, Tidulside, Tyleside, Tilshead, called (:tá:lsəd), as I was informed by the then Vicar's daughter, Miss Louisa H. Johnson, who was born and had resided there above forty years. She kindly wrote a wl. and dt. and on 6 Oct. 1879 called on me to work them over *riiá voce*. She also gave me the example of *Hocktying* or *Hocktide*. The custom about 1850 was that on the second Tuesday after Easter, the young men tied the ankles of any young women they could catch about; and on the following Wednesday the girls returned the compliment. The following was the explanation given by old people, which I wrote from Miss J.'s dict. Probably every (t d n r) should be (T D L N R), but I leave the transcription as I wrote it.

1. The Peasants' account of the origin of *hock-tying* or *hocktide* in the village of Tilshead.

wáns dhér wér érd fók óz wđ kíp on v kám'ín ii'r, én v robín
once there were red folk as would keep on a-coming here, and a-robbling

dh):íqlish fók, én ét last dhái ép én at)em, én tá'id)em ép
the English folk, and at last they up and at them, and tied them up

té púst'íz én kat dhér dróts.
to posts and cut their throats.

2. Tilshead dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Johnson.

- (1.) zoo á'i dē zEE, míts, dhii dē zii ná'u, dhét á'i bi rá'ít ebá'út
dh'ík hiit'l máid kám'ín vrom dhé skáuel jondér.
- (2.) shii)z egwáin dá'un dhé róord dhée'r, druu dh' érd gíet on
dhé líft hánd zá'id v)dhé wái.
- (3.) shuur bñf dhé tje'ild hæv ewe'nt stráit ép té dhé dúer
v)dhé roq há'us.
- (4.) weer shí)el mé)bi vá'ind dh'ík dráqk'n díf shriv'ld féle v)dhé
míum év :toomes.
- (5.) wi)d æel naa)n ver' wel.
- (6.) wá)nt dh)aald tjep zuun larn shi not té duu)t egen, puur
dheq'!
- (7.) loks, [i)laa'k'i] bíe)nt ét truu ?

3. TILSHEAD cwl.

Pal. in 1879 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Miss Johnson.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bîk. 4 tîk. 5 mîk. 6 mîed. 7 sîk. 12 zee. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kiek. 20 liim. 21 nîim. 22 tiim. 23 siim. 24 shîim. 36 dhaa. 37 thea. A: 40 kûum. 41 dheqk. 45 want. 55 êshez. 56 waa'sh. A: or O: 58 vrom. 61 emeq. A'- 67 guu. 76 tûud. 81 liim. 83 mûum. 84 mûur. 85 sûur. 86 wats. 87 klaaz. 89 búuedh. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 95 droo. A': 104 rûued. 115 húum. 118 búuen. 122 nóoen. 124 stúuen. 125 onî. 127 húumrs. 128 [(dham) used]. 129 gûunst. 131 gûnst.

Æ- 139 drái. 140 háil. 141 náil. 142 snáil. 143 táil. 144 egen. 145. sláin. 146 máin. 147 bráin. 148 fáir. — emet [emmet more used than ant]. Æ: 155 dhætj. 158 at'r. 160 ag. 163 láil. 164 [(mîd) pl. (mîd'n) used.] 165 zed. 166 máid. 174. áish. 175 vast. Æ'- 183 teetj. 189 wái. 190 kee [in East Lavington (4 s. Devizes) (kói, possibly (kái))]. 192 mîen. 193 klîim. 197 tîiz. 202 het. Æ': 205 dred. 207 náil. 213 iidbur. 218 shîp. 225 flêsh. 226 máunst.

E- 236 fêever. 237 tîlblain. 241 ráin. 242 twáin. 243 plái. 252 kâ'l. 253 net'l. E: 261 zee. 262 wái. 265 stráit. 270 belasiz. 284 dráish. — bast [to burst]. 286 hare. 287 bîzem. E'- 294 viid. 298 ví'ld [væ'ldîd], felt, as that something is hot. E': 306 háit. 307 nái. 314 hí'rd, jii'rd. 315 viit. EA: 321 [(zîd) see'd, used]. 322 keef. 323 fáut. 324 áit. 326 aald. 327 búueld. 328 káueld. 329 vúueld. 330 húueld. 331 súneld. 332 táueld. 333 keef. 334 haef. 335 aael. 336 vaed. 342 jaarm. 346 gút. EA'- 349 viú. EA': 352 erd. 355 díf. 359 náiber. 362 slái. 370 raee. 371 stræe. EI- 373 dhái. 376 báit. EI: 379 háil. 381 swáin. 382 dháir. EO: — vaarmr. 403 ver. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 drü. 413 dível. 420 váur. 421 váurtî. EO': 423 dhái. 426 váit. 430 vírnd.

I- 447 hern [hers, in Urechtfont (4 s. Devizes) (shîiz'n is used)]. 448 dhî'z. I: 460 wáit. 466 tîald. 468 tîldern. 481 vágger. 484 dhî'z. 485 dhî's'l. 486 [(baarm) used]. I'- 499 bí't'l [see p. 53, col. 2]. I': 506 wmen. 507 wâmen.

O- 522 oop'm. 523 hoop. 524 wêrd'l. O: — troo [trough]. 528 dhaat. 531 dhæt'r. 532 kaal. 536 gúueld. 537 [(dêrt) dírt, used]. 539 bool. 545 hop. — vank [tork, "the mouth must be elongated as for a grin"]. 547 búuêrd. 548 vúuêrd. 549 húuêrd. 552 karn. 553 harn. 554 kraas. O'- 565 núuez. 566 edbur. O': 577 háu. 578 plá'u. 579 mo'f [(mæ'u) not heard]. 580 ta'u. 582 káuêl. 583 táuêl. 584 stáuêl. 589 spáuen. 590 tûuer. 592 sáuer. 597 zot.

U- 601 váuêl. 602 zæ'u. 606 du'r. U: 609 val. vúuêl. 610 uu'l. U: 618 umd. 619 vá'und. 634 dra'u. 635 wath. 636 varder. U'- 641 há'u [approaching to (hóu)]. 642 [(dhîi) used]. U': 663 há'us [pl. (há'uz'n)]. 665 mæ'us.

Y- 682 hî't'l. Y: — wast [worst]. 701 vast. Y- 707 dh'rtiin. 709 v'ir.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 dráin. 723 deeri. 742 líuzî.

E. 743 skreem. 744 meez'iz. 745 tîit. 748 ['flîsh' used]. 750 bæg.

I. and Y. 754 peg. 756 shrîmp [=lollipop]. 758 gar'l [rather a foreign word, used for a sweetheart].

O. 761 húud. 767 ná'iz. 769 [(want) used]. 773 doqkî. 774 puunî. 778 evúuêrd. 781 bodher. 783 pá'ultri. 790 gá'und. — dra'und [pp. (dra'undîd), drown, drowned].

U. 795 shræg. 801 réim. 802 réim. 805 kârdz. — kâ'r'lz [curls]. 806 fês. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 fíns. 811 pleez [pl. (pleez'n)]. 812 líes. 813 biek'n. 817 red'ish. 822. mái. 824 t'jáier. 827 [(íes) fierce, used]. 829 gáin. 830 tráin. 836 seez'n. 840 t'ramb'r. 841 t'raus. 843 brautj. 845 aushant. 847 deandjer. 848 t'pendj. 849 straudjer. 850 daens. 851 aent. 852 japeren. 855 kaarat. 856 peert. 860 peest. 861 teest. 862 síef. 864 koz. 865 fvaat. 866 punn.

E.. 867 tee. 869 víel. 874 ráin. 875 fáint. 876 dáinti. 877 áir. 878 saelari. 879 fcauel. 887 [(paees'n) parson used]. — fáier [market]. 890 [pl. (bíustiz)]. 891 víest. 892 nevì. 893 vlá'uer. 894 díseev. 895 ríseev.

I.. and Y.. 900 prái. — íes [fierce; see No. 827]. 901 va'in. 904 v'ílit. 910 djíst [pl. djístiz].

O.. 914 brautj. 916 a'ínen. 919 a'íntiment. 920 pa'ínt. 921 aek'caínt. 922 bushel. 923 ma'íst. 924 t'jáis. 926 spúúil. 929 ka'ukemb'r. 930 lá'in. 936 vónt. 938 karnur. 939 [(krooft) croft, used for a close]. 940 kuu't. 941 fúml. 942 b'atjer. 943 tatj. 947 ba'íl. 948 ba'úl. 950 sapur. 951 kap'l. 954 kashen. 955 da'nt. 956 kíver.

U.. 961 grúuel. 964 zuuít. 965 a'íl. 968 a'íst'r. 969 shuu'r. 970 djíst.

VAR. ii. THE NORTHERN OR GL. FORM.

THREE INTERLINEAR cs. marked V, T, D.

V marks the cs. for *Vale and Town of Gloucester*. It was first written in his own orthography by John Jones, Esq., who had known the dialect for 50 years, and was afterwards corrected in pal. from his dict. by AJE. He gave U = (u) uniformly, but TH. in travelling over the district found the M. (*u*, *u*_o) with sometimes (o) and of course (ə, ə), not only in Tewkesbury, Ashchurch (8 n. Cheltenham), and Buckland (12 ene. Tewkesbury), which I place in D 6 = w. BS, but also frequently in Gloucester, Cheltenham, Bishop's Cleeve (3 n. Cheltenham), Brockworth and Birdlip (6 se.-by-s. Gloucester), and even in Cirencester, Fairford (8 e. Cirencester) and Tetbury, so that it would appear that the whole of east Gloucester were in the mixed region. Indeed TH. heard (*u*_o) as far s. as Purton Wl. (10 sse. Cirencester). It is evident that a mixture of (ə, ə, o, u, u_o) for U does not interfere with the dialect, which is strongly marked. The oldest form necessarily had some variety of (u), and hence (*u*, *u*_o) must in this region rather be considered as survivals, than as M. encroachments, see *supra* p. 17. Of course (ə, ə) are recent developments, that is, begun and developed within 500 years. For (*u*_o) see the introduction to the Midland division.

T marks the *Tetbury* cs. It was written in io. by Miss Frampton, daughter of the then vicar, and was pal. by AJE. from answers to a very long series of questions which she kindly answered. There is, however, always room for some doubt where there has not been personal audition. As regards U, Miss Frampton, like Mr. Jones, apparently used (ə, ə), but TH. was informed in September 1885 by two stonecutters from Tetbury that (*u*_o) generally and a few (o) were the sounds there used. The (o) is one of the transitional forms, see Line 2, p. 17.

D marks the *Forest of Dean* or *Coleford* cs. It was written from the dictation of Raymond D. Trotter, Esq., native of Newnham (10 sw. Gloucester), who kindly spent many hours with me over it in 1873 in company with his sister, who gave phrases from Aylburton on the s. of the Forest. Mr. Trotter visited me again about it in 1878. This, and Mr. Law's from Christian Malford are the two best vv. examples of D 4 which I have personally heard.

O. <i>Vale of Gloucester.</i>	wə'i :dʒən v gət nuu' dəw'uts.
T <i>Tetbury.</i>	wə'i :dʒən v)ne dəw'uts.
D <i>Forest of Dean.</i>	wə'i :dʒək doo)'nt dəw'ut.

1. V wɛl, ná'ber, juu en ii me buu'th laf et dhís
 T wɛl, ná'ber, dhii en ii mái boo'th læf et dhís í'ʀ
 D ɔ'í zái ná'ber, juu en im mái bu'th ɔn)i grɛn ez mɛtʃ ez

V níúuz e mɔ'ín. huu kii'ʀz? dhat's nɔ'íðher jɛr nɛr
 T níúuz e mú'ín uu de kii'ʀ? dhat bee)nt jii'ʀ nɛr
 D dhii)st lɔ'ík et dhís)jii'ʀ ez ɔ'í)v bɛn e telen ɔn)jɛ, uu dest

V dhɔr.

T dhɔr.

D dhí)k ed kii'ʀ v'ʀ dhat? t)ii)'nt noo ɔdz!

2. V viáu vook de dɔ'í, bikɔz dhe bi laft)et,
 T dhɔr bi pʀeshɔs viú ez dɔ'íz kɔz ez ɔ'u dhe bi læaft)et,
 D dher bii'nt mɛni ez de dɔ'í v'ʀ dhái bii'en máid gi'm ɔn

V wii de náu, duu)'nt)ɔs? wɔt zhud mak [mii'k] em? t)ii)'nt
 T wii de náu, duu)nt)ɔs? wɔt shud miik em? t)ee)nt
 D bɔ'í dhe lɔ'íks e dhii, wii de nóou dhát, dɔo)'nt ɔs? wɔt

V veri lɔ'íklí bii it?

T lɔ'íklí?

D zhud mee'k)en, mɛn? t)ii)'nt ree-zunɛb'l næ'u, iz it?

3. V ɔ'u wɛ vɛr, dhec bi dhe vɛkts ev dhe kii's, zoo dʃɛst
 T uuse)jɛ vɛr, dhiiiz bi dhe vɛkts ze
 D se juu dʃɛst oold jiuu'ʀ, dʃɛɛ, en hɔ'íslit e bit wi'ɔ'ut e

V hɔ'u'ld jɛr náiz, me vɛnd, en bi kɔ'ɔ'í)et tɛl ɔ'í)v
 T ɔ'uld jɛr dʃɛɛ, en kíp kɔ'ɔ'í)et tɛl ɔ'í)v
 D misles'ten e mii, tɛl ɔ'í)v tɛld)jɛ. næ'u ju aark'n e bit

V e)ðɛn. aark)i.

T ðɛn.

D en bɔ'íd kɔ'ɔ'í)et, tɛl ɔ'í e ðɛn.

4. V ɔ'í be zartín zhii'ʀ, ez ɔ'í í'ʀD em zái—zɛm e
 T ɔ'í)m zartín ɔ'í jii'ʀD em zái—zɛm e
 D ɔ'í bi zaart'n zhii'ʀ, ez ɔ'í)v jii'ʀD em zái—zɛm e

V dhɛm vook ez went drɔ'u dhe wɛl (w'ɛl) dhí)q vɛrɛm dhe
 T dhec vaak ez went druu dhe wɛl dhe)q vɛrɛm dhe
 D dhái dher vook ez went drɔ'u dhe oo'l ɔn't dherze'lvz

V vɛst dherze'lvz, dhat ɔ'í did zhii'ʀ enaf!

T vɛst dherze'lvz,—dhat e did zhii'ʀ -nɔ'u!

D vɛrɛm dhe vɛst,—dhát)s vɛr zhii'ʀ ez ɔ'í did!

5. V ez dhe jɛqgɛst zɛn izze'lf, e gɔrt bú'í e nɔ'ín, náud
 T dhe jɛqgɛst zɛn ezze'lf, e gɔrt bú'í e nɔ'ín, nood
 D ez dhe jɛqgest zɛn izze'lf, e gud nɛ'bev e bú'í e nɔ'ín, nóoud

V *iz* vaadhɛrz váis ət wəns, dháu t)wəz
 T *iz* væædhɛrz váis, dhoo t)wæðr
 D *iz* vi'dhɛrz tæq ez zuun az v oop'nd iz mæ'uth dhoo t)wəz

V se kwæðr ɛn skwæekɪn, ɛn æ'i)d træst 'ii tɛ spɛk dɛ
 T zɛ kwæi'r ɛn skwæi'ki lœ'ik, ɛn 'ii-d tɛl dɛ
 D zatɟ v kwæer skwæekɛn vœ'is, ɛn æ'i)d bæk 'ii tɛ spɛk dɛ

V truuθ ɔni dee, á'i, 'dhat i ud, awæ'vɛr.
 T truuθ 'dhæt v ud.
 D truuθ ɔni dá'i, á'i 'dhæt æi úd!

6. V ɛn dɛ æ'uld ʉmɛn ɛr zɛ'lf ɛl tɛl ɛn'i ɔn'i ez iz a lafi'n nœ'u,
 T ɛn dɛ æ'uld ʉmɛn ɛr zɛ'lf ul tɛl ɛn'i ɔv'i dhæt læf nœ'u,
 D ɛn dh,æ'ld ʉmɛn ɛr zɛ'lf ɛd tɛl ɔr)ɛ wæn ɔn'i ez iz a giúulɛn

V ɛdhœ'ut mætɟ bœðɛr, tuu, if jɛ)l
 T ɛn tɛl i slæp ʌaf wiðhœ'ut muu'r ɛduu, if)i ul
 D ɛn tɛl i rœ'it ʌaf, tuu, wi)œ'ut mætɟ ʉn'dɛr'mɛnt, if dhii)lt

V ɔoni eks ɛr, wæ'nt v nœ'i'dhɛr ?
 T ɔoni æks shi—oo'! wænt shi ?
 D ɔoni eks)ɛr, á'i 'dhæt ɛr úd.

7. V læst wáiz [ɛn'i)œ'u] ɛr táuld it ta œ'i wɛn œ'i ekst ɛr,
 T li'st wáiz ɛr tɛlt 'œ'i wɛn œ'i ækst shi,
 D li'st wáiz ɛr tɛld it 'œ'i wɛn œ'i ekst ɛr,

V tuu ɛr ɔrii tœ'imz ɔovɛr, v di'd, ɛn ɛr ʌat)'nt tɛ bi
 T duu ɛr ɔrii tœ'imz ɛr di'd, ɔɔr di'd)'nt ʌat)ɛ bi
 D duu ɛr ɔrii tœ'imz ɛr moo'r, á'i dhæt ɛr di'd, ɛn'ɔɔr ʌat)'nt tɛ bi

V ræq ɔn zatɟ v pœ'ɔ'nt ez dhis—wæat dɛ juu dhik [dheqk] ?
 T ræq ɔn 's'itɟ lœ'ik, wæt d)jɛ dheqk nœ'u ?
 D noo wáiz œ'ut ɔn zatɟ a pœ'ɔ'nt ez dhik, wæt)st 'dhii dhik ?

8. V wæl, ez œ'i wɛz v)zái'in ɔr)ð tɛl)i œ'u wæðr ɛn wɛn ɔr
 T wæl, ez œ'i wɛr v)zái'in, shii)d tɛl)i œ'u wæn ɛn wæðr ɛr
 D ez œ'i wɛz v)zái'en 'ɛr)ud tɛl)i œ'u wær ɛn wæn ɛr

V vœ'und dɛ dræqk'n bæst ez ɔr dɛ kæl ɔr ɛzɛn.
 T fœ'und dɛ dræqk'n biést shii dɛ kææl ɛr ɛzɛn.
 D vœ'und dɛ dræqk'n bœ'st ez 'r, kæl'd ɛr mɛc'stɛr.

9. V ɔr zwæðrd [zœ'r] ez œ'u ez ɛr zid ɛn wi ɛr áyn œ'iz,
 T shi swæær shi ziid im wiðh ɛr œ'yn œ'iz,
 D ɛr zwœør ez ɛr zid ɛn wi ɛr ɔo'n œ'iz,

V v)lœ'i'in zɔrɛtɟ ɛt væl lɛnth ɔn dɛ grœ'und, in iz gud
 T v)lœ'i'in œ'ut ɛæl ɛlæq in iz bi'st
 D lœ'i'en ʌal ɛt iz lɛqkth ɛlæq dɛ grœ'und, wi iz bɛst

V zændi kwæt klooz tɛ dʰe doo'r ɛ dʰe ə'us dæ'ʊn ɛt dʰe
 T zændi koo't ɛnə'ɪ dʰe duu'r ɛ dʰe ə'us dæ'ʊn nə'ɪ dʰe
 D zændi-gwáin kwæt ɔn, dʰɛst bæ'ɪ dʰe duu'r ɛ dʰe ə'us,

V kARNER ɛ JANDER, leen.
 T kaARNER [kə'in] ɛ JON liin.
 D dæ'ʊn dhə'r bæ'ɪ dʰe kARNel ɛ JANDERz lee'n.

10. V ɛ wez ɛ)wə'ʊn ɛwá'ɪ, ɛf zez, vɛr ʌʌl dʰe wɔ:rlɔd lə'ɪk
 T ɪɪ wɛr ɛ)wə'ʊn ɛwá'ɪ, ɪ w-ɔr, fɛr ʌʌl dʰe wɔ:rlɔd lə'ɪk
 D ɛ wez ɛ)wə'ʊn ɛwá'ɪ dhɔr, vɛr ʌʌl dʰe wɔ:rlɔd lə'ɪk

V ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld, ɛr ɛ lɪ'l gɟɔ:rl (wɛntʃ) ɪn ɛ vɾɛt.
 T ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld ɛr ɛ lɪ'l maɪd ʌʌl ɛv ɛ vɾɛt.
 D ɛ dɔg kɔtʃt ɪn ɛ tráp, ɛr ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld ɪn ɛ vɾɛt.

11. V ɛn dʰat ʌp'nd ɛz ʔɔr ɛn ɛr dæ'tɛr ɪn ʌʌ, kɛm
 T ɛn dʰɪs ʃɛr ʌp'nd ɛz ʔɔr ɛn ʃiɪz dæ'tɛr-ʌʌ, kɛm
 D ɛn dʰat wɔr dʰɛst ɛz ʔɔr ɛn ɛr dæ'tɛr-ʌʌ, kɛm

V DRə'u dʰe bæk jɑrd vɾɛm ʌqɪn ə'ʊt dʰe wɛt klooz tɛ
 T DRU dʰe bæc jɑrd vɾɛm ɛ ʌqɪn ə'ʊt dʰe wɛt klooz tɛ
 D DRə'u dʰe jɑrd vɾɛm ɛ ʌqɛn ə'ʊt dʰe wɛt klooz tɛ

V DRə'ɪ, ɔn ɛ wəʃɪn dɛe.
 T DRə'ɪ, ɔn ɛ wəʃɪn dɪi.
 D DRə'ɪ, ɔn ɛ wəʃɛn [wɛʃɛn] dɪi.

12. V wə'ɪl dʰe kɛtɛl wez ɛ bə'ɪlɪn vɛr tee, wɛn və'ɪn brə'ɪt
 T ɛgɛn dʰe kɪ'tl bæ'ɪld vɛr tee, wɛn fə'ɪn ʌʌtɛrnu:n
 D wɛn dʰe kɪ'tl wez ɛ bæ'ɪlɛn vɛr tee, wɛn váɪrɪʃ brə'ɪt

V zɛmɛr ʌʌtɛrnu:n ɔnli ɛ wɪk ɛgɛn ɛ kɛm nɛkst dhɔ:rzɪdɪ.
 T ɛ zɛmɛr ɛ wɪk ɛgɛn kɛm dhɔ:rzɪdɪ.
 D zɛmɛr ʌʌtɛrnu:n, ɛ wɪk kɛm nɛkst dhɔ:rzɪdɪ.

13. V ɛn dɛ ju náʊ? ə'ɪ nɛvɛr ʃi'rd nɔo muu'r nɔr dʰɪs ɛ dʰat
 T ɛn ɛ tɛl)ɪ wɔt, ɛ nɪvɛr ʃi'rd tɛl nɛ muu'r ɔn)t
 D ɛn dɛst nɔou, ə'ɪ nɛvɛr lɔ:rnɔ nɔo muu'r nɛr dʰɪs ɛ dʰat

V dhɔr bɪznes ʌp tɛ tɛdɛe, ɛz zhuu'r)z mə'ɪ nɪ'mz [nɛem)z]
 T ʌp tɛ nə'u, ɛz DRU ɛz mə'ɪ nɪm)z
 D dhɛr dʰɔb ɛz zhuu'r ɛz mə'ɪ náim)z

V :dʰɔn :zhɛpɛrɔ, ɛn ə'ɪ dʰɛ'nt wɛnt tɛ nə'ɪdʰɛr, dhɔr nə'u
 T :dʰɔn :zhɛpɛrt, ɛn ə'ɪ dɛ nɛ wɛnt tɛ nə'ɪdʰɛr, zɔo dhɔr :
 D :dʰɔn :zhɛpɛrɔ, ɛn ə'ɪ doo)nt wɛnt tɛ nɔou nɪdʰɛr.

14. V ɛn zɔo ə'ɪ bɪ ɛ)gwáin wɛm tɛ zɛpɛr, gɔd
 T zɔo ə'ɪ m ɛ)gwáin wɛm tɛ zɛpɛr, gɔd
 D ɛn zɔo ə'ɪ bɪ ɛ)gwáin ʃɛm tɛ ʌmɪ ɛ bɪt ɛ zɛmɪt tɛ ʃɛt,

V nɔʊ'it, en dɔɔ)nt bi ze kɔɔ'ik tɛ kráu oover e bɔdi ɛg'i'n,
 T nɔʊ'it, en dɔɔ)nt)ɪ bii ze kɔɔ'ik tɛ kráu oov'ɛ e bɔdi ɛg'i'n,
 D nɔʊ'it)t)ɛ, en doo'nt bii zoo zharp oover e tʃap,

V wɛn ɛ)z ɛ)tAAkɪn e dhɪs dhat ɛr t)ɛdher
 T wɛn i dɛ tɛɛk e dhɪk e dhɛk.
 D wɛn e tAAks e dhɪs ɛr dhət.

15. V it)s e week vuul ɛz pɛɛts ɛdhɔʊ't
 T en dhɛn wɛl tɛ it.
 D e mɔn ɛɛ)nt noo bɛtɛr nɛr e vuul ɛz dɛ tAAk wɪ)ɔʊ't

V rɛɛzɛn . en dhat)s mɔʊ'i last wɔɔrd. gudbʊɔ'i.
 T gud bʊɔ'i)te)i.
 D noo zɛns, e dhət)s mɔʊ'i laast wɔɔrd. zoo gud bɔʊ'i tʃɛ.

Notes to I, Vale and Town of Gloucester.

Mr. Jones considers his es. to be a fair specimen of the dial. spoken about Gloucester in the *Vale*. In the *town* the use of z- for s- is not so frequent, and (th) generally remains as in rs. But in the town the sound of (ii) continually replaces that of (ee) even among educated people. Mr. Bellows quotes from Lord Campbell's Life of Judge Hale, p. 230, to the effect that the judge's name was in Gloucester called *cel* (iil), and that Mr. Bloxham, Clerk of the Peace, born near Alderly (7 se. Berkeley), near the Judge's native place, in summoning the Jury in Court, called out (:diiuid :iil, ɛv dhe siim pliis, biiker), for David Hale, of the same place, baker, and Mr. Bellows recollects a farmer telling him that he heard Mr. Bloxham say: "Answer to your (niim) name, and (siiv) save your fine." In a paper called a specimen of the Vulgar Speech of the Town of Gloucester, reprinted by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from the Transactions of the Cotswold Field Naturalists' Club for the year 1851, many such words occur. But they are by no means confined to the neighbourhood of Gloucester town. They will be found in Miss Frampton's Tetbury Specimen, and she gave me other instances. The following list contains all those in the above paper (unmarked), and those given by Mr. Jones (marked J), and Miss Frampton

(marked F). The words are arranged in the usual classes and in ordinary spelling, the letter pronounced (ii) being italicised.

- A- baker, drake, take, F taken, make, made, cradle, F tale, lame, J F name [and (nâim) F], J same, game, F mane [are, fare, as in rec. sp. ware (wârk)], bathe, rather.
- A'- lane.
- AE- blaze, hazle.
- AE: waken, day, F today [exceptional and not constant].
- AE'- F stairs.
- EA- shoke, shape.
- A. tradesmen, F trade, James, prates, potatoes [(tiitɛrz)], wave, quavering, gaze.
- A.. table, face and F, preface, place, bacon, paring, case, plate, separate, observation, narration, state, paste.

As regards the series A-, A., A.. this reduction to (ii) is merely a variety of (iie, iu, i') common in other parts of D 4, itself a reduction of (ia), which came naturally from (a-), but éu, ee) are also found more in Do. and Sm. The intermediate form is (e'is), which is given by JGG. as the rural form about Chippenham Wl., where (ii, i'i) are the town forms.

Notes to D, Forest of Dean.

0. *why, doubts.* I have throughout represented the first element of the diphthongs (a'i, a'u) by (æ) in this district. I am not quite satisfied. It may be (ǣ). I long hesitated between (ǣ, æ) and simple (æ), which in Do. I adopted; all my hesitation arose from study of sounds heard from Mr. Potter, Mr. Law and Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour. The first element is often medial or long, but as I did not mark it at the time I leave the vowel short.

1. *say*, distinctly (zai), varying in direction of (za'i), not approaching (zee). — *neighbour*, the (A'i) effect was very strong in this word. — *thou dost*, the (st) is a contraction hereabouts. — *this here*, the (j) is prefixed to (i'r) in this phrase only. — *it is not*, (t'ii)'nt) 'tain't, is very common in this district, varies as (tj'ent), (it bi'i'nt) also used.

2. *their being made game of*, (dhái) for *they* not a common pron. in other districts but not unknown, *they* again is for *their*: (maid) *made* is similar to (nám) *name*, par. 13, but (mi'd) is also used like the following (gi'm) *game*. — *reasonable*, the use of (r) initially was thoroughly settled with Mr. Trotter, who repudiated (r). — *is it*, (bi'i-ət) is not used.

3. *molesting of me*, or (medlen wi mii) *meddling with me*.

4. *heard*, (jii'rd), the effect of (r) on following or preceding (t, d, l, n) converting them into (t, d, l, n) was carefully ascertained. — *through* (drə'u'), the (r) before a vowel being distinctly trilled, see par. 2, *reasonable*, (thr-) could not be pronounced, and hence (tr-) or (dr-) became necessary. — *first* (vəst), the (r) is quite lost in this word, and in (bəst, sɛw, sɛst) *burst, worse, worst*: can this arise from the retention of (s) instead of retracting or reverting it? Thus (vəst, vɛst) would be quite possible, and this (s, s) would be distinct from (s), either would lead to (sh) as in Sanscrit. But if this ever existed, it has disappeared.

5. *a good knob of a boy.* — *fathers*,

the first syllable varies as (vi', ve', vie'). — *I would back 'he*, the use of 'he is conditioned by emphasis, otherwise (ə'i'd bək)en) with the S. *hine*.

6. *woman*, emph. (nɪwəmen). — *'er a one*, any one. — *guling*, the glossaries give this as a He. word for *sneering*. — *wonderment, if thou wilt only ask her*.

7. *leastways*, the use of (ai) in place of (ə'i) shows that the speaker considered the termination to be *ways* and not *wise*. — *she told*, when (ɛr) is used for *her*=*she*, the (r) is distinct, when for *her* (as usually written) = *he*, the (r) is lost, (ɛ tɛld, ɛr tɛld) *he told, she told*, are thus kept distinct without emphasis. *two or three times or more*, in Aylburton (4 sse. Coleford, Gl.) they use (ʊne'nt) *anent* in place of 'or more,' meaning 'nearly, close upon,' but see *anent* in Murray's Dictionary. — *what dost*, see (dhii'st) 'thou dost,' par. 1.

8. *drunken* scarcely used, (fəd'ld) 'fuddled' sometimes heard, but if a man is not very drunk they say, (im ɛ bɪn ɛ əvən ɛ drəp) 'he's been having a drop,' and if he's very drunk indeed, (im ɛ gət ət ən)en tɛ rə'ɪts) 'he has got it on him to-rights,' but 'drunk' itself is almost a tabooed word. — *beast*, also (beest).

9. *lying*, they lie, and hens lay, (dhái de lə'i, ɛn ɛnz de lai) bring out the two diphthongs very clearly. — *coat*, (kəət ən) 'coat on,' since the word runs on to (ən) but in the pause it is (kro't) in *that's my coat* (dhāt)s mə'i kvo't). — *yonders*, the phrase is used, but the grammar is not clear.

10. *howling*, in the Forest of Dean, little babies even *howl*, and never *whine*, (but wɪn'ɪkən) is heard at Aylburton.

11. *clothes*, Mr. Trotter thought he used (kloo'z), but on hearing the difference, acknowledged (tloo'z).

13. *name*, see *made*, par 2.

14. *and so I be a-going home to have)me a bit of somewhat to eat.* The (a)mi) was nearly (ə, mi).

Phrases from Forest of Dean from dict. of Mr. Potter and Aylburton
from dict. of Miss Potter.

1. (ɛz aard ɛz ɪhəʊ'ɪvɛn), as hard as iron [the first aspirate omitted as usual, the second introduced for emphasis].
2. (ɛ bɪt ɛv ɛ məɪd), a bit of a maid [one growing up to womanhood, a gɛrl is a maidservant of about fifteen, a (wɛnsh) is a grown woman in a good sense].
3. (gɛr, ɛwəɪ wɪ-jɛ), get away with you, said to a dog [this conversion of (t) into (r) is very common with *get* before a vowel in numerous districts].
4. (ɛ)z bɪn ɪn.ɔt mi ɔn dhɛ jɛd), Forest; (iiz bɪn ɛ)ɔt'ɪn mi ɔn dhɛ jɛd). Aylburton; he's been and hit [been a-hitting] me on the head.
5. (ə'u guu, nɪpɛr), how go (how are you), little fellow.
6. (uɜz'n əw:z'n bi:əm), whose houses be them = are they. Compare Sh.
7. (bɛrd-dɛb'ɪn), bird-dubbing, walking down in two companies on each side of a hedge and pelting at the birds, which fear to leave the hedge on either side.
8. (ɪn)z ɛ prɔpɛr rɔŋk'ɪn), he's a proper rank-one (?), he's a regular deep one.
9. (ə'i)m gwáɪn tɛ aa)mi ɛ)rə'ɪd), I'm going to have me a ride [=to get a lift in a waggon].
10. (u)t, lʊk'i), wilt thou, look-you.
11. (u bɪst 'dhiɪ ɛ dhə'uɔn), whom art thou a-thou-ing [in a quarrel, Forest]. (ə'i beent ə gwáɪn tɛ bi: dhiid bə'i dhə'u) I am)not a going to be thee'd by thou [Aylburton].
12. (ɛ puul'tɔn bənɛts), a-pelting walnuts.
13. (ɛ wu)nt aɜ:k'n ɛrtə mi), he won't hearken to me, won't do what I tell him.
14. (kɪp dhɛm vɪts stɪl). keep those feet still [that is, don't stamp, said at a public reading].
15. (heft'ɪn), heave him or it, (heft) weight or heavy load, both Forest and Aylburton.

GLoucester cwl.

V Vale of Gloucester as in es.

T Tetbury as in es. with some extras

C Cirencester from wl. given me vv. by Miss Martin of Whitelands.

D Forest of Dean as in es.

A Aylburton as in specimens.

W Whitecomb (5 ese. Gloucester), wn. by TH.

Unmarked words belong to the four first-named places and also possibly to A.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 C tɪk. 5 C mɪk. 17 V laa, TD laa. 18 kɪk. 12 V nɪm
neem, T niim, D náim, C níem. 22 C tɪm. 24 C shɛm. 28 C hæp.
34 V last, D laa-t, T best. A: 39 VTD [kɛm) come, used]. 45 C ɛnts.
46 [(lɔɪt) light, always used]. 54 V want, T wɛnt, D wɛnt. 56 V wash wash,

T wash, C [bæk'n] a small wash]. A: or O: 58 VT vrum. 60 elaq. 64 V raq, T raq. A'- 67 VTD egwain [a-going]. D a'u gum [how do go=do]. 73 VT zoo, D zoo. 75 TD dum, V tum. 76 C tued. 79 V áon, T á'ón, D oon. 81 V ken, D léen, T lín. 82 waus. 84 VTD múer. 86 C úts. 87 V klooz, TD klóoz. 89 V búuth, D bóuth, T bóuth. 92 VT náu, D nóou. 94 VT kráu. 97 s'ól. A': 102 VD aks, T aks. 104 W rood. 113 V wál wál, T wál, D 'oobl. 115 VTC wam, D jam. 118 C búen. 120 V eguar, T egan. 122 V núu. 124 stúen. 125 oonli. 129 C gúest. 130 C búet.

Æ- 138 V vaadher, T væe-, D vi-, ve-, vie-, C feadher. 143 fáil. 144 V egín, T egín. 150 V best, T liust, D liist. 152 C waater. Æ: 161 V dee, T dii, D dii. 162 V tedee, T te dii. 163 lóí. 166 T máid, D máid. 168 C tæcher. 169 VTD wæn. 170 C æevst. 172 C græes. 174 C æsh. 177 V dhat, D dhát, [T (dhak) used]. 179 V waat, T wot, D wat. 181 C pæath. Æ'- 182 C see. 183 C teeti. 190 kee. 193 kleen. 194 VT eni, VD ani. 197 tiz. 199 C blect. 200 weat. 201 C eadh'n. Æ': — sidz [seeds]. 207 nid'l. 210 klóí. 214 VTD naó'dher. 215 C taat. 218 C ship. 220 VD zhepherd, T —t. 223 DC dhør dhur. 224 VTD wær. 227 VTD wet.

E- 233 V speek, D speek. — jet [eat]. 252 V ketl, TDC kít'l. E: 256 V zdreit, T streit. 261 VT zái, D zái. 262 VTD wái. 265 W stráit. 276 VD dhiq, VT dheqk. 278 wensh [always used for girl in a good sense]. 281 V lenth, DT leqth. 284 bresh. 287 C biz'm [common word for all kinds of brooms]. — T bi'st, D best [best]. E': 313 DT aark'n. 314 V i'rd, TD i'rd. 315 D vits, C ít.

EA- 320 VTD kíer. EA: 322 V laf, T laf. 323 fo'ot. 326 VT a'old, D aald, W óuld ádd. 330 V haw'old, a'old. 332 V fáuld, T felt, D teld. 333 C kæef. 335 T ææl, DV aal. 338 V kaal, T kææl, D kaal. — aard [hard]. 343 C waarm. 346 D giut, W gjut. EA'- 347 D jed, C jed. 348 VTD a'iz, C ói. 349 V váu. EA': 354 C sheef. 365 C dief. 356 C leef. 357 dháu dhoo. 359 T náiber, D náiber. 361 been. 366 VT gørt. 370 C raa. 371 C straa.

EI: 377 C stiuk. 378 T week. EO- 386 C ja'ua. EO: 390 V zhud, T shud. 394 V jander, D janderz. 398 [C (klem) used]. 399 VD brá'it. 402 D lørn, T laarn. EO'- 411 VTDC drii. 412 [(wør) her, used in nom. (shii) in acc.] 420 C va'ur. 421 C farti. 421 vo'uth. EO': 422 W zik. 425 C lóit. 435 [C dhii always used, even to superiors, perhaps from large quaker community]. 437 VT truuth, D tróuth. EY- 438 VTD do'í. EY: 439 V trást.

I- 440 C week. 441 ziv. 446 C nóin. 447 V ør [T (shiiiz) she's, used]. I: 452 VTD a'i, C ói [evidently an error of my informant]. 455 VTD lo'í, C lóí. 459 C róit [? ré'it]. 465 seti. 467 VTDC tjaw'old, W tjá'ol. 480 V dhiq, T dheq. 484 VD dhis [T dhik used]. 487 i'sterdi. — jat [hit]. I'- 495 VT wá'ín [D a'ol howl, used]. 496 nhaw'irn. I': 506 VTDC zann. 510 V maw'ín, T múaw'ín [and generally (a'í)].

O- 519 T æver. 524 VTD wørlD. O: 531 daater. 538 VTD od. 546 v'r. — [C (praq) prong used for fork]. 547 buu'rd. 550 T wørd. 551 C starm. 552 C karn. O'- 559 C mædher. 564 zann. O': 571 V gud. 577 C boo. 578 C ploo. 579 VT enaf. 586 V dæant, T dænu, D doo'nt [don't]. 587 VTD dæu. 592 V zwørd zoo'r [both used], T swaar, D zwoor. 595 C íæt.

U- 601 fool. 602 zæu. 603 W bkamín. 604 VTD zæmer. 605 VTD zan. 606 TD dhæur, V doo'r, W dûer. U: 608 C [(ørneri) ordinary, used]. 610 C ol. 612 VTD zam. 615 C pøond. 616 VDT graw'and. 619 VD va'ó'nd, T faw'nd. 627 VTD zædi. 631 dhæorzdi. 632 VT ap. 633 C kœp. 634 VD bræ'u, T bruu, W thruu. U'- 643 D næ"u, W næ u. U': 658 VTD do'ím, C doon. 659 C toon. 663 VTD a'us [pl. (a'uz'ín) C]. 665 C moos. 666 VT azben [mee'star] used D].

Y- 673 T mat. 675 VTD brá'í. 676 C lóí. 682 VT ít'l. Y: 690 C kóind. 691 C móind. 701 VTD væst. Y- 705 C skóí. 706 VTD waw'í. Y': 709 C íoir. 712 C miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A.. 726 VD tʌək, T tʌək. 732 V ap'n, T ap'n. 738 T priit.

E.. 748 C flesht. 749 W hift. 752 VTD vrɛt.

I.. *and* Y.. 754 C pæg [heard from the old man who called bacon (báik'n)].
758 V gjarl, W gjarl.

O.. 761 [(bærd'n) always used C]. 765 :dɪn. 767 T náiz. 781 T bəðer.
791 V bʊʊ'i, T bʊʊ'i, D bʊʊi. U.. 804 V dræk'n.

U.. 804 V dræk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 813 C báik'n [heard from an old man]. 814 meesnar. — C [(bækɪt) bucket always used for *pail*]. 824 tji'r. 835 reez'n. 857 T kiis. 862 T siif. 864 kɔz.

E.. 867 VC tee, TD tee. 878 sɔlərɪ. 887 [pæəs'n] parson, used C].
888 VTD zartɪn. 890 VC bæst, T biust, D bi'st. 892 C nevi.

I.. *and* Y.. 901 V və'in, T fə'in. 904 vólet.

O.. 916 C áinnz. 920 VT púə'nt, D pə'nt. 925 VT váis. 929 koo'kember. 938 VT kærner, D kærnel. 939 V klooʒ [T (m-ó'i) anigh, used].
940 VD kɔət, T koo't. 941 VDT vuul. 947 V bóil, TD bæ'il. 950 VT zəpar. 955 VTD də'uts.

U.. 964 C súnɛt. 969 VTD zháuer.

VAR. iii. THE NORTH-WESTERN OR EAST HE. FORM.

As we shall see, all He. is affected by the MS. dial., but the little slip which runs up from Gl. into He. is so strongly MS. that, although there seems to be a little falling off as we go on, I have found it necessary to place it in D 4. The w. b. of this slip is the w. b. of the S div. The e. b. is formed by the barrier of the Malvern Hills. The first considerable place we meet is Ross on the Wye. About this dialect a correspondent signing himself W. H. Green, who said he was a native of Ross, but whom we have been unable to identify, sent a letter in his own spelling to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, from which, in conjunction with notes from Upton Bishop, and a very few words given to TH. by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, Hereford, the following inferences are drawn :

Ross Pronunciation.

(z) is used for (s) in *so see, some, said say, sow* (pig).

(v) is used for (f) in *from find folk friend farmer for forty forget offended* (?).

(iü) is used in *late, plagued, place master, translate quakers*, implying the regular MS. change in A- words, but (æe) is found in *clavey* a local word = mantlepiece.

(ái) is used in *say way straight neighbour*.

(A'o) apparently is used in *know* and (üx'i) in *boy*.

(æ) is heard in *pat*.

(dhik, dhak) are used.

(bist) thou art, ær im) she, he : (dhi) thou, (æt, ust) wilt, would'st, I *be*, they *been't*, I *did* want.

All these are strong marks of D 4.

Going further n., TH. got from Stoke Edith, (grâin fáier dâi lá'i'ɪn) grain, fair, day, day, laying and "I told *she*." But in this latitude at Ledbury, and further n. at Much Cowarne and Eggleton, there are very distinct marks of the same dialect in the following examples.

THREE INTERLINEAR HE. ES.

FROM LEDBURY, MUCH COWARNE, AND EGGLETON.

L marks the es. specimen for Ledbury (12 e. Hereford) written by Rev. C. Y. Potts, and the late Mr. Gregg, solicitor, both of Ledbury, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Gregg.

C marks the specimen for Much Cowarne (9 ne. Hereford) written in phonotypy (see Part IV. 1183 c) by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, of Broad Street, Hereford, from the dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, Leighton Court, Bromyard, and pal. by AJE. As the diphthongs were unanalyzed in phonotypy, I have adopted the forms (ə'i, ə'u) heard by TH. when visiting Much Cowarne in 1881. Possibly Mr. Gregg's, which I heard as ə'i, ə'u, were meant for the same.

E marks the Eggleton (8 ne. Hereford), practically the same as the Much Cowarne, written by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, of Blackway, Eggleton, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (who passed it over to AJE.), with an ingenious and exhaustive rhyming key to the pron., supplemented by long notes from Miss Mary E. Piper and her brother, who considered that the true He. speech began about Stoke Lacy, Pencombe, and Bromyard (9 ne. 10 ne. 13 ne. Hereford), slightly to the w. of Much Cowarne and Eggleton. From the key and the notes and TH.'s Much Cowarne words, the es. has been pal. by AJE. The difference between Ledbury and Eggleton these informants considered to consist chiefly in the greater "gutturality" of Much Cowarne, adding that *horse* is (aus) at Ledbury, but (əs) in Cowarne.

The substantial phonetic agreement of all three renderings obtained from such widely different sources (notwithstanding some evident dialectal slips which are inevitable when writers have not themselves spoken the dialect naturally in their youth) shows that the correct pron. must have been fairly reached.

Miss Piper added some further specimens which are given below with a translation interlined.

0. L *Ledbury.* wə'ɪ :dʒaʌn ɛz noo də'ʊts
 C *Much Cowarne.* wə'ɪ :dʒa'k a'nt noo də'ʊts
 E *Eggleton.* wə'ɪ :dʒaʌn ə)ne ɡət noo mɪsgɪvɪnz
1. L wəl, náiβer, juu ɛn ɪm mái boo'th la'f ɛt dhɪs ɪr njuuz
 C wɛl, náiβer, juu ɛn ɪm mái booth ɔn)ɛ laaf ɛt dhɪs ɪr njuuz
 E wɛl, náiβer, bʍəθ ɔn dhɛ vook mái ləf ɛt dhɪk njuuz
- L ɛ mə'ɪn. uu kjærz ? dhət)s nə'ɪðer ɪr nɛr dhær.
 C ɛz ə'i'de tɛl ɛr. huu də keer ? dhət)s niidher ɛr nɛr dheer
 E ɛz ə'i ɛ ɡət. uu kéerz ? dhət jənt ɟiɛr nɛr dhiɛr
2. L viə'u mɛn də'ɪ kaaz dhɛ)r la'ft ɛt,
 C fɛə'u fɛaks də də'ɪ kəs dheɛ də ɡɛt la'ft ɛt,
 E dhiɛr jənt bət viə'u mɛnkjə'ɪnd ɛz də'ɪz kəz dhái bi ləft ɛt,
- L wi nɑ'uz, doo'nt əs ? waaʔ sh'd meek ɛm ? tɛɪnt vɛrɪ
 C wii də náu dɛn ɛs ? wət shʉd miak ɛm ? ɪt jɛnt vɛrɪ
 E wii nɑ'uz, dwənt)ɛs ? wət shʉd miək ɛm ? ɪt bjənt vɛrɪ
- L lə'ikli, ɪz ɪt ?
 C lə'ikli, biɪ ɪt ?
 E lə'ikli, biɪ ɪt ?

3. L AASPEME'VER dhiiz bii dhi faks v)dhe kees, zoo djæst a'ud jær
C 'liiist)áiz dhiiz)jær bent noo ló'iz, zoo juu djæst ó'uld jær
E ó'useme'ver it wez atær dhík wái, soo djæst ó'ud dhe

L náiz, en bi kwó'iet tíl wó'i v dan. læk i' r náo'u!
C ró'u, ó'uld bwa'i, en juu ó'isht tíl ó'i v dan. aark)i!
E náiz, men, en hó'isht tíl ó'i bi dan. AARK'n!

4. L wó'i bi zært'in wó'i i'rd em zái—zæm v dhem vooks ez
C ó'i bi shuur ó'i jerd en sái—sæm o dhem tjaps az
E ó'i bi shúner ez ó'i húerd em zái—zæm v dhái vook ez

L went bró'u dhe wæl dhiq vrøm dhe værst dherze'lvz—dha't
C náud aal eb'ut it vrøm dhe vest, did ó'i shuurló'i.
E went bró'u dhe wæl dhiq vrøm dhe væst dhierze'lvz—dha't

L wó'i did zeef enaf.

C

E ó'i did see'f enaf.

5. L dhet dhe jæqest zæn izze'lf, v greet bwa'i v náo'in, ná'ud
C ez dhe líttest bwa'i izze'l, v jæq)en ó náo'in jær ó'uld, náud
E dhæt dhe jæqest bwa'i izze'lf, v gréet bwa'i v náo'in, ná'ud

L iz veedherz váis et wænst, dhoo it wez zoo kwíer en
C iz fíadherz va'is et wænst, al ræmi en
E himz veedherz váis et wænst dhoo v wez soo kwéer en

L skwíiki, en wó'i)d træst 'im te spiik dhe truuth emi
C skwíikifó'id, en im ud)ne tel noo ló'iz ta noobodi,
E skwíekín, en ó'i ud træst 'im te spiiek dhe træth ane

L dáí, áí, i)ud.

C noo v ud)'nt.

E dáí, áí, ó'i ud.

6. L en dhe aad wæn enze'lf ul tel emi en ju ez la'fs náo'u,
C en dhe ó'uld wæn enze'l ul tel emi ó ju tjaps ez iz [wæt)s]
E dhe ó'uld wæn enze'lf ul tel emi on dhe ez la'fs náo'u,

L en tel ju stráit of, tuu, edhó'ut matj bødher, iv ju)
C egrín'in, widh'ut noo fæs nar bødher, if juu
E en tel dhe stráit of, tuu, udhó'ut matj boothër, if dhii)dst

L ooni a'sk er went er?

C ooni aksez er, áí, er ul

E onli a'ks er went er, máí bi?

7. L hístwáiz v toold it mii wen wó'i a'kst er, tuu er drii
C híst)áiz er did tel)mi wen ó'i akst er tuu ar dhrii
E lestwáiz er teld it mæ wen ó'i akst er, tuu ar drii

L tǝ'ímz oovɛr, ɛr díd, ɛn 'ɛr aat)'nt tɛ bi raaq ɔn dha't
 C tǝ'ímz ǝ'uvɛr, ɛn 'ɛr dɛ náu ɛz wɛl ɛz moost,
 E tǝ'ímz ǝvɛr, díd ɛr, ɛn 'ɛr ad)'nt aat tɛ bi rɛq in dh'ík

L pǝ'ínt, waa't d)ji dh'ík ?
 C wǝt d)jɛ th'ík ?
 E jiiɛr kíus, wǝt dǝst dhii dh'ík ?

8. L wɛl, ɛz ǝ'i wɛz ɛzái'in, 'shii)d tel)ji, ǝ'u wɛr ɛn wɛn
 C wɛl, ɛz ǝ'i wɛz ɛzái'in, ɛr ud tel)jɛ, ǝ'u
 E wéel, ɛz ǝ'i wɛz ɛzái'in, ɛr ud tel)dhɛ, ǝ'u wiiɛr ɛn wɛn

L ɛr fǝnd dhɛ drɛqk'n bii'st ɛr kaalz ɛr ɛzɛn.
 C ɛr fǝ'nd dhɛ drɛqkɛn bíast ɛz ɛr dɛ kaal ɛzɛn.
 E ɛr vǝnd dhɛ drɛqkɛn bjǝst ɛr kaalz ɛr mǝn.

9. L ɛr zoor ɛz ar zín im ɛdh ar ɛ'on ǝ'iz ɛlǝ'i'in
 C ɛr díd sweer ɛz ɛr díd sii im wíd ɛr ǝ'un ǝ'iz, ɛlǝ'i'in
 E ɛr sóovɛr ɛz ɛr sii im uth ɛr ǝ'un ǝ'iz ɛlá'i

L zɔrɛtjɛ a't vǝl lɛnth ɔn dhɛ grǝ'ond in iz zǝndɛ
 C ɛt fǝl lɛnth ɔn dhɛ grǝ'ond in iz sǝndi
 E stratjɛ ǝ'ut ɛt vǝl lɛnth ɔn dhɛ jaarth in dhǝt dhiiɛr gǝd

L kǝoo't, klaas bi dhɛ ǝ'us doo'r dǝ'un ɛt dhɛ kaarn'l
 C goo'in koot, kloos ɛgɛ'n dhɛ door ɔv iz ǝ'us ɛz dɛ stand
 E zǝndi kúuɛt ɛ iz'n, klǝs ɛgɛ'n dhɛ dáuvɛr ɛ dhɛ ǝ'us, dǝ'un

L ɛ dha't lɛɛ'n.
 C ɛt dhɛ kǝrnɛl ɔv dha't dheer lɛɛn.
 E ɛt dhɛ kaarn'il ɛ jǝndɛr láin.

10. L ɛ wɛz ɛwǝ'in'in ɛwái, zɛz-ɛr, vɛr aal dhɛ wǝrld lǝ'ík ɛ
 C im wɛr ɛwǝ'in'in ɛwái, ɛr dɛ sái, var aal dhɛ wǝrld lǝ'ík ɛ
 E ɛ wɛz ɛjǝ'u-lin ɛwái, sɛz ɛr, far aal dhɛ úwɛrld lǝ'ík ɛ

L zík jɛq)ɛn ar ɛ lit'l wɛnsh in ɛ vɛrɛt.
 C jɛq ɛn az iz baɔ, ar ɛ lit'l wɛntj ɛ ǝ'ul'in.
 E s'ík jɛq)ɛn ar ɛ lit'l wɛntj ɛz wɛz frɛtjɛt.

11. L ɛn dha't a'p'nd ɛz 'ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr laa kǝm
 C ɛn dha't dheer díd ap'n ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr'in laa díd kǝm
 E ɛn dhǝt wɛz dǝst ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr laa kǝm

L drǝ'u dhɛ ba'k jǝrd vɛrɛm a'q'in ǝ'ut dhɛ wɛt klɔoz
 C drǝ'u dhɛ gǝardiq aatɛr aq'in ǝ'ut dhɛ klwaz
 E drǝ'u dhɛ bǝk jaard wiiɛr ɛd bǝn ɛ a'q'in ǝ'ut dhɛ wǝɛt klɔoz

L tɛ drǝ'i ɔn ɛ wɛsh'in dá'i,
 C ɔn dhɛ lǝ'inz ɔn ɛ wɛsh'in dá'i,
 E tɛ drǝ'i ɔn ɛ wɛsh'in dá'i.

12. L wə'ɪl dɦe ket'ɪ wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɪn vɛr tii wɛn wə'ɪn brə'ɪt
 C wɛn dɦe ket'ɪ wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɪn fɛr tii, wɛn fə'ɪn
 E dɦe wə'ɪld dɦe ket'ɪ wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɪn fɛr tii, wɛn fə'ɪn brə'ɪt
- L zɛmɛr aatɛrnuun ɔɔni ɛ wɪk ɛɡuɪ kɛm nɛkst thɛzde.
 C zɛmɛrz aatɛrnuun ɔ'auli ɛ wɪk ɛɡə'u kɛm nɛkst thɛzɛzdi.
 E zɛmɛr aɛrnuun ɛnli ɛ wɪk ɛɡuɪ kɛm nɛt dɦɛzɛzdi.
13. L ɛn d)ɪ nɔ'u! ɔ'ɪ nɛvɛr lɛrnd nɔɔ mɔɔ'r nɛr dɦɪs
 C ɛn dɦu jɛ nɔ'u? ɔ'ɪ nɛvɛr iɪrd nɔɔ mɔɔr
 E ɛn dɛst dɦe nɔ'u, ɛz ɔ'ɪ nɛvɛr lɛrnd ɛni mɔmɛr nɛr dɦɪk
- L ɛ dɦa't bɪznɪs ɛp tɛ dɦɪs dɔi, ɛz zɦuɪ'r ɛz mɔi
 C ɔn)t ɛp tɛ dɦɪs iɪr dɔi, ɛz shuɪr ɛz mɔi
 E ɛ dɦɔt dɦɪɛr bɪznɪs tɪl tɛdɔi, ɛz shuɪr ɛz mɔi
- L nɛɛ'm)z :dʒa:n :shɛpɛrd, ɛn ɔ'ɪ doo)'nt wɔnt tu nɔɔ'ɪdɦɛr,
 C nɛɛm)z :dʒak :shɛpɛt ɛn ɔ'ɪ dɛ)na wɔnt tu niɪdɦɛr,
 E niɛm bi :dʒa:n :shɛpɛrt, ɛn ɔ'ɪ dɛ)ne wɔnt tɛ nɛdɦɛr,
- L dɦɛr nɔɔ'u!
 C zɛ dɦɛt bi dɦe ɛnd ɔn)t.
 E dɦɪɛr nɔ'u.
14. L ɛn zɔɔ ɔ'ɪ)r ɛɡwɛɛ'n wɛm tɛ sɛpɛr ɡud nɔɔ'ɪt, ɛn
 C ɛn zɔɔ ɔ'ɪ bi ɛɡwɛɛ'n wɛm tɛ ɛv zɛm zɛp'ɛr ɡud nɔɔ'ɪt, ɛn
 E ɛn sɔɔ ɔ'ɪ bi ɡwɛɛ'ɪn wɛm tɛ zɛpɛr ɡud nɔɔ'ɪt ɛn
- L doo'nt bi zɔ vaast tɛ kɪr'u ɔɔvɛr ɛ bɔdi ɛɡjɛ'n, wɛn
 C dɛ)ne bi zɛ ɛnkɔ'mɛn kɛɪk tɛ kɔk ɔ'uɛvɛr ɛ fɛlɛr ɛɡɛ'n, wɛn
 E dɛ)ne dɦe bi sɔ kɛɪk tɛ kɪr'u ɔvɛr ɛ bɔdi ɛɡɛ'n, wɛn
- L ɛ tɔɔks ɛ dɦɪs dɦa't ɛ tɔdɦɛr.
 C ɪm dɛ tɔɔk ɔv dɦɪs jɛr ɛr dɦat dɦɛɛr.
 E ɛ tɔɔks ɛ dɦɪk dɦɔt ɛr tɔdɦɛr.
15. L ɪt)s ɛ puɪ'r ɔ'uf ɛz pɛɛɛ'ts ɛdɦɔ'u't riiz'n. ɛn dɦa't)s
 C ɪm bii [ɪz] ɛ haas ɛz bii haalɪs ɛ dʒɔbɛrɪn rɔbɪsh. dɦɔt)s dɦu
 E ɪt)s ɛ daʌndɛrɪq ɔ'uf ɛz pɛɛɛ'ts ɛdɦɔ'u't zɛns. ɛn dɦɔt
- L mɔi laast wɔrd, ɡud bɔi.
 C bɛst niɪuz ɔ'ɪ ɛ ɡɔt fɛr ja, ɔ'uld bwa'i! nɔ'u ɔ'ɪ mɛn tɛɛk mɔi
 E bii mɔi laast ɪnɛrd, ɡud bɔi.
- L
 C danɪk, ɛr ɔ'ɪ sha)nt ɛv nɔɔ sɛpɛr—ɔk ɪt!
 E

Notes to L, the Ledbury es.

1. *neighbour*, not used in this way in the dialect. lately (dɦrɔ'u) is used, but here he said (dɦrɔ'u) not reverting (d r), a mere accident, few gentlemen learn to revert
4. *through*. Mr. G. said that iso-

(r) before a vowel. As to the *th*, Mr. Gregg gave, through (dhrə'ə), throw (thrə'u), thistle (diz'l), thin (dhīn), thieft (thīf), thick = that (dhik), which indicated an inconsistent usage.—*safe* (zeef) meaning sure, but a (zee'f) for meat; the word ought to begin with (s) theoretically.

5. *aye I would, I* becomes (i) under such circumstances, the pron. varying with the construction.

6. *won't her, her* is used for *she*, and the (r) is felt distinctly, as (want ə) would = *won't he*.

9. *own* (a'on) has a glide from the open to the rounded lips, (a) to (o). — *ground*, at first I wrote (a'g) considering the glide to be merely in the rounding, as in the last case, but subsequently (a'o) seemed to express it better, the position of the tongue being

also changed. Similarly *growth* was called (grə'oth), nearly (grə'ath). — *that lane*, (ɔn) is found in the dialect and might have been used here.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. Potts says *evening* would be used, Mr. Gregg just the reverse.

13. *shepherd* as a name has (sh), as an occupation (zh).

14. *I are*, this is rare, *I be* is common, *he are, he be* are never used, Mr. G. said that "be is invariably used by uneducated people with each of the personal pronouns both in the sing. and pl.," this is probably too wide an assertion. In this case (ə'i bi egwe'e'n) would be more usual, the (e-) is prefixed only to the present, not to the past participle. *Thou* is not found, but *thee bist, thee wust* are constantly used.

Notes to C, or the Much Cowarne es.

15. *He is an ass as he always jabbering rubbish. That's the best news I have got for you, old boy. Now I must take my damnick or I shan't have no supper. Hook it!* The word *damnick* was not explained, it may mean *quitters* for which *damnick* is used in N1.

Mr. Hallam obtained in 1881 from Mrs. Sarah Griffiths in almshouses at Hereford, b. 1816 at Much Cowarne, where she lived till 7 and afterwards from 10 to 20, the following words, which are very fair D 4.

A- 21 nēm. A: or O: 64 ròq'. A'- 67 ə'i bi gwàin wòm [I am going home]. A': 106 bræad. ÆE- 138 fædhu. ÆE: 161 də'n, mīd' dèi. ÆE'- 200 wīt'. ÆE'- 218 shìp', 223 dhèer, 224 wèer. E- 233

spük. E: 261 sâ'i, 262 wâi, — fâd [field], 279 wēt. E'- 290 i, 299 grâm, 314 ærd. EA: 322 lî', 324 á'it', 326 ádd. EA'- 347 jâ'd. EA': 350 dî's'd [approaching (dî'ad)]. E1- 373 dhá'i. EO': — ə'i sîd ìm [I saw him]. I: 452 ə'v, 458 nə't', 469 ə'i ù'na [I won't]. I'- 494 tə'âm. O: 531 dæter, 538 ùd, — krəp [crop], 552 kâ'rn. O'- 555 shuu, 559 mædhu, 562 muun. O': 587 dâ'n. U- 603 ekə'm'in [a coming], 605 sâ'n, 606 dæn, 653 bæt'. U': 663 ə'os'. U. — mæd' [mud]. A.. — plâ'in'ish [plainish], 841 tɔ'ns, 851 nēunt [aunt]. — gj'ard'n. E.. 892 nɛvū. E.. 899 mī'. O.. — bīt' [beef], — nœk'l' [uncle]. TH. considers that unaccented (i) should be written (i) here and elsewhere.

Notes to E, or the Eggleton es.

Miss Piper seemed to have no rule for (s, z; f, v) initial and said they were used "indiscriminately." She wrote with (s) sick, swore, see [=saw], swite [blow], spittal [=spade], swill, so, sure, safe, and with (z), say, some, Sunday, suner, sense; and sometimes with (s) and sometimes with (z) seed and zeed, to sow and to zough, cider and zider, summut and zummat. Again she wrote with (f) from, far, frechet-like, for, fine, further, fot [=fetched], and with r few, father, voice, found, full, fallow, field, vetches, fill, feet, rictnal, four. Miss Mary Piper found

these usages correct. If they were, they shewed that at this distance from the centre the instincts of the dialect were no longer felt.

In the same way in construction Miss Piper used *hims* for *his*, which seems a late development, and Miss Mary Piper said was rare. Again *him* had nearly superseded *un* for the acc. *hinc*. Although in the examples, *I, he* are never used for the acc. emphatic, Miss Piper considered it common. Miss M. Piper, also said that *think, thing* had (dh) and sure, sheep had (zh).

Miss Piper's extra specimens for Eggleton, with her translation interlined.

1. *mæester*, *bii ə'í v gwáí'in tɛ ərə dhɛ pi:ns* *ɛnənt*
master, am I a going to harrow the piece (of land) opposite to
dha vələ vild?
the fallow field?
2. *ə'í kə)nɛ tɪək dhəm dhú:ɪr əsez drə'u dhat dhú:ɪr jət.*
I cannot take those horses through that gate.
3. *dhú:ɪr bjənt zid-vatjɛz ɛnəf [ɛnə'u] tɛ zə'u dhɛ vild ɛnənt*
there are-not seed vetches enough to sow the field opposite
dhɛ plək ɛn íf ɛr wɛz ʌl drɔʃt ɛz bii in dhɛ
the plock (small field) and if they were all threshed that are in the
barn, 'lard! ə'í də)na dhí:k ɛz dhá'ɪd vɪl v wɪskɛt vəl
barn, Lord! I do,not think that they-would fill a basket full
ɛnəf [ɛnə'u] tɛ jəp in əp fərdɛr nɛr dhɛ brɪm.
enough to heap it up further than the brim.
4. *ɛz ái wɛz ɛgwáí'in də'ɔn dhɛ lú:n, ə'í sii dhɛ bwái at dhɛ*
as I was a going down the lane, I saw the boy at the
gafɛrɪz əp'lz ʊθ dhɛ brəd-ək, ɛn, bə'í gəm! ái dɪd
gaffer's [master's] apples with the broad-hook, and, by gom! I did
gɪv hɪm v swə'ít ʊθ dhɛ spítel rə'ít ɔn iz jəd.
give him a blow with the spade right on his head.
5. *dhú:ɪr in wɛz ɛlái ɛnəq dhɛ dəd-dək ɛn mələk djəst ɛz íf*
there he was a-lying among the dead-wood and dirt just as if
v wɛz djəd.
he were dead.
6. *v wɛz bəd, nɔ vú:ɪr, v wɛr)nt jəb'l tɛ jət, ɛn ə'í tɛld ɛn ɛz*
he was bad, no fear, he was)not able to eat, and I told him that
íf in ʊd gu ɛn swɪl inz vú:ɪs in dhɛ brək ɛz v kəd go
if he would go and swill his face in the brook that he could go
atɛr dhɛ stú:ɪrɪz ɛn fɔdɛr ɛm.
after the steers and feed them.
7. *sɔ v gət ɔn inz tu:n vɪt ɛn ə'í pət in in dhɛ kí:ɪrt, ɛn*
so he got on his two feet and I put him in the cart, and
gɛn in v kɛk tɛ stɪk in dhɛ sə'í:dɛr [zə'í:dɛr] kɛg, sɔ ɛz v
gave him v keck to stick in the cider keg, so that he

kʉd gɛt zɛmɛt tɛ drɪŋk ɔtɛr ɪz vɪtɛl.
could get something to drink after his food [victual].

8. mɛ'ɪ ʉmɛn fɪɹd ɛbɔ'ʉt ɪt, dhɛ wɔ'ɪld ɛr wɛz sɔ'ɪɪn dhɛ mɪlk,
my wife heard about it, the while she was straining the milk,

ɛn, bɔ'ɪ gɔsh! shɪ dɪd gu ɔn; ɛr)z ʉʉɪz frɛtʃtɛlɔ'ɪk.
and, by gosh! she did scold; she's always cross.

9. ɔ'ɪ mɛt drɪɪ ʉmɛn vɔok ɛnɛnt dhɛm dhɪɹ ɔ'ʉz'n ɛ ʃʉʉɹɹ;
I met three women [woman folk] opposite those [there] houses of yours;

dhɪɪ wɛz ɛ-magɪn ɛn ɛmɪɪkɪn mɪʉɛr nɪɪz nɛr vɔ'ʉɛr ʉndɛɹt
they were a chattering and making more noise than four hundred

mɛnkɔ'ɪnd ʉd.
men [man's kind] would.

10. tʃɔrlz wɛz ʉlɔ'ɔ, ɛn ɛr ʉʉ tɛrɹnd ɪntʉ dhɔt dhɪɹ vɔ'ʉld
Charles was along, and they all turned into that [there] fold-yard

ɛ ɪz'n, ɛn drɛv dhɛ shɪp ɪntʉ dhɛ bʉzɪ ʉth ɔ'ʉɛrɹ.
of his, and drove the sheep into the shed with ours.

VAR. iv. THE SOUTH-EASTERN OR Do. FORM.

Proceeding s.wards from Wl. we come to Do. The dialect is essentially the same, but at the e. end the (v, z) are less used for (f, s), a matter of education. The (áɪ) varies much as (ɛɛ'ɪ) and occasionally even (ii). The A- is rather (ɛv, ɛɛ') than (ɪv, ɪ') and falls into (ɛɛ) rather than (ii). The first example, a dt., was kindly given me vv. by Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, to whom the dialect was very familiar, and represents the pronunciation of her own district, Hanford (4. nw.Blandford). The same lady had also assisted Rev. E. A. Dayman of Shillingstone (5 nw.Blandford) to fill up a wl., which she subsequently went over with me vv., see p. 80.

A es. was obtained from Mr. Clarke, native of Cranborne (12 enc.Blandford), and was pal. by me from dict. of Major-General Michel, being subsequently corrected in a few points by correspondence with Mr. Clarke, who was Master of the Schools at Ringwood, Ha. (19 wsw.Winchester), the dialect of which place he found to be the same as his own. This was confirmed by a few words I obtained vv. from a carter, native of the place, and from a wl. furnished by Mr. W. W. Farr from the comparatively dialectless district about Christchurch (20 sw.Southampton), and other indications, so that this strip of Ha. is reckoned dialectally as e. Do.

Finally the late Rev. W. Barnes, Winterborne Came, well known through his Do. poems, took great pains with a es., which he wrote in a systematic orthography (see p. 80), and kindly explained by correspondence where any difficulty occurred. He also filled up a

wl. for me, which is given on p. 80, embracing also the most important words in the Cranborne, Hanford, Shillingstone, and East Lulworth (12 se. Dorchester). The Cranborne and Winterborne Came es. are given interlinearly for more easy comparison.

HANFORD, Do.

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour.

1. zoo wə'i dɛ zEE'i, mi lædz, juu dɛ zii nə'ou dhæt wə'i bi rhəw'it
ba'out dhɪk dheer lɪ'tl mɑ'd kom'en frəm dɛ sku:l əp
ʒɒndɜr.
2. shii bi gə'n də'oum dɛ rhooð DRUU dɛ rhed gɪt ən dɛ lhɪft
hænd zəw'ɪd ɛv dɛ wɑ'i.
3. shuu'r ɛnɛf dɛ tʃəw'ɪld hɛv ɛ)gə'n strɪhɑit əp tu dɛ dɔʊr
ɛv dɛ rɪhɑq hɑ'ous.
4. weer shi mɪd tʃɑns tɛ vəw'ɪnd dhɪk dheer DRUƏqk'ɛn dɛf
shruəmd wɔld tʃɛp bəw'i nɛe'm ɛv :rɪhɪtʃɛd.
5. wii dɛ aal nə'ou ɛn tɛrb'l wɛl.
6. ʌnt dɛ wɔld tʃɛp suun lɛrn shi nɔt tɛ duu ɛt ɛgɪ'n, puu'r
szəʊd!
7. lɜk)i dheer! ɪd)'nd-ɪt TRUU?

Notes to Hanford dt.

1. *Say*, not (zai). The words in ÆG wl. 139 to 148, 160 to 166, EG 237 to 243, 257 to 264, EI 372 to 382, and EY 438, 439, are very variously treated in this form of the dialect: see these numbers in the following owl. But in thus pronouncing disconnected words some errors may have crept in. *Mates* not used; (*my zən*) is a common address even to an old man. *Now*, the diphthong sounded between (ɛw) and (əu) and I think the effect was produced by commencing the first element without rounding, producing (ɛw) and then running on to əu, giving (ɛəw), at least I thus imitated it to Mrs. CKS.'s satisfaction.

2. *Road*, the (r), not (r), at the beginning of a syllable, was aspirated: when I used (rh) it was recognised as

incorrect. *Left*, the voiceless (lh) was distinct and insisted on.

3. *Going*, the sound was rather uncertain: I wrote both (gə'n) and (gə'n).

3. *Strait* and 4. *Dranken*, the aspiration of (r) was apparently shewn by jerking out the following vowel, otherwise Mrs. CKS. seemed to say (TRƏqkɛn).

4. *Shrammed*, properly starved with cold.

5. *Know*, the (əw) was long and distinct and almost (oo), the (u) was a full (u); the effect (əuu) was therefore different from the usually (əw) where (u) is not completely reached. *Terribly*, i.e. *very*; common in all Southern dialects.

11. *Soul*, the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is gradually led.

TWO INTERLINEAR EAST DORSET es. (see p. 75).

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|--------|-------|-----|-----|---------|
| 0. C | <i>Cranborne.</i> | wa'i | :dʃɒn | gɔt | nəʊ | də'uts. |
| W | <i>Winterborne Came.</i> | whəw'i | :dʃɒn | hɛ | nuu | də'uts. |
-
- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----|-----|-------|------|----|-------|-------|
| 1. C | wɛl, nɛɛbɜr, juu ɛn | ii | mɪd | búuɛθ | laɪf | ɛt | dhɪɛz | niúuz |
| W | wɛl, náibɜr, juu ɛn | hii | mɪd | búuθ | laɪf | ɛt | whɔt | wə'i |

C v ma'in. nu de kíer? dha't)s ná'idher i'r ne
W de tel)i. en whot if ja' duu? dha't)s nò'idher híer ner

C dher.
W dhíer.

2. C viúu men de da'i, bikò's dhe bi laaft et, wii de noo,
W viúu vook de dæ'i e bi'en laaft a't, wi de noo,

C do)'nt as? wot shiúeld míek)em? t)id)'n veri' læ'ikli,
W doo)'nt wi? whot shud míek)em? t)id)'n veri' læ'ikli,

C iz it?
W iz it?

3. C uuzui'ver dhíez bi dhe fa'ks e)dhe)ki's. zuu djíst
W w'useme'ver t)iz djíst ez æ'i shul tel)i. zuu djíst

C whoold dha'i taq, míet, en bi kœa'i'et t)il æ'i)v e)ðan.
W hoold jbr ná'iz, gud ma'n, en be kœa'i'et t)il æ'i)v e)ðan.

C nhaa'rk)i!
W ha'rk)i!

4. C æ'i bi sært'n æ'i júerd)em zái, zam e dhe vooks dhet
W æ'i)m sa'kten æ'i híerd)en zii, zam e dhem vook dhet

C went druu dhe wul dhíq vròm dhe vást dherze'lvz, dha't
W zid dhe húel æ)t vròm dhe vást te laa'st. dha't

C æ'i did, síef enæf.
W æ'i did, síef enæf.

5. C dhet dhe jaqst zan izze'lf, e gært búói e na'in, nood híz
W dhet dhe jaqgest zan hízze'lf, e gært bú'oi e nò'in, nood híz

C feedherz vóis et uuns, dhoo it wær za kœeer en skœ'ek'in,
W faa'dherz vá'is et uuns, dhoo t)wær ze kœ'eer en skœ'iki,

C en æ'i)d træst)'n te spíek dhe truuth eni dái. áai,
W en æ'i)d tíek híz wærd mi dá. dha't

C æ'i ud!
W æ'i ud!

6. C en dhe woold umen herze'lf il tel eni)ev)i dhet de laaf
W en dhe ũoold umen herze'lf ul tel ini)e)i dhe síem, dhoo

C næ'u, en tel)i stree'it æf, tuu, wi'æ'u't
W juu de laaf nò'u, en tel)i æ'utræ'i't, tuu, va'st

C matj bodher if juu)l ooni a'ks her, oo wo)'nt er?
W enæf. if juu)l oonli a'ks er, aa', æ'i 'bliiv shi 'ul?

7. C li'stwEE'iz shi túeld it mii, wEN a'i a'kst)ER, tuu ER DRii
 W et líest shi túeld 'mii, wHEN a'i a'kst)ER, tuu ER DRii
 C ta'imz oOVER, shi did, en 'shii did)'n AA'et te bi raq en
 W taw'imz AAVER, shi did, en 'shii AAT'n te bi matj w'ut
 C s'itj e púó'nt ez dh's, wət)ez 'dhii dh'qk?
 W epen s'itj e púw'nt ez 'dha't, whət de 'juu dh'qk?
8. C wEL ez a'i wEZ e)zá'i'in shii)d tEL)i, a'u wER en
 W wEL ez w'i wER e)zú'en, shii)d tEL)i haw'u en whөөER, en
 C wEN shi vA'und dhe DRaqk'n bíes shi de kaal her
 W wh'in shi vaw'un dhe DRaqk'q bíest ez shi de kaal her
 C əzben.
 W həzben.
9. C shi zOO'R shi zid)'n w'i ER oON a'iz e)lEE'in STREtjt
 W shi zúER dhət shi zid)'n w'i ER oON w'iz e)lAw'i'en e)STRA'tjt
 C et vul leqkth en dhe grA'un, in h'iz bíes zANDi
 W w'nt et vul la'qth epen dhe grAw'un, in h'iz bEst zANDi
 C kúuet, klúes, bii dhe dúER e)dhe a'us, dA'un et dhe kA'NER
 W kúet, klúes bii dhe dúER e)dhe haw'us, daw'un et dhe kA'NER
 C e)dhe kEN JANDER.
 W e)JANDER kEN.
10. C hii wER wA'in'in wWEE'i, zES shii, vER AAL dhe wA'RL
 W dh'ER hi wER, shi zED, e wh'impEREN, vER AAL dhe wA'RL
 C la'ik e zik tja'ild ER)e, lit'l mee'id e)wRET'n.
 W lAw'ik en a'ilen tja'w'il, ER)e fretvul lit'l máid.
11. C aal 'dha't wER wHEN shii en her daater-in-laa
 W en dha't ha'p'md ez shii en her daater-in-laa wER
 C kam DRuu dhe ba'k jA'RD vRəm aqen a'ut dhe wET
 W e)kAMEN DRuu dhe ba'k jA'RD vRəm ha'qen w'ut e dhe wET
 C klóoz te drA'i. en e wEESHEN DEE'i.
 W klóoz te drAw'i epen dHER wASHEN dE'i.
12. C wA'il dhe kA'd'l wER bA'ilin FER tii nuu brA'it
 W whAw'il dhe kA't'l wER e)Búw'ilen vER tii nuu fAw'in brAw'it
 C zAMER aATERnuu, ooni e wiik eguu kam neks dharzdi.
 W zAMER a'fTERnuu, oonli e wik eguu kam neks dharzdi.
13. C en dast dhi noo? a'i never la'RT ENi moO'r dHEN dh's e
 W en d)i noo? dha't)s aa'l)z i'vER w'i hA'RD e

C dha't dʒəb əp te tɔdeeli ez shúner)z ma'i níem iz
W dha't dʒəb vrem vɛst te ha'ɪst, ez truuz mɔ'i níem iz

C :dʒən :shéperɔ, en a'i do')nt want te
W :dʒən :shéperɔ, en wɔ'i doo)nt wɔnt te híer íni múer o)t

C nǎdher. dbeer nɛu.
W nǎdher. dhíer nɔ'u.

14. C en zuu a'i bi v)gɔa'ien wúem [húem] te zəpar. gud
W en zuu wɔ'i)m v)gúu'en húem te səper. gud

C ná'it en do')nt)i bi zuu kɔ'ik te kroo oovɛr v bɔdi egien
W nɔ'it en doo)nt)i bi sɛ redi te kroo aavɛr v bɔdi egien

C wen híi de taa'k v dhís, dha't or t)ǎdher.
W íf híi de spíik v wɔrd v dhís, dha't ɛr t)ǎdher.

15. C t)iz v week fúuel dhɛt tʃa'ɪts ɛdha'ut rɛz'n.
W t)iz v níni dhɛt de taa'k ɛdha'ut íni grɔ'ʌnz var)t.

C en dha't)s ma'i kɛəst wɛrd. gud bú'a'i.
W v dha't)s aal wɔ'i ha'v te zii. gud bú'w'i.

Notes to W, or Winterborne Came.

1. *at what I do tel ye*, or, (wɔ'im v)gúu'en te tel'i); *h* aspirated in *what*. This variant occurs in another copy which Mr. Barnes sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte. These variants will be marked LLB. in future.

2. *very* (oovɛr) LLB.

3. *'t is just as I shall tel ye*, (dhíz iz dʒɪst hɔ'u t wɔrk) LLB. *good man*, (mɔ'i gud saal) LLB. *hark ye*, (hark'n te wɔt wɔ'i de zii) hearken to what I do say, LLB.

4. *certain*, or (shuu'ɛr). *say*, Mr. Barnes says Do.(zii), not (zái). Gen. Michel gave (zee'i) which Mr. Clarke corrected to (zái). *safe* (sɪf) LLB.

5. *great*, or rather (ha'rd). *father's*, or (feedherz). *squeaky*, or (skúik'n-lɔ'ik). *I would take his word for it*, (wɔ'id trɛst híi vɛr spɔ'iken dhu trɛuth) I would trust *he* for speaking the truth, LLB.

6. *laugh*, (glín zuu) sneer so, LLB. Mr. B. says he did not catch the meaning of the original. *fast enough*, (widhɔ'wɛt íni shá'li sha'li) without any shilly shally. Gen. Michel said that *bother* was used in the country. *Ah, I believe she will*, (dha't shi wɛl) that she will, LLB.

7. *at least* (ímhɔ'u) LLB. *told me*, “(túeld) is nearer than túald,” says Mr. B. (túeld it wɔnt te wɔ'i) told it out to me, LLB. *She oughtn't to be much out*. (ka'ɪnt bi máɪt wɔnt) can't be much out, LLB., or (vɛri rɔɪ) very wrong, not (rɔhɔɪ), which is the rung of a ladder. *upon such a point as that*, (in sɪtɪ a dhɪɔ ez dhís), LLB. *What do you think?* (dʒɛ dhɪɔk shi ka'ɪn?) LLB.

8. *as* (dhɛt), LLB.

9. *swore*, (vɔ'ud) vowed, LLB. *stretched out* (strá'it wɔnt) straight out, LLB. *close by the door*, (rɔ'ít əp əgíen dhe dúer) right up against the door, LLB. *Of yonder lane* (v dhe líen wɔnt lɔndɛr) LLB.

10. *world*, (wɔrel), LLB. *ailing*, (zík) LLB. *fretful* (rɛtvul) with 'i' not 'v', or (v lí't l má'íd v)frɛt'n) a little maid a-fretting.

11. *daughter*, or (deetɛr). *were a-coming*, (kam) LLB.

12. *that's all that ever I heard of that job from first to last*. (wɔ'i never híerd íni múer v dhíz dʒɔb, dhen wɔt wɔ'v ɛtúeld) I never heard any more of this job than what I've a-told you, LLB. *true as* (shuu'r ɛz), LLB. *I don't want to hear any more of it neither, there*

now, (œ'i doo)nt wənt tə hɪər ɪni mʊər nədher, zuu dhɪər nœ'u) I don't want to hear any more to hear any more neither, so there now.

14. *if he do speak*, (whɪn hi də taa'k) when he do talk, LLB.

15. *ninny*, soft poll, LLB. *that do talk without any grounds for it*, or (də let hɪz taq rhan voo'r hɪz ʊit) do let his tongue run afore his wit.

EAST DORSET cwl. combined from several sources.

C Mr. Clarke's Cranbourne (12 ene. Blandford), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Major-Gen. Michel.

H Hanford, from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, from dict., rather refined.

L East Ludworth, (12 se. Dorchester) from Rev. Walter Kendall.

W Winterborne Came (2 sse. Dorchester) from Rev. W. Barnes, his wrl., es. and phonetic part of his Grammar, translating his systematic orthography of figures thus :

long short

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>sheep</i> pity (ii i). | 5. It. <i>a</i> long It. <i>a</i> short (aa' a'). |
| 2. Dorset <i>e</i> ship (ii i), this (ii) has hardly been given me by any others. | 6. <i>ave</i> dot (AA, ə). |
| 3. <i>mate</i> bet (ee E). | 7. rope lull (oo, ə). |
| 4. Fr. <i>le</i> long Fr. <i>le</i> short (œ v). | 8. <i>rood</i> It. <i>u</i> short (uu u). |

Diphthongs 4. 1. (œ'i), 5. 1. (âi), 6. 1. (ô'i), 4. 8. (æ'u), 1. 4. (iæ, iu). I never had the advantage of hearing Mr. Barnes read.

Note.—The pron. is said to be smooth, clear, and up and down in pitch.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

When C is placed only after sounds, Mr. Barnes agrees with Mr. Clarke. When C is placed before sounds, it gives Mr. Clarke's pr. only.

A- 3 WL biék, H béek. 4 L tiek, H téek. 5 W miék, C miék, H méek. 6 W miéd, H méed. 7 H séek. 10 L aa. 16 H daa'n. 17 W laa, CL laa. 18 W kiek. 19 WL tiel, H táil. 20 L liem, H lee'm. 21 niem, C níem, H néem. 22 H téem. 23 H séem. 24 H shéem. 25 W máin. 34 W lest, la'st, laa'st, C lea'st, H le'est. 36 H thoó. 37 L klaa, H flaa.

A: — W ka'g [keg]. — W rha'm [a ram]. 39 C kam. 41 W tha'qk. 43 H haend. 45 L wa'nt. 48 W za'q. 50 W toqz. 52 W wən. 54 W wənt, C want. 55 H ves. 56 W wəsh, C weesh, H wooshi. 57 W a's, H a'es.

A: or O: 58 W frəm, C frəm, H frum. 64 C raq, H rhaq, rhaq.

A'- 67 W v)guu'ən, C v)gʊv'ən [going]. 69 L nuu. 70 L tuu. 72 LC uu. 73 zuu H and C, H zoo. 74 tuu. 76 W túed, H tóed. 77 HL lard. 79 oon C. 81 W lían, C lí'n, H láin. 82 uuns. 84 W múer, C móoer, H móer. 85 W zúer. 86 W úets, L woots, H wots, wáuts, wets [different appreciations]. 87 W klóoz, C klóoer. 89 W búeth, C búeth. 92 W noo and C, H noou [with (oo) and (u) distinct, not a vanish]. 94 kroo C. 97 H szóou [the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is led].

A': 101 W ūook, úek, L wook, H óuk. 102 W a'ks, H aa'sk. 104 W róod, H rhoo [r(h) was recognised as wrong]. 106 brood. 108 W doo. 109 W loo. 110 H not. 111 W aat, C aa't, H aat. 113 W húel, C wul. 115 W háum, C wu'm, hu'm. 117 WC umm [Mr. B. also writes *woone*]. 118 W búan and L, H bo'n. 119 H gó'n, ga'n. 120 W egu, C egu. 122 nuu, C noo [no], núen [none]. 124 L stúen, H stó'n. 125 W oonli, C ooni. 126 W oor. 127 W hóoes. 128 H [(dh)ik, dh(e) used]. 129 H góst. — W lúeth [loth]. — W rhoo [a row or rank]. 137 WC nadher.

Æ- 138 W faa'dher, fevdher, LC feedher. 139 W drá'i, H dree'i. 140 WL há'iel, H háil. 141 W ná'iel, H náil. 142 W sná'iel. 143 W tá'iel, H táil. 144 WH egíen, C egi'n. 145 slá'in and H. 146 má'in and H. 147 brá'in and H. 148 feer. 149 H bláiz. 150 W liest, L and C liest. — W siit [a seat].

Æ: 154 WC ba'k. 158 W eef'ER. 160 W a'g, H aeg. 161 W dái, C dáí, CH DEE'í, L dáí, dee. 163 W líi, H láí. 164 HC [(mid) more used], H máí. 165 WH zed. 166 WL má'id, C mee'id, H máid. 169 W whán when, HC wen, H whán. — W whiq [a wing]. — ha'ps [hasp]. — wa'ps [wasp]. 171 W beer'áo'í. 175 W va'st. — W liet [late]. 177 H dhæt [(dh)k] also used, Mr. Barnes says, for shaped objects]. 179 W what, C wat. 180 H béeth. —

Æ': 182 W síi, L see. 183 L teetj. 185 W riid, H rhiid. 191 W híil, H híiel. 192 L meen, H míien. 193 W klíen, L kleen. — lien. 194 W ini, C eni. 195 W míni. 199 W blít. 200 W whít, L weet. 201 W híidh'n, L eedh'n. 202 L het, H het.

Æ': 203 L speetj, H spíietj. — W mínd [mead]. 205 W DRÍD. 206 H rbed. 208 W íver. 209 C never. 210 W klíi, H klái. 211 W gríi. 212 W whii. 213 WH á'idhur. 214 W náo'idhur, C náidhur. 215 H taat. 216 H díiel. 217 W íitj, L eetj. — W glíim [gleam]. 220 W shep'ERD, C shép'ERD. 221 H fee'r. 223 W dhíer, C dher, H dhee'r. 224 W whee'ER, C war, H wee'r. 225 L vlesh. — W strít [street]. 227 WC wet.

E- 232 H brék. — W bríitj [breach]. 233 spíik, C spíek, H spék. 236 H íiver. 237 W blái'n. 239 W sái'íEL, H sái'l. 240 W lá'in. 241 W rhá in, L ráin, H rhéin. 243 WL plái'i, H plái. — W stíil [to steal]. 245 W míil. 247 W wíin. 248 W míer, H mee'r. 249 H wee'r. 250 H swé'ER. 251 W míit, H méit. — W íit [to eat]. 252 W kí'l kí'l, C kí'd'l, H kí'l.

E: — W híiv [heave]. 256 W strá'tit, C stré'tit [stretched]. 260 H láí. 261 W zii, C zái zEE'í. — W tráí [a tray]. — W lá'g [leg]. 262 W wái'i, C weei, H wái wee'í. 263 CW ewEE'í. 264 W á'id. 265 W strá'tit, C strEE'it, H strú'á't [RH after st replacing rh]. 266 H wel. 269 W dher'ER'lvz [dhemselves]. 270 H i. bE'as, ii. bæli. 271 W tel. 272 W ELUM. — W helum [the helm]. 273 W mán. 275 H stí'ush. 276 W dhí'qk. 277 H DRí'ush. 281 W lá'qth, C leqkth, H læqkth. 282 H stræ'qkth. 284 LH DRí'ash. — W bést [to burst]. — W zet [to set], W set [a set]. — W best, b'as [best].

E'- 293 W wii. 294 H spíid. 296 W blíiv, H bíliiv. 298 W tí'l. 300 HL kíp. 302 H míit. 303 H swíit. E': — bríitj [breach]. 305 H hoo'í. 307 H náo'í. 308 H níit. 309 HW spíid. 310 H híi'l. 311 W ten. 312 W híer, C ár, H híer. 314 W hí'ERD, C jí'ERD, H háRD. 315 H fíit. 316 W neks.

EA- 317 W flái'i, H flái. — íel [ale]. 320 C kíer.

EA: 322 W be'f, lá'f, C laa'f. 324 W á'it, H áit. 325 H waak. 326 ú'old, LC woold, H wald. 327 W bú'old. 328 W kú'old, H koold. 329 W vú'old, vúneld. 330 W hoold, C whoold. 332 CW tú'eld. 333 L keef, H kaaf. 334 W be'f, L heef, H haaf. 335 WC aal, H aal. 336 W vaal [the fall of the year is íaal], H faal. 337 H waal. 338 W kaal, C kaal. 340 W ía'RD, C ja'RD. 342 W íern, H jœrn. 343 LH waarn. — víern [fern]. — íern [earn]. 346 W gíet, LH gíet gee't.

EA'- 347 W há'hd. 348 W ó'íz, C á'íz. — W bíit [to beat]. 349 WC vuu. EA': 351 W íd. 352 W rí'd, H rhed. 353 W bréd. 355 W díf, L díif, H de'f. 357 W dhoo. 359 W ná'íER, LC nee'ER. — W síim [a seam]. — W stríim [stream]. 361 WL bú'm. 364 H trép. 365 W níER. — W níit [neat, cattle]. 366 W gœRT, HC gERT. 370 H raal. 371 W stræe, H straa'l.

EI- 372 W á'í, C áai, H EE'í. 373 L dhái, H dhEE'í. 374 ná'í, H nee'í. 375 rheez. 376 bá'ít, H báit. EI: 377 H stee'k. 378 W wí'k, C week, H wheek. 379 W há'íl. 381 W swá'in, H swen.

EO- 383 W zEV'n zeb'n. EO: 388 H m'lk [as nearly as I could appreciate, same as D 10]. 390 C shí'úld. 394 WCH JÓ'NDER. 402 W hí'ERN, C ía'RN, H íERN. 405 W haarth.

EO'- 409 H híi. 411 WH DRíi. 412 WH shíi [emphatic]. 413 W dív'l. 416 H dí'ER. 420 W vó'úER, H foo'r. 421 H fárti. EO': 424 H rháf. — W wíil [a wheel]. 427 H bí. 428 WH zii. 430 W frí'nd, H fríind. 431 H bí'ER. 433 W bríst. 436 W TRUU, H TRÍUU.

EY- 438 W dáo'í, C dá'í, H dáí. EY: 439 TRÁST.

I- 440 W wík, C wí'k. 444 W stó'íEL, H stó'íl. 446 W náo'in and H, C ná'in. — W en [him, acc.]. 448 H [(dh)ú'zíER, dhíiz'm] used].

I: 452 W and H wá'i, C á'i. 455 H læ'i. 458 W næ'it, C næ'it. 459 H rhæ'it. 460 wá'it, H wæ'it. 465 L sítj. 466 tʃæ'íl, C tʃæ'íld, H tʃæ'íld. 467 H wæ'íeld. 468 H tʃæ'dern. 469 ul [in the Vale of Blackmore (wól wæl, wyl)]. — WL rhím [a rim]. 471 H tímber. 474 H rhæ'índ. 475 H whénd. 477 H væ'íend, H væ'índ. 480 C dhíq. — W rhíq [a ring]. 481 H vǝqǝr. 484 C dhíez, H [(dhis-ir) used]. — W krips [crisp]. — W ziks [six].

I'- 490 H bæ'i. 491 H sæ'i. 492 H zæ'íd. 493 L dreev, H drhæ'ív. 494 WH tæ'im, C tæ'im. 496 H æ'íærN. 497 W ɛrhæ'íz. 499 L bit'l.

I': 500 W læ'íklí, C læ'íklí. 501 H wæ'íd. 502 WL væ'ív, H fæ'ív. 503 H læ'íf. 504 H næ'íf. 505 H wæ'ít. 506 WL umen, H ɔmen. 507 H wímín-vók. — W háí. 508 H mæ'íl. 509 WH whæ'íl, C wæ'íl. 510 C mæ'in. 511 H wæ'in. 512 H spæ'íer. 513 H wæ'íer. 515 H wæ'íz.

O: 519 W aaver, C oover. 520 H bæ'ou [see 643]. — W boord [bored]. 524 W wærl, C wærl, H wærlD, [(wærd'l) not known]. — W droot [throat]. O: — W gæspel [gospel]. 525 C ɔf. 526 H kaaf. 531 W daater, HC daater. 534 W hool. 535 W vook. 536 WH guld. 537 W muold. — W hoóm [a holm island]. — W holer [hollow]. 541 C wɔ'nt, H ɔnt. 546 WC vɛr. — ɔrtjɛd [orchard]. 547 búoerd, H bóerd. 548 H íoerd. 550 CH wærd. 551 WH staarm. 552 WH kaarn. 553 WH haarn. 554 H kra's.

O'- 558 H læk, bíek. 559 WH mæ'íedher. 560 W skuu'l. 561 [L (bluuth) used], H blíem. 562 H mæ'íen. 564 H suun. 567 W tjadher C.

O': 569 W bæk, H bíek. 570 W tæk, H tíek. 571 W gad. 572 W blád. 575 H stá'ud. 576 W whenzdi. 579 WH enaf. 586 WH duu [doo'nt, C do'nt don't]. 587 W ɛdæn. 588 WC num, H núen. 589 H spá'íen. 590 H flá'íer. 591 H mæ'íer. 592 W zúer, C zó'r. 594 H bú'et. 595 H fí'nt. 596 W rhuut.

U: 601 W vœul. 603 W ɛkamen [a-coming], H komen. 604 W zæmer. 605 W zæn. 606 CW dáer, H dóoer. U: 609 C vœl, fuul. 610 H uul. 612 W zæm. 614 H nhæ'índ. 616 W græ'um, C græ'um. 619 W vœ'un, C vœ'und. — W rhœq [rung of a ladder]. 625 C tæq. 627 WC zandí. 629 W sæn, H zæn. 630 W wœn, H whœn. — W hantmen. 631 WC dhærzdi. 632 H ɛp. 633 H káp. — W vœrz [firs]. 634 WHC druu. 639 WL dæ'ust.

U'- 641 hæ'u, C æ'u, [and] æ'useme'vɛr, C uuzu í'vɛr [howsoever]. 642 [not used generally, except to children or when wrangling]. 643 næ'u, C næ'u, H næ'ou [the diphthong seemed to be made into a triphthong by beginning with the mouth open and the tongue in the position for (o) and closing up to (u), this is what (æ'ou implies: and so in all other cases; this triphthong was heard only from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour]. 646 H bæ'ou. 647 H æ'ou. 648 H [(æ'ourN) used]. 650 H bæ'out. U': 655 W fæ'ul, H fæ'oul [see 643]. 656 rhuun and H. 658 W dæ'un, C dæ'un, H dæ'oun [see 643]. 663 W hæ'us, C æ'us, H hæ'ous [see 643]. 665 H mæ'ous. 666 W hæzben, C æzben. 667 W æ'ut. 671 H mæ'outh. 672 H sæ'outh.

Y: 673 W mæ'tj. 674 W díd. 675 W dræ'í, H drhæ'í, C dra'í. 676 H læ'í. 679 W tʃɛtj, H tʃɛtj. 680 H bæzi. 682 WH lit'l, C lit'l. Y: 684 H brhí'dj. 685 W rædj, H rhí'dj. 686 H bæ'í. 687 H flæ'ít. 688 W sítj. 693 H sɛn. 696 WH bæ'rh. 698 WH mɛ'rh. 699 W rhæ'ít. 700 nus, H was. — væz væz'n [tuzze]. 701 WL væst. 704 W vǝks'n [female fox]. Y: 705 WH skæ'í. 706 WH whæ'í, C wæ'í. 707 W thærtiín. 708 H hæ'í'r. Y: 709 H fæ'í'r. 711 WH læ'ís. 712 H mæ'ís.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 H læd. 718 W tried. — W bá'íel [bail or bucket]. — rá'íl [a rail]. — drá'íel [the drail or iron for hitching on the horses to a plough]. — :ká'ín [Cain]. 725 zíul. 726 TAAK, C taak. — H shrham. 732 W hæ'p'nd. — W haarl, haard'l, hæ'rel [to hurl, entangle]. — W klæ'ps [elast]. 737 C míet, H [not used, replaced by (mi zæn) even when addressing an old man]. — W djæ [jaw].

E. — W krík [to creak]. — W tíl [a teal]. 744 H mæz'lz. 745 W tʃɛt. — W píit [peat]. 746 W bríidh. 747 H índæ'vɛr. 748 fídjɛd.

— W *AAVER* *whelem* [overwhelm]. 749 H *lhift*. 750 WL *ba'g*, H *baeg*.
 — WL *pa'g* [peg]. 752 *fretvul* [fretful], C *v)vret'n* [a fretting].
 I. *and* Y. — W *rhítjød* [Richard]. — W *smæ'iel* [a smile]. 758 H
gæRL. — W *tüörd'l*, *tüürel* [twirl].
 O. 761 L *lúed*, H *lóed*. 765 W :*djøn*, C :*djœn*. 767 WL *ná'is*, H *næ'iz*.
 776 W *gud* *büó'i*, C *gud* *büá'i*. 778 W *avúerd*. 781 C *bodher*. 791 W
büó'i, C *büoi*, H *bói*.
 U. 797 W *sküiki*, C *skæ'ikin*. 798 W *küéver*, C *kwæ'r*. 799 L [(pool)
 used]. 801 and 802 *ihæm*. 804 *draek'q*, C *draek'n*, H *dræakæn*. — W
kæRL, *kæRD'L*, *kæREL* [curl]. — W *pæRL*, *pæRD'L*, *pæREL* [purl]. 808 H *pæt*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 W *fies*, H *faa'is*. 811 W *plies*, H *plaa'is* [pl. (plaa'is'n) not heard].
 814 W *mies'n*. — W *bá'iel* [bail in law]. — W *má'iel*, [a mail or bag].
 — W *pá'iel* [pail]. — W *vlá'iel* [flail]. 819 H *rhaa'dj*. 820 W *gá'li*. 821
 W *dí'ái*. 822 W *mái*. 823 W *bái*. — W *pá'li* [pay]. 824 W *tjæ'r*. 826
 W *iig'l*. 827 W *iiger*. — W *trá'iel* [to trail]. — W *rhím*. 829 *gá'in*.
 830 H *tráin*. — W *á'íer* [air]. 832 W *má'íer*. 833 H *péer*. 835
 W *ríz'n*, H *rheez'n*. 836 W *siiz'n*, H *siiz'n*. 837 W *lísh*. 838 W
trít. — W *piel* [pale]. 841 H *tjaas*. 847 H *deendjer*. 849 H *streendjer*.
 — W *kíen* [eane]. 850 L *deens*, H *daans*. 851 H *aant*. — *píper* [paper].
 — W *djá'iel* [gaol]. 852 H *eepærn*. — W *gíerd'n* [garden]. — W
tjærm [charm]. — W *kíerd* [card]. 857 L *kíus*, H *kaa'is*. 858 H *braa'is*.
 859 H *tjaa'is*. 862 W *sief*, C *si'f*. 864 C *bikos*. 865 H *faa'lt*. 866 H *púer*.
 — W *stá'li* [stay].

E.. 867 WC *tii*. 868 WH *djá'li*. 869 W *víil*, H *víuel*. — W *síil*
 [to seal]. 874 W *rhá'in*, H *rheen*. — W *pá'ínt* [paint]. 875 H *fáint*.
 — W *píil* [peal of bells]. 881 *sæns*. 885 W *væri*. 886 H *fræ'í'r*. 887
 H *klærdj*. — H *tærb'l* [terrible, extremely]. — *væs* [verse]. 888 W *sæ'rten*,
 C *sært'n*. 889 *síis*. 890 W *bíest*, C *bi's* [H pl. *bíestusiz*]. 891 H *fí'st*.
 894 WH *dísiiv*. 895 WH *rísiiv*. 896 *bíiver*.

I.. *and* Y.. 899 W *níis*. 900 H *prá'í*. — W *níni* [nimny]. 904 HW
væ'ílet. 905 *rhæ'íret*. — W *æ'íl* [isle]. 909 W *bríiz*. 910 H *djæ'íst*.
 912 H *rhæ'ís*.

O.. 917 H *rhoog*. 920 W *püæ'ínt*, C *püóínt*. 922 H *bæshel*. 924 W
tjá'is, H *tjæ'ís*. 925 W *vá'is*, H *væ'ís*. 926 W *spüæ'íil*, H *spá'íl*. 929 W
kæ'ukæmer. 930 H *læ'in*. — W *fúoos* [force]. 938 WCH *kærner*. 939
 W *klúes*, C *klu's*. 940 W *kúnt*. *wæstket* [waistcoat], C *kun't*, H *kú'nt*. 941
 C *fun'l*. 942 W *bæjæ*. 947 *büæ'íil*, C *bæ'íil*, H *bá'íl*. — W *tüæ'íil* [to toil].
 950 W *zæper* C. 955 W *dæ'uts* C. — W *kraust* [crust]. — W *ræ'út*
 [rut, route]. 957 H *emplá'í*. 959 W *kunvá'í*.

U.. 961 H *gruul*. — W *wá'ít* [wait]. 963 H *kwæ'íret*. 965 H *áil*.
 968 W *æ'íster*. 969 HC *shu'r*. 970 *djíst*.

WESTERN DO.

A few words from Whitelchurch Canonorum, noted by N. W. Wyer, Esq.,
 originally written in Glossic. With the exception of (*kunt*) cut, the words
 are unimportant, but they serve to continue the Dorset dialect up to the
 Axe-Yarty form, p. 87.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 *makin* [making]. 14 *draad* [drawed=drew]. 17 *láu*. A'- 67
góou. A': 110 *nat*. 122 *noon*. 124 *stóoen*.

Æ- 142 *snáil*, *sneel*, *sneel*. — *præti* [pretty]. Æ: 166 *máaid*.
 — *hæpsiz* [hasps]. 173 *wæazs*. Æ': 209 *næwæn* [never a one].
 214 *nedher*.

E- 243 *plá'í*. 251 *mæet*. E: 269 *mize'l*. EA: 324 *æ'ít*. 326 *wóold*,
wol, *wool*. 338 *kaal*. 346 *gjet*, *gjeet*, *gjeet*. EA'- 347 *hid*. EA':
 359 *næber*, *néber*. 363 *shíip* [cheap]. 371 *sræa*. EO: — *shart* [short].
 EO'- 411 *dríil*.

I- — in [hine, him acc. also for hit (ai ken put in iin) I can put it in].
 — biēt [hit]. I: 467 wiild. — iin [in]. — viniid [mouldy]. I'-
 490 báimbái [by and bye]. 494 táimz. — shiin [shine]. — sa'ivz
 [scythes]. I': 502 vā'iv. — haa, hái, hee, haagh, háai [hay].
 Ó- — smóok [smoke]. 519 over, aver. O: tep [top]. 551 staarm.
 — marnin [morning].
 U- 606 doak. U: — wunerfól [wonderful]. 631 verzdee. 632 æp ap.
 634 druu.
 Y: — hiil [hill]. — thüen [thin].

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gērl.

O. — stakiq [stocking]. — kark [cork].

U. — kuut [cut].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — ækta'iv. — flail [flail]. — plaag [plague]. 820 gee [bright].
 822 máiv. — páai [pay]. 845 anshint.

E.. 885 vari. — tereb'l [terrible]. — saarvin [serving].

I.. and Y.. 900 tr práiji.

O.. — moov [move].

VAR. V. THE LAND OF UTCH FOR I, SM.

The Elizabethan English writers, when they want to indicate a S. peasant, continually use *ich*, *cham* = *ich am*, *chill* = *ich will*, *chud* = *ich would* (see *suprà*, Part I. p. 293 *b, e*). It is also found in D 1, p. 30*d*. For the existence of this form of the personal pronoun I, search was made in Sm., and at last it was found as (ætj ætjii') in a very small district, which I have therefore called 'the Land of Uteh.' Through Prince L.-L. Bonaparte and the late Mr. Pulman, I found that *uteh* was certainly used in Montacute (:mā'n'kiú), (4 w-by-n. Yeovil, Sm.), and I was fortunate enough to be directed to Mr. George Mitchell, then a vestryman of Kensington, marble and stone mason, of 166, Brompton Road, S.W., with "manufactories in Belgium, France, Italy, and Walton Street, Brompton, estab. 1851," but a native of Montacute, and unable to read or write till he was 23 years old, together with Mr. Stephen Price, son of a dissenting minister and schoolmaster at Yeovil, Sm., where he was born, but who had lived at Montacute from 10 years old, and had acted formerly as Mr. Mitchell's secretary. On 17 Aug. 1880, both of them came to my house and gave me the following information. The Land of Uteh occupied the angular space between the two railways which have their vertex at Yeovil, Sm., on the b. of Do. The following villages were named as using *uteh*, proceeding from Yeovil to the w., all distances measured from Yeovil Station. East Coker 2 ssw., East Chinnoek 3 sw., Mid and West Chinnoek 5 wsw., Merriott 7 wsw., Chisselborough 5 w-by-s., Montacute 4 w-by-n., Martock 6 nw., Norton 5 w., South Petherton 7 w-by-n., and possibly Kingsbury 8 nw. In the same region (æs) is also employed, which Mr. Price thought to be a corruption of (ætj); (iis) was not known except as meaning *yes*.

There was no knowledge of *ice* (æ'is?) mentioned by Jennings in his Glossary as "common." The *ice* in Shakspeare's King Lear 4, 6, 240 *ice try*, one of Edgar's Kentish speeches, is probably *I shall*, for which it is not an uncommon abbreviation.

Mr. Price gave me the following joke on (ætʃ) which passes current in the district. In the Montacute dt. however neither he nor Mr. Mitchell used (ætʃ) at all. Another version of this joke was given by Miss Ham, a native of Sm., in a letter (dated Clifton, 30 Jan. 1825) addressed to Jennings, who prints it in his glossary; this I interline in her orthography.

bred'n tʃiiz, ætʃ)ev)v)əd
bread and cheese, 'c' have a had

'n)wət ætʃ)əd, ætʃ)ev)v)ēet
that 'c' had, 'c' have a eat

'n muur etʃ)əd, if ætʃ) ed)v)əd
more 'ch wou'd, 'c' had it

Mr. Price's version seems more trustworthy and is certainly more intelligible. Observe the S. past part. (v)əd, v)ēet) = a-had, a-eaten. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard (ætʃi) from a man of 94 at Cannington (3 nw. Bridgewater, Sm.).

MONTACUTE, SM., dt.

Pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Messrs. Mitchell and Price.

1. zuu æ'i də)zē, mæn, dhii də)zii nə'u dhæt æ'i bi ræ'it ebə'ut
dhik lid'l mee'id ekə'min vrəm dhik)dhēer skuul.

2. ær)z v)gwēe'in də'um dhē rhōod dhēer druu dhē rhəd gjet
ən dhē hef an zæ'id v) dhē wái.

3. shuu'r enə'f dhē tʃiil hav v)gən stree'it ep tē dhē doober v)
dhē rəq hā'us,

4. wær ær)l ma)bi v)ænd dhik drəqk'in def skramd tuu'd bi)dhē
nēem v) :təməs.

5. əs də aal noo)n veri wēl.

6. uu)nt dhē woold tʃap zuun teetʃ shii nət tē duu it v)giin,
puu'r dhīq!

7. lək)i' id) 'n it truū?

Notes.

1. *I* (æ'i) analysis adopted with hesitation. I seemed often to hear (æ'i) and it may have been (æ'i).—*say* (zái) also used.—*mates* (mee'its) according to Price, scarcely used, (*sooz*) hardly known, (*traps*) common.—*now*, Price said (nə'u, də'um), but Mitchell would not hear of it; the diphthong was often (ə'u) to my hearing, and may have been (æ'u).—*right*, a strong tendency to

(rh) initial in all cases of *r*.—*that*, Barnes's distinctions of (dhiez, dhik). = *received* this, that, "personal," that is, for things having a definite shape, and (dhis, dhat) "impersonal," for other things (Dorset Grammar, p.21), was recognised, although never thought of before.—*maid*, mee'id, mæe'id) both said at times, but (má'id) was not admitted; no distinction in meaning

recognised between *maid* and *girl* (gærl), which was (wɛntɪ), not an insulting term.—*come* ultimately sounded (kɔm), but I thought (kæm) was meant.—*thick there*, (jɛnd'r, jænd'r) also used, but more Do.

2. *her's*, always (ɛr) before (z), but (shii bi) used.—*roud*, the (rɪ) distinct, but a difference of opinion about (oo, oov, úu), (rhúuəd) seems to me most correct, and Price said it would be used by the old people.—*there*, to say (dhær) would be "bad."—*red*, (hærd) not admitted.—*gate*, (gjet) distinct, (güüt, gíet) not admitted.—*left*, (lɪ) also used.—*left hand* (leit hand) also said, the vowel (a) throughout varied as (ah, a), but did not reach (æ); it was generally my (a).

3. *child*, (tjil) always used by old people. (tjæ'ld) "not so natural."—*gone*, (ɛgɔn) also used.—*straight*, (stræe'it stráit) also used.—*door*, (dúur) not used in Montacute.—*wrong* (ræq) has been used.

4. *maybe*, *chance* is not used.—

drunken, there was a difference of opinion, as to ('n, in, 'q) in the last syllable.—*deaf*, (dit) not used, M. preferred (v ard v iær'n túuəd) a hard of hearing toad, but P. said (v telər v z ard v iær'n) a fellow as is hard of hearing, would be more regular.—*name*, (neem) for (neem) was emphatic, (niem) was not admitted.—*Thomas* = (:təməs) at Montacute, but (:təməs) at Bradford (3 wsw. Taunton, Sm.) in D 10.

6. *wou't*, (wɛnt) also used.—*old chap* (wɔld vɛlɔ) also used, with (v) after (d) but (telər) with (f) is the common form.—*teach*, this word is used, and not (lær) as I expected; in Sunday schools (tejtər) is always used.

Notes on other words, dictated by the same: (s)noo, s)iar) doest thou know? doest thou hear? Alphabet, (æe bi sii dii éei ef dii æti djæ kæe ɛl em en oo pii kiú aar es tii jú vii dáb' L-JU eks wæ'i zad æmpas'sii). Names of places: Montacute (:mən'ikú), Tintinhull (6 se. Langport, Sm.) (:tɪ'qo).

MONTACUTE, SM., cwl.

From dict. of Mr. George Mitchell, native, and Mr. Stephen Price, as above.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 hav. 21 neem [not (niem)]. A: 43 an. 51 mæn. A: or O: 58 vrɔm. 64 rɔq. A'- 73 zuu. 76 tuu'd. 84 muur. 94 noo. A': 104 rhooəd, rhóoəd, rhúuəd [(rhuu'd, from older people)]. 110 nɔt. 119 ɛgwɛe'in ɛgwɔn ɛgɔn. [a-going, gone].

Æ- 144 ɛgii'n. Æ: 166 mee'id mæe'id [not (máid)]. 177 dhɛt [weak form]. 179 wɔt. Æ'- 183 tɛtj. 197 tjiiiz. Æ': 223 dheer. 224 wæer.

E- 231 dhɛ [weak form]. — vjeet [have eaten]. E: 261 zee, zái. 262 wái. 265 stree'it. 266 wɛl.

EA: 326 wɔold. 335 aal. 346 gjet. EA': 352 rhɛd. 353 bred. 355 def [not (dɛt), but (ard v i'rɪn hard of hearing is used)]. 364 tjap.

EO'- 412 shii. EO': 427 bi. 428 zii. 436 truu.

I- — ɛn 'n [him, acc. form]. 447 ɛr [her, for she]. I: 452 ɛ'i ɔ'i, ɛti, ɛtjii'. 459 ræ'it rhæ'it. 467 tjii. 477 væ'nd. 480 dhɪq. 482 id'n [is'nt]. 484 (dliéz) [this, for a shaped object]. I'- 490 bi [weak]. 492 zæ'id.

O: 525 v [weak form]. 538 ad. 541 uu'nt wɛnt. 543 ɔn. O'- 556 tɛ [weak form]. 558 lɔksjɪ [lookest thee?]. 560 skuul. 564 zuun. O': 579 vɛɛf. 586 duu.

U- 603 ɛkɔ'mɪn [a-coming]. 606 dooer. U: 632 ɛp. 634 drun. U'- 642 [(dhii) used]. 643 næ'u nɔ'u nɔ'u, n'æ'u. 650 ɛbæ'at. U': 658 dæ'm, dæ'm [see 643]. 662 ɛs. 663 hæ'us.

Y- 682 lid'l.

II. ENGLISH.

E. 749 lif lef left. I. and Y. — dhik (that, for a shaped object). O. 770 təməs (:təməs) at Bradford in D 10]. U. 804 dræqkin, —k'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 866 puur. E.. 885 veri. U.. 969 shuu'r.

VAR. VI. THE SOUTH WESTERN OR SM. FORM.

The late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman made a certain small portion of Sm., Dv., and Do., his own dialect ground. He called it the Axe-Yarty district in his "Rustic Sketches" (3rd ed. 1871) and his "Book of the Axe," because it is watered by the rivers Axe and Yarty, the latter flowing from n. to s. and joining the former about Axminster, Dv.

It forms a little subdistrict, which is not very clearly defined, except on the w. Beginning at the mouth of the Axe, it follows the w. b. of D 4 through Dv. to Buckland St. Mary, Sm. (7 sse.Taunton), and then turns e. to the n. of Yeovil, passing which it turns suddenly s. between Yeovil and Sherborne (5 e.Yeovil), in Do. and passes sw. between Mosterton (8 n-by-e.Bridport) and Beaminster (5 n.Bridport) to the sea just s. of Charmmouth (6 w.Bridport). This district was constantly perambulated by Mr. Pulman, who lived at Crewkerne, Sm., for fishing and archaeological purposes, and thus he learned to give great weight to a few peculiarities which do not seem to have the importance he attributed to them. Thus he distinguishes the district from the rest of Do. by its not having (nun, leg leeg, nup) one, leg, up, which he spells *oone*, *lag* or *laig*, and *oop*, of which Barnes gives (la'g, nun), but (nup) has not been found in any part of Do., the nearest approach to it being Mr. Wyer's (kuut) cut (p. 84, l. 13). Mr. P. seems, from his communications to me, to have heard the word specially from an ostler at Henstridge, Sm. (11 ene.Yeovil); and this may have been in saying (kùp) come up to horses, as I heard a farm labourer say in Bu. In going through the list of "chief peculiarities" of the district in *Rustic Sketches*, p. xxxiii, I find they represent general Sm. and have been localised in this district apparently because Mr. P. was familiar with it and wished to confine his information to the places to which he knew it applied. As I give specimens of this general dialect, I omit Mr. P.'s list of peculiarities.

Mr. Pulman was kind enough to give me a es. and dt. for the Axe-Yarty district and es. professedly for Merriott in the Land of Uteh, Var. v., which was only 3 m. from his residence at Crewkerne (19 sse.Bridgwater). This Merriott es. was full of *uteh*, whereas the dt. given me from Montacute (p. 85) had none. All three were written in the orthography adopted in his *Rustic Sketches*, and unfortunately Mr. Pulman died (3rd Feb. 1880) before I was able to go over these versions with him. In this case I think it better to omit all three than merely to give my own conjectures. But Mr. P. had previously written me a wl. for Merriott which I had the advantage of correcting from his dict. (Nov. 1877), and this follows. Singularly enough it contains no (atj) at all. Moreover Mr. P. said that in Merriott the final (r) became a mere vowel, while at Crewkerne it was distinct. In dictating, however, he pron. a genuine (r), as I also heard from Montacute. He also said that the intonation at Merriott was almost unintelligible beyond the parish itself. There was nothing of this in his dictation. Hence I attribute his wl. to the whole of his district, and thence practically to the whole of Sm., from which he gave no lines of demarcation.

AXE-YARTY CWL.

Representing e.Sm. generally, pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of G. P. R. Pulman, author of *Rustic Sketches*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tek. 5 mek. 6 meed. 8 hev. 12 zaa^l. 13 naa^l. 14 draa^l. 17 laa^l. 18 kek. 20 li₁em. 21 ní₁em. 22 tí₁em. 23 sí₁em. 24 she₁em. 33 [(z)uuder] sooner, used]. 34 las. 37 klaa^l. A: 39 [(k)am] bsd]. 40 kwam. 41 (tha^lqk). 43 an. 46 ka^ln^l. 48 [(z)iqd] used]. 54 wənt. 55 ceshez [Crewkerne (ashez)]. 56 weesh. 57 a's. A: or O: 63 draq. 65 zoq. 66 dhaq.

A'- 67 guu. 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 zoo. 74 tuu. 75 streeck. 76 too^d. 77 lard. 80 ə-ludee. 81 li₁em. 84 muur. 86 wəts. 87 flooz. 89 buuth. 91 moo. 95 droo. 96 zoo. A': 101 wək. 102 aks. 107 loov. 111 aaft. 113 wəl. 115 wam. 118 bóoen. 122 nóoen. 123 naart. 124 stóoen. 125 oun. 126 wər. 127 hūmers. 130 bóout. 134 wəth. 135 klaath.

E- 138 vādher [sometimes with f]. 140 há'il. 141 ná'il. 142 sná il. 143 tá il. 144 egen. 146 máa'ind. 148 fa'ər. 150 leest. 152 waader. 153 za'terdí. — párti [pretty]. E: 155 dha'ti. — stídi [steady]. 158 a^l-der. 160 ig. 161 dee. 163 lái. 164 [mid, used]. 165 zed. 166 máa'íd. 168 tá'lar. 169 wen. 170 harvís. 172 gra's. 173 wíz, wəz [strong]. 181 path. E'- 182 see. 183 teeti. 185 reed. 187 lef. 189 wái. 192 meen. 193 kleen. 194 eni. 195 m'ənə. 196 weer. 199 bleek. 200 weet. 202 jet. E': — míed [mead, meadow]. 205 dred. 207 míld. 213 edher. 215 [teeti] used]. — jēl [eel]. 217 eeti. 218 shíp. 219 sleep. 221 fiivr. 223 dheer. 224 weer. 226 maast. 228 zwet. 230 ía't.

E- 233 speek. 239 sá'íl. 241 rá'ín. 243 plóí. 250 zweer. 252 kí'd^l. 253 ná'íL. E: 260 zá'í [rhymes 262]. 262 wá'í. 265 stree'e'ít. 270 belis [bellows]. 273 meen. 280 leb'n. 281 líqkth. 282 stríqkth. — gərn [grim]. 283 məri. 284 draa^{sh}. 285 kriis. E'- 296 bliiv. 300 kíp. 301 hār. 303 swit [not 'i']. E': 306 há'íth. 311 teen. 312 hār. 314 jərd. 315 vít [not 'i']. 316 neks.

EA- 319 gæep. EA: 321 [(z)id, used]. 322 haf. 324 ət. 325 wæek. 326 wəl. 328 káubld. 300 hool. 331 zwoold. 332 twæld. 333 kæev. 335 æel [sometimes]. 336 vool. 337 wəl. 343 wæerm. 346 get.

EA'- 347 heed. 349 víu. EA': 351 íd. 352 ərd. 355 díf. 358 ná'íst. 361 beeh. 366 gərt. 367 dret. 370 naa^l. 371 stree'ík.

EI- 372 leli. 373 ee. 375 rá'íz. 376 bó'ít. EI: 377 steek. 378 week.

EO- 383 zeb'n. EO: 388 m'lk. 390 shuud. 393 bí'e'nd. 402 laxn. 403 vər. 406 'íth [rhymes 696 and 698]. 407 vard'n. 498 [nood used].

EO'- 411 drú. 413 dív'í. 414 vlá'í. 417 tjaa. 420 vā'ər. 421 vartí. EO': 425 láit [instead of 'í'íth] this exceptional pronunciation prevails for 3 or 4 miles from Crewkerne (19 sse. Bridgewater). It is properly Do.] 428 zei. 430 fərd. 433 bríst. 434 híi't.

EY- 438 dá'í. EY: 439 tərst.

I- 440 wək. 441 zii'v. 442 ii'vi. 443 vrə'ídi. 449 gət. 451 zoo. I: 452 á'í. 460 wá'ít. 465 zítí. 466 tí'íld. 467 wá'íld. 474 rá'ín. 477 vā'ín. 478 grā'ín. 481 vígər. — hārn [rum]. 484 dhí'z. — hārsh [a rush]. 485 dhí's'í. 487 ves'dee. 488 ít.

I'- [is generally (á'í)]. 496 á'ír. 499 bí'r'íL. I': is generally (á'í). 502 vā'ív. 504 ná'ív. 505 wā'ív. 506 əmn. 507 wímín. — láín [lime, Crewkerne exceptional pr., otherwise 'í'á'ín]. 513 wā'ír.

O- 521 vool. 522 oop. 524 wərd'íL. O: 531 dæ'etər. 538 und. — ət'ít [orchard]. 547 buurd. 549 wərd. 551 stərn. 552 kərn. 553 hārn. O'- 559 maadher. 564 zuun. 565 naaz. O': 592 [zweerd] used]. 593 məs.

U- 601 vā'ól. 602 zā'u. 605 sín. U: 609 vuu'íL. 610 uu'íL. 611 balík. 612 zəm. 615 pá'un. 619 vā'əm. 620 grā'əm. 621 [(w)inded] used]. 629 sín [see 605]. 630 [(w)ind] used]. 631 dhəzdi. 634 drūn. 636 vārdər.

U'- 640 ká'u. 646 bá'w'í. 652 kuud. U': 670 buu.

Y- 674 dɪd dɛd. 675 dɹæ'u. 682 lɪd'l. Y: 684 bærdɪ. 685 ærdɪ.
690 kə'in. 691 mə'in. 696 be'th [I think I heard (be[ɹ]thɪ)]. 698 me'th
[rhymes 696]. 700 was. 701 fæst. — dæʃh [a thrush]. Y- 707
dʰæ:ri:n. Y': 709 væ'ɪr [but see 772].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 725 zæ:əl. E. 744 me:z'ɪz. 745 tʃæt. 747 ɪndɪvɜr. 751 pi:ɜrt.
I. and Y. — :ærtʃɪt [Richard]. 755 vɪlbəd.
O. 761 lɪ'd. 772 bænfæ'ɪr [but see 709]. 773 dæqki. 778 evu:nd. 779
arts. 790 gə'und. 791 bæ'oi.
U. — kærɪ'lz [curls]. 808 pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jæb'l. 818 zædɪ. 822 mææ'i. 824 tʃær. 827 eegɜr. 828
eegi. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. 838 treet. 840 tʃimɜr. 842 plɑntɪ [a
flooring, not a single plank]. 845 a'nshɜnt. 847 dæ'ndɜr. 848 tʃæ'ndɪ. 849
stræ'ndɜr. 852 æp'ɪn. 853 bæŋg'ɪn. 855 kært. — ske:s [scarce]. 856
peert. 862 sææf. 864 kæz. 865 fææt.
E.. 867 te. 868 dʒææ'i. 869 ve:l. 874 ræ:in. 878 sælɜri. 879 feæned.
883 dændɪæ'ɪnt. 888 sæt'n. 890 be:st bi:st [s. and pl. alike]. 891 fe:st.
892 nevi. 894 dʒææv. 895 re:ææv.
I.. and Y.. — 904 læ'ɪrɑnt [lion]. 910 dʒæ'ɪst.
O.. 916 æ'injɜn. 920 pi:oi:nt. 923* mæ:oi:sti. 926 spæ:oi:l. 929 kʃæ'ukemɜr.
938 kærner. 940 kœu'ɪt. 942 bu:tʃɜr. 943 tɪtɪ. 946 mæ:oi:l. 947 bæ'oi:l.
950 sæpɜr. 952 ku:s [coarse]. 954 kæ:ʃɪn.
U.. 967 su:t. 969 si:ɜr. 970 dʒæ:st.

For the remainder of e.Sm. (excluding D 10), JGG. made a complete wl., from the diet. of a native of Wincanton (13 ne.Yeovil), who, however, had resided long in Cu. After many trials and much correspondenc, I relectantly found his memory of the dialect not sufficiently accurate to be accepted in its details. The other contributions I have received were in io., but they are quite sufficient to shew that at Langport, Castle Carey (16 ene.Langport) and Wedmore (7 w-by-n.Wells), the pronunciation differs insensibly from the Axe-Yarty; while at Combe Down (2 s.Bath) it seems indistinguishable from Wl. The following examples from Wedmore shew the nature of the dialect in the m. of e.Sm.

WEDMORE, SM. (18 ssw.Bristol).

Specimens sent by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, and pal. rather
conjecturally by AJE.

1. (mɪ:stɜr, æ'i bi:nt v-gwæ'ɪn druu dʰæ mæk.) master, I be-not a-going through the muck.
2. (tæ'in dʰæ dʰɜr, ut ?) shut the door, wilt ?
3. (dʰus)ɛn dʰi nə dʰɪk dʰær hɜs ?) dost-not thou know that there horse ?
4. (eas)ɛn hæ'ɪr ?) canst-not hear.
5. (dʰæ lɑm)z v-væ'ɪr.) the chimney's on fire [I only knew *lum* as a N. or L. word].
6. (dʰæ gæækomi tʰud vɪ v hɜs v gæ:ɪd æ'i, :gʌd)nææ.) this frolicsome toad of a horse has frightened me, God-knows. [I do not know the word 'gaacomey' so spelled, see No. 18.]

7. (gii 'æ'i dhæ slæ'is.) give me the fire-pan [or fire-shovel].
 8. (dhæ bæki krɪtʃ ɛz ɒn dhæ klævi-tæk.) the tobacco jar is on the mantel-piece. [The last word is given as *clavel-tack* in Wright.]
 9. (hæst dhi lɔkt ɪn dhæ krɔk tɜ zii ɪf dhæ tɛtɪz bi dæn ?) hast thou looked in the pot to see if the potatoes be done ?
 10. (vædðɜr jɪv)nt kəm whóvm ɪt.) father is)not come home yet. [I doubt (wh)].
 11. (bæ'i ɛnə'n.) by and bye.
 12. (dhii)z nɑɑ dhæt s)kæ'ɪk.) thou) dost know that, (it) is like [probably].
 13. (t)wær dhɪ zɪstɜr, (t)wærd)ɛn :zæl.) it)were thy sister, it)were) not Sall.
 14. (æ'i)l zii ɪf shæd)ɛn duu ɛt ; ɛt)ɛn ?) I'll see if (thou) shalt)not do it ; wilt)not ?
 15. (iiz. æ'i ul. mææ-bi.) yēs, I will, may-be.
 16. (wæ'i duus)ɛn dɔf dhɪ klɑɑdz ɛn mɛnd dhɪk lɪrɔp ?) why dost not doff (take off) thy clothes and mend this tear.
 17. (lɑɑ ! wæt ɛ ləmper !) law ! what a stumble [or noise of falling, also (lɛmbɜr)].
 18. (gɪt ʌp, ɪ dræækɔmɪ ɑɑld gæækum.) get up you stupid old frolicker [to a horse, but the words 'dracomey, gacome' are unknown].
 19. (dun)ɛnt ɪ tææk ɒn zɔɔ, zɔɔs.) don't ye take on [trouble yourselves] so, companions.

WORLE (:WÆR'L, :WÆRD'L), 16 w.Bath, cwl.

Written by Rev. W. F. Rose, vicar in io. and subsequently pal. by A.J.E., serves to show how the dialect is preserved to the Bristol Channel.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3. bíek. 5 míek. 6 míed. 8 eev. 14 draa. — stag [stack]. 21 níem. 22 tíem. 23 síem, seem. 24 shíem. 25 níem. 28 úier. 32 bíedh. 33 reedhɜr. A: 43 han. 44 lan. A'- 77 lard. 81 líen. 84 múer. 93 tɜ snoo. 95 droo. A': 101 wok. 104 róed. 128 dhóez. 130 boot. Æ- — jek [ache]. — hædhɜr [ladder]. — blaedhɜr [bladder]. 144 egíem. 146 meen. 149 bliez. 150 líes. 152 waader. — partɪ [pretty]. Æ: 155 dhɛtɪ. 166 míed [probably confused with *mudɛ*]. 170 hærest. 172 græes. 181 pæeth. Æ'- — hærdɪ [ready]. 187 lɛf. 192 níem. 193 klíen. 200 wíet. Æ': — bliit [bleak]. 207 mæ'd'l. — jɛl [eel]. 218 shíp. 224 wíer. E- — líit [leak]. 248 míur. 252 kí'l. E: 261 zee. 284 dræsh. E'- 298 víil. 301 hæ'ír. EA: 326 ool. 327 bool. 333 keef. 334 heef. 335 æel. 336 væel. 342 jarm. 343 warm. 346 géet. EA'- 347 híid. EA': 355 díif. 363 tɪp. 366 gært. EI: 378 wíek. EO- 383 zév'n. 385 bíne-th. EO: — smert [smart]. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 drú. EO': 423 dhæ'i. 428 zii. I: 477 væ'in. — behá'in [behind]. 485 dí's'l. I'- — strík [strike]. I': 502 væ'iv. O: 534 haal. 547 búerd. 551 starm. 552 karn. 553 harn. 554 kraas. O'- 564 zuunder [sooner]. O': 579 ɪnæ'u'. U- 605 zɛn. U: 610 ul. 612 zɛm. 629 zæn. 631 dhæzdi. 634 druun. 635 wíth.

Y- — piil [pillow]. 682 lid'l. Y: 685 rladj. 686 bardj. 691 ma'in. 700 was. 701 fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 tried. 741 miz. E. — zim [seem]. O. — soog [soak].
— lark [a loft]. — poog [poke]. U. — küid [cud, compare a *quid* of tobacco]. 805 kradz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 plis. — fækat [faggot]. 833 píer. — mænder [manner].
852 jeepern. — kar [carry]. — kúar [quarry]. E.. 888 sark'n. —
sar [serve]. 890 bíis. I.. and Y.. — hærver [river]. O.. 938
kærner. U.. — stad [study].

D 5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern.

Boundaries. Beginning at the w. b. of Ox. just opposite Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e.Tewkesbury) and go along the w. b. of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w.-by-s.Reading) and then continue in a n. to s. line through Ha. passing just w. of Andover, to Nursling at the n. point of Southampton Water and then to the sea by Lymington (10 e.Christchurch). Cross the Solent to the nw. corner of Wi. (and not just e. of it as appears on the map). Run along the coast of Wi. to the ne. corner of it. Then again cross the sea to Selsey Bill, s.Ss. and continue along the s. coast of Ss. to the mouth of the R. Adur. Then sweep ne. through m.Ss., e. of Bolney (8 se.Horsham) and w. of Cuckfield (9 ese.Horsham) through East Grinstead (15 ene.Horsham). Then pass through the extreme se. corner of Sr. and proceed in a ne. direction to Knockholt (14 s.Woolwich), which is a conjectural point from which no information has been obtained. Dialect speaking now ceases on approaching D 8 in the Metropolitan Area, but we may sweep sw. w. and nw. through n.Sr. keeping probably s. of Croydon and Leatherhead (12 ne.Guildford), n. of Stoke (1 n.Guildford), w. of Sandhurst (10 se.Reading) to Reading. Then proceed along the w. b. of Ox. to the projection of Be. into Ox., which cut off, passing s. of Cummor (3 wsw.Oxford) and n. of Appleton (5 sw.Oxford). Then enter Ox. and pass w. of Eusham (4 nw.Oxford) and of Handborough (6 nw.Oxford) and then go nearly n. to the e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton (12 nw. and 17 mnw.Oxford) to a point just e. of Moreton-on-Marsh, the starting-point, to which proceed.

Much of this line is very uncertain for at least a few miles on each side of it. The division between Be. and Ox. is altogether uncertain. The sweep through n.Sr. may be considered almost conjectural, so great was the difficulty of obtaining any satisfactory evidence of native dialect. The population is shifting and seldom native. But Stoke (1 n.Guildford) was well marked. The e. b. through Ke. presented insuperable difficulties, but the line between the mouth of the Adur and East Grinstead is tolerably clearly defined. If in the most uncertain parts the line be taken 5 to at most 10 miles wide, it may be accepted as a very fair boundary.

Area. Most of Ha. and all Wi., much of Be., s.Sr. and w.Ss., and a small portion of w.Ox.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List for the following places where prefixed marks show * vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || in so., ° in io.

Be. °Bucklebury, °Cholsey, °Coleshill, °Denchworth, °East Henedred, ||Hampstead Norris, °Kintbury, °Shefford, ||Stanford in the Vale, ||Steventon, °Streatley, °Wantage.

Ha. ||°Andover, °Corhampton, °East Stratton, °West Stratton, *Winchester to Southampton.

Ke. No information.

Ox. °Alvescot, °Charlbury, °Chastleton, †Ducklington, †Leafield, †Lew, †Milton, 5 ||†Witney.

Sr. °Charlwood, °Elstead, °Ewhurst, °Godalming, °Godstone, °Haslemere, °Leatherhead, *°Ockley, *°Stoke, °Weald of Sr.

Ss. °Bolney, °Compton, °Ertham, °Kirdford, °Twineham, °West Wittering, °Wisborough Green.

Wi. °Northwood, °Shorwell, °whole Isle.

The district is not so well represented as the last. The greater number of notes are meagre and imperfect. There were only three vv., from Winchester Ha., Ockley and Stoke Sr., a pal. transcription of part of a es. by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from Hampstead Norris, Be., a pal. specimen and cwl. from Andover by Prof. Arnold Schröer, a few notes by TH. in Ox., and some in Glossic by Mrs. Parker in Be. and Ox. But these are sufficient to understand the notes of the other informants.

Character. The (r) remains generally quite distinct, the (z, v) for (s, f) initial die out eastward, the (ái) for ÆG, EG is uncertain, *I be* remains, but the *a-* before the past participle becomes lost. It will be most convenient to consider four varieties or forms, V i. w.Ox., V ii. Be., V iii. Ha. and Wi., and V iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss. There is no special information from the very small portion of Ke. involved, the dial. of which, being so near to the metropolitan area, is probably very slightly marked indeed, but does not shew the characteristics of D 9. These different varieties cannot be distinctly defined by any clear characters, but still there is some amount of local distinction.

VAR. i. Ox. FORM.

WITNEY, dt.

Originally written in gl. by Mrs. Angelina Parker, then pal. by TH. from her dict. and finally corrected by TH. from information obtained by him at Witney Sept. 1884. As the pronunciation of this district is thought very strange at Oxford, great pains have been taken to represent it correctly. See the following cwl. embracing words from Witney, Ducklington, and Leafield, another primitive place, all of which were well examined by TH. This form of D 5 shews the transition from D 4 very clearly. The reverted (r) was distinctly noticed by TH. after a vowel, but before a vowel he seems not to have felt its difference from common English (r, r_o), and he also did not notice its assimilating effect on adjacent (t d n l), which is inevitable when (r) is used. But he noted how much more marked the reversion was in w. than in m. and s.Ox. I have therefore retained his notation. There is a great peculiarity in this district. As far s. as Witney there is a plentiful sprinkling of (u_o, o) in place of (æ), but at Ducklington (:dæk'ltun) only 1 s. Witney, this entirely ceases, (æ) alone being heard. In other respects the dialect at Ducklington is identical with that at Witney. This shews that the incursion of (u_o) into the n. part of S. should not be considered to affect the dialect district. (See also D 4, Var. ii., Gl. Form, p. 60. The symbol (u_o), a variety of (u), is especially considered in the introduction to the M. div.)

1. sò [sáu] ó'i sâi, meets, jɛ siz nã'u vɛz ó'i bi rã'it vɛã'ut dhat dhɛr lɪ'tl gʝãrl [gʝãl] ɛkã'mɪn frãm dhu skũ'l jãnder.

2. ɛr)z ɛgwã'ɪn [ɛgwɛ'ɪn] dã'm dhu rɔd [rãud] dhɛr' [dhɛr'] thruu dhu rɛd gʝɛt' [gʝɛt'] ɛ'dhu [ɛn)dhu] lɪft and sã'ɪd ɛ)dhu wãi.

3. shûer enu_of dhe tʃa'ɪ'l)z gaan stráit u_op te)dhe dûer v)dhe rəq' a'us,

4. wɛr ɛr)l mwəst lə'ɪklɪ fə'ɪnd dhat dher' drʊ_oqk'n def' srɪvɛld fɛlv v)dhe neem v :təməs.

5. wɪ aal nʊʊz [nauz] ɪ vɛrɪ [ʔ vərɪ] wɛ'l.

6. wənt dhe ɔʊld [aʊld] tʃap' sun lærn ɛr nat te du)t vɟjɛ'n, pûer thiq'!

7. læk'! jɛnt ɪt truʊ?

WEST Ox. cwl.

From the following sources:

B. wn. by TH. from Mr. James Brain, native of Ducklington, aged 81.

M. words given in io. by Rev. W. D. Macray, rector of Ducklington, also chiefly taken from Mr. Brain, and pal. rather conjecturally by AJE.

L. Leafield, wn. by TH. from natives of 87, 84, and 74 years old.

W. Witney, wn. by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 12 M saa. 14 M draa. 21 BLW neem. 23 BL seem. 24 M shem, shĕem. 33 L reedher. 37 M thaa. A: 39 M [(kəm) used]. A: or O: 58 B frum, W iram. 64 BL rəq', W rə'q. A'- 73 W sò sáu. 81 L leen [so all his life, 84 years old]. 84 L mùer. 85 M suur. 86 W wəts. 89 M bódh. 92 L náhu. A': 104 B rood, W rood, ráud. 115 BL oom. 118 W hwan. 124 M st'ʊn, stan. 130 M b'ʊt.

Æ- 138 LW faadher. Æ: 154 B bak'. 155 M thetɪ. 158 L aa'ter-muun. 161 B dāi, LW dec. 171 W bàrlɪ. — L kjáhrt. Æ'- 192 L meen. 197 L tjiiz. 200 LW weet. Æ': 223 L dhier. 226 BW mwast, M móest.

E- 233 B speek, dhe spɛks [they speaks], W speekin. 241 L reem, W ráin. — B liévzin [leasing = gleaning], L leezin, liúzín. 252 L kjít'l. E: 261 BW sái, L sái, sái [new form (sêi)]. — L leg [leg]. 262 WL wái wái'i, B wái wái. 265 L stre'it [old form (stráit)], W stráit. 266 Wwɛ'l. — W fí'ld [field]. 276 W thiq'. 278 L wentɪ [used when young, now (ɟjɛrl)]. E'- 299 L grūn. E': 314 L îerd. EA- 319 M gíep. EA: 324 L áitiin, W áiti. 326 BW ɔʊld, W also áudd. 328 M kóuld. 329 M fóuld. 335 W aal. 346 W gjet, L gjet, M. gíet. EA': 350 L dje'd. 352 W red. 355 W def. 359 náibɛr. — B bje'm [beam]. 361 W bjən. 363 L tʃap. 364 W tʃap. 371 B straa, L straa [old form (straa)]. EI- 373 L dhái, W dhái. EO- 383 B sev'm. EO: 394 W jandɛr. 395 W jəq. 396 B wark. 402 W lærn. EO'- 420 W îoer. 421 W fà'rti. EO': 428 W si. EY- 438 L də'i.

I- 440 B wík. 446 nə'in. — W peez [pease]. I: 452 W ə'i. 458 nə'it. 459 BW ra'it. 465 sítɪ. 466 B tʃa'ld. 468 B tʃildɛrn. 477 W fə'nd. 488 B jít. I'- 492 W sá'id. 494 L tə'im. I': 500 B læ^a-klɪ.

O- — L drəp [drop]. 524 B wɛrld. O: 531 BL daa'tɛr, W daa'tɛr. 538 B ʊd. 543 BLW an'. — W krapɪ [crops]. 551 L sta'rm. — B às' [horse]. O'- 559 W mədher. 560 W skuul. 562 B muun. 564 B sun. 568 W bradhɛr. O': 578 L plá'u. 579 W enu_of. 586 L dwənt [don't].

U- — L ʊd [wood]. 603 B kəm, W ɛkəm'ɪn. 604 W su_omɛr. 605 B sən, L sū_on, W sən. 606 BW dûer. U: 612 W su_om, som. 613 L drʊ_oqk. 619 L fu_on. 629 B sən' [compare 605], W su_on. 632 LW u_op, əp. 633 kəp, kəp. 634 W thruu. 636 L fərdɛr. U'- 643 WB nə'u. 650 L [between (ɛbə'ʊt) and (ɛbôut)] W ɛbə'ʊt. U': 658 W da'ɪn. 659 W tə'ɪn. 663 BW a'us'. 667 L ə'ʊt.

Y- W lit'l.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W meet. E. 749 W lift. I. and Y. 758 W gʒjærɫ, gʒjal'. O. 761 M lórd. — L :luːndən [new form (:luːndən)]. — W ká'st. 791 L bwa'í, W bôí. U. — W tʌb, tob [tub]. — W dæk [a duck]. 794 W dʒuːg, dʒog. 803 W dʒuːmp, dʒomp. — W gən [a gun]. 804 W druːqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 828 M eʒbɛr. — L plá'in [plain, unadorned]. — W plez [please]. — W saasɛr. 862 BW seef. E. 867 W tee. 885 B vɛri. W vari, vɛri. 890 L bʒɛst [now (bɛst)]. 891 L fʒɛst. O. — W pomp, puːmp [pump]. — muːni [money]. 935 L kuːntri. 938 BL ka'rnɛr. — W impáhsebl [impossible]. 947 L bwó'i. — W kɔlɛr [colour]. U. 970 W dʒuːst.

Examples.—B (ə'í sɪ dhɛ'ɔld tʃap' í'stɛrdɛ). I saw the old chap yesterday. L (ə'í bɪ ɛgwá'in ɔm tɛj'ɛ' mɪ suːpɛr). W (am', am', bɪútɪfʌl am'! dhɛm ɛs'kánt íit ít á't tɛ klám') [ham, ham, beautiful ham! them as can't eat it ought to clam (starve)].

VAR. ii. THE BE. FORM.

Although I have been quite unable to obtain vv. communications from Be., and the information I have received leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient to shew the continuation of practically the same dial. as in w.Ox. throughout Be.

Beginning in the n. I have a dial. test obtained by Mrs. Parker for Steventon (5 ne.Wantage), and I had others from Stanford in the Vale (5 nw.Wantage), which I could not sufficiently trust. The short list of words from Wantage, corroborated by those from Denchworth (3 n-by-w.Wantage), and Cholsey (11 e.Wantage), continues the information through the n. of Be. From Hampstead Norris (11 se.Wantage) I have a considerable portion of the es. written from dict. by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, from which the general character of the dial. can be safely inferred. It will suffice to give the Steventon, Wantage and Hampstead Norris specimens.

a. STEVENTON (5 ne.Wantage, Be.) dt.

Written in gl. by Mrs. Parker from the dict. of Mr. Leonard, both of Ox., and pal. by AJE. Mrs. Parker has not marked the reverted, or, as she considers it, retracted (r), but I have supplied it to the same extent as before.

1. Soo ə'í sáí, AAL(æ)n)i, jɛ siz nɛ'u ə'í bɪ rɛ'ít ɛbɛ'ut dhæt ɛr lí't'l gʒjæl ɛkə'mɪn frəm dhɛ skuuld jændɛr.

2. shii)z ɛgwá'ín dɛ'ín dhɛ rɛɛb dɛrɛr θruu dhɛ rɛd gɪɛt a dhɛ líft and sɛ'íd ɛ dhɛ wá'í.

3. shuur enɔf dhɛ tʃá'íld ɛv gáan stráit ɛp tɛ dhɛ duur ɛ dhɛ rɔq ə'us.

4. wɛr shii)l tʃɛnts tɛ fɛ'índ dhæt ɛr drɛqk'n def, srɪv'ld fele ɛ dhɛ nɛem ɛ :tomɔs.

5. wii AAL NAA'uz)n vɛrɪ wɛl.

6. wánt dh)AA'uld tʃap sɛn lɛrn ɛr nɛt tɛ duu)t ɛgʒj'n, puur θhɪq.

7. læk! jánt ít truú?

b. HAMPSTEAD NORRIS, BE., part of es.

Written by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte in his own letters from the dictation of W. B. Banting, Esq., hon. sec. of the Newbury District Field Club, by whom it was approved when read out; translated into pal. by A.J.E. Most probably I should have appreciated some sounds differently, as shewn by the notes, but I have thought it right to retain the Prince's own spelling, translated into pal. It shews a strong D 5 dialect.

0. wə'i :dʒən æz nuu dāuts.
1. wəl, náai'bæt, ɹəʔ ænd hii máai beu'u'th laa'f æt dh'is njuuz əʌ mʊ'in. hʌʔ ki'is? dhæt iz nɔðh'ɪ h'h'ɪ nAAI dh'it.
2. fruu men də'i'kəs dháai bi laa'ft æt, wii ne'u, de)nt wii? waat shə'd meek əm? t-ent vee'ri h'e'ikli, iz ət?
3. áusəmdəvət dh'i's aar dhaaɹ væks ə dhaaɹ ki's, zoo dʒest n'hə'uld jər nə'iz, frend, ænd hii kwə'i't tɪl v'i aa dən. aar'kn!
4. v'i hii zər'tɪn v'i h'əɪd əm zái—zəm əv dhem vək əʔ went thrəʔ dhaaɹ uul dh'iq vrom dhaaɹ vəst dh'aisel'z,—dhæt did v'i zi'f enəf.
5. dhæt dhaaɹ jəq'gest zən i'sself, æ g'ɪt bwə'i ə n'e'in, ne'u'ld iz feə'dhəɪz və'is æt wuns, dhə'u et wæz zoo kwət ænd skwek'ən, ænd v'i wəd drəst en tʰ speak dhaaɹ drunth en'i dái, aa, v'i wəd.
6. æ'nd dhaaɹ v'ul-d-um'ræn n'h'aisel' wəl tel eni ə-n-i dhæt laa'f náu, ænd tel ii stráa'it v'ə'f, tʰ, wi)áut' mətʃ bədh'vɪ, if ɹəʔ ə'n'li æks ɹɪ, əʔ! wənt shii?
7. li'stwə'iz shii tʰ'uld ət mee, wen v'i æksd ɹɪ, tʰ AA drii tʰ'imz əv'vɪ, did shii, ænd shii did'nt ʌt tʰ hii rəq ən s'ik aar pə'ɪnt æz dh'is, waat dʰ ii dh'iqk?
8. wəl æz v'i wæz æ zái'n, shii əd tel ii, v'əʔ, wət ænd wen shii v'ə'nd dhaaɹ drəqk'n bi'st shii kAAɪz ɹɪ əz'bæn.

Notes to Hampstead Norris.

0. *why*, the usual MS. diphthong, differently appreciated as (a'i w'i ə'i ai). Mr. Banting wrote *whoy*, as usual.—*has*, this is the strong form.—*doubts*, analogy would have required (d'e'ats), see 8 (v'e'nd).

1. *neighbour*, the final (ɹ) or glottal ɹ, which is sometimes written (ɹ) or (r), followed by permissive ɹ, was evidently at that time the Prince's appreciation of (r), the only real ɹ of this district.—*you*, the appreciation (ɹəʔ) is very doubtful. Mr. B. wrote *yough*, perhaps (ɹə'u).—*both*, Mr. Banting writes *boweth* perhaps (bóədh) was intended. I do not attribute much importance to Mr. Banting's approval of the Prince's reading, for as Mr. Banting was not used to phonetic appreciation, and the Prince was a foreigner, Mr. Banting would be easily satisfied with a rough approximation to his own sounds.—*who*, the appreciation (hʰ) is very doubtful,

Mr. B. has *whoo*.—*neither*, here again (ə) is doubtful. Mr. B. has *nather*.

2. *should*, (əʔ) doubtful.

3. *these*, the final (s) probably an error for (z).—*the*, this (dhaaɹ) is difficult to understand. Mr. B. writes *th'au thae racks or th'au keas*, which is equally puzzling.—*noise*, Mr. B. *nais*.

4. *heard-who-through*, Mr. B. *hard-oo-throo*, the (ə) is doubtful.

5. *trust, truth*, Mr. B. writes *dtrust, dtruth*, which were probably his errors, (trəst'ruuth) might have been expected.

8. *how-found* by the appreciation (v'əʔ) the diphthong in these words is made to resemble the Dv. diphthong. Mr. B. writes simply *ow*. If the Prince heard him correctly, he must have had a very peculiar pron. of uu, oo, a'u) not belonging to the district. The Prince was not able to finish writing the whole es. from dictation.

c. WANTAGE, BE., cwl.

Written by Mr. Davey io., rather conjecturally pal. by AJE. The reverted (æ) not before a vowel has been supplied, as it was certainly pronounced. I had also a considerable number of words from the Vicar of Denchworth (3 mw. Wantage), which so far as they go confirm this list, and a dt. from the schoolmaster of Cholsey (12 c. Wantage), which has a suspicious number of initial (z) and other doubtful points, hence I can only use these as confirmations on the whole.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 92 náu. A': 118 búen.
 Æ- 148 fáir. Æ: 158 eafter aater. — wops [wasp]. Æ': 208 ær
 v- [e'er a, any]. 209 nær v- [ne'er a-]. 218 shíp. 223 dhær.
 É: 261 zái. 263 ewái. 265 stráit. — uthært [athwart]. E': 312
 jær. EA: 324 áit háit. EA': 366 gært græt. EO: — em [them].
 — shant [short]. 407 fardhîq.
 I'- — gii [give]. I': — hái [hay]. O: 538 ud. 552 kann. —
 marnen [morning]. O': 586 dujt [do it], dun)áu [don't know]. U:
 612 zæm)et [somewhat, something].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — ráilz [rails]. — market [market].

III. ROMANCE.

A. — pái [pay]. 890 búst. — puurter [porter].

Sentences: (dóent)i don't you, (wæt)s want te gra'nd ii færs? what dost want to grind he (=it?) for? (jæ)nt it, (bæ)nt it) is not it, be not it, (æukid) dreadful.

VAR. iii. HA. AND WI. FORMS.

The dialect at the north of Hampshire cannot differ much from that of Hampstead Norris, Be. The late Dr. Burnell, a native, writing from West Stratton (7 ne. Winchester), says that the *r* final is fully reverted, that (z) for *s* initial is very rare, (v) for *f* he had heard in 535 (vooks) folks; (h, wh) initial were used, 553 morning, 87 clothes, were (marnin, klaaz), and 304 beetle a mallet, was (báit'l), which is singular, 394 yonder (jander). In grammar *I be, he be, we am, they am*, are heard, not *I are. I lives not I do live, he live, we lives*. The dialect seemed already (1879) much altered, and so many inhabitants had been in service in London and elsewhere, or at sea and about, that Dr. B. doubted the value of what they told him. The man he had reckoned on as his principal authority was ill.

From East Stratton, which is close by, I got (gwín, enuu, gíet) going, enough, gate; Dr. Burnell repudiated the last.

Towards the s. of Ha. the great towns of Winchester, Southampton, and Portsmouth have acted seriously on the dialect, which however crops up again in Wi.

The Rev. T. Burningham, when Rector of Charlwood, Sr. (6 ssw. Reigate), a Hampshire man, said that in his younger days (b. 1808) the labourer alway put *r* for *f*, and *z* for *s*; a *fallow* would be a *roller* (væls?), and gives the following examples of Ha. at that time (I preserve the spelling), "I was a gwine (gwáin) hoh-um (hóom) to git my káwfee, but set down under the hullumun (hæ-lumun=elm) tree to git out o' th' rah-in (ráin). Terrable watchet (tæreb'l watjet) a gwine across that air veeyuld (víuld)." [1528]

Here *watchet* is *wetshod*, wet for the feet. He notes *waps wapsen* = wasp wasps, *een amoast* = even almost, *on-emp* = un-empty, = empty "on-emp that air payul," *leer* = hungry, empty, = German *leer*, but not derived from it, mid. Eng. lær. (See D 4, p. 52, *Hornet*, I. 23.)

SOUTHAMPTON TO WINCHESTER.

This es. was written from the dictation of Mr. Percival Leigh, 22 March, 1876, who was born in Scotland in 1813, but was taken to Hampshire when a month old and had been there constantly since, so that he had known the dialect all his life. Mr. Leigh did not use (r), but pronounced in the usual received manner, initial (r), final as (e). I have used final (r), because from other sources I know that it prevails in Hampshire. Mr. Leigh was also strict in not leaving out (h), but admitted that it was sometimes put in. Altogether it seems that this version gives rather a refined form of speech, with occasional outbursts of real dialect. Towards Portsmouth Mr. Leigh considered the speech as finer still.

0. wə'ɪ :dʒən hæænt gət noo də'ʊts.

1. wɛl, nɑ'ɪbɜr, dhii ɛn hɪm mɛd buu'th laa'f ət dhɪs hii'r ni'uz ɔ mæ'ɪn. huu kee'rz? dhæt ɛnt nɑdhɜr hii'r nɜr dhee'r.

2. fi'ʊ tʃæps də'ɪz kAAZ dheɛ bi keæft ət, wi' nooz, duu'nt)əs? wət shʊd mi'k ɛm? ɛt beent veri lə'ɪkli, bi)ɛt?

3. hə'ʊsɛndɛv-ɛr dhii'z hii'r bi' dhɛ rə'ɪts ɔ dhɛ stoo'rii, zoo dʒɛst dhii hoold dhɪ nə'ɪz, vɛnd, ɛn bə'ɪd kwə'ɪ-ɛt tɪl ə'ɪ)ɛ vɛɪn. dhii lɪ'sn tɔ mi.

4. ə'ɪ bi' saart'n ə'ɪ hii'rd ɛm zɛɛ zAM ɔ dhɛm fooks ɛz wɛnt druu dhɛ hool dhɪq frɛm dhɛ vɛst dherzel-vz—dhæt dɪd ə'ɪ zɛɛf ɛnɛf—

5. dhɛt dhɛ tʃɛq gæst zAN hɪssɛl'f, ɛ gært bu'ɪ ɔ nə'ɪn nood hɪz vi'dhɜz və'ɪs ɛt wɛns, thɔf twɛz zoo kwɛe'r ɛn skweɛk-ɛn, ɛnd ə'ɪ ʊd trɛst 'hii tɛ spɛɛk dhɛ trʊuth ɛn i dɑi, iis, 'dhæt ə'ɪ ʊd.

6. ɛn dh)ool'd)ɛm-ɛn hɜrzel f 'l)ɛl ɛn'ɪ ɔn)i ɛz keæfs nə'ʊ, ɛn tɛl)i strɑit əf, tuu, widhə'ʊt mɔtʃ fɛs, ɪf juu)l wɛn'li ææsk ɛr, ɔɔ, wɛnt shi?

7. leestwɑiz shi toold ɛt 'mii, wɛn ə'ɪ ææst ɜr, tuu ɛr drii tɔ'ɪnz wævɛr, dɪd)shi, ɛn 'shii dɪd'n't ɛt tɛ bi rɔq ɔn sɪtʃ ɛ pə'ɪnt ɛz dhɪs, wət dəst 'dhii thi'k?

8. wɛl ɛz ə'ɪ wɛz ɛ zɑi'ɔn 'shii ʊd tɛl)i, hə'ʊ, wɛe'r ɔn wɛn shi və'ʊnd dhɪ drɛqk-ɛn bi'ɪst shi kAAZ hɜr hɛz-bɛnd.

9. shi soor shi sAA ɛn wi ɛr ɔɔn ə'ɪz, ɛ-lɑi'ɔn strɛtʃt ɛt ful lɛqkth ɔn dhɛ grə'ʊnd, ɪn ɪz gud zAN'di kwu'ɪt kloos bi dhɛ duu'r ɔ dhɛ hə'ʊs, də'ʊn ɛt dhɛ kæærnɛr ɔ dhɛ leɛn jæændɜr.

10. ɜr wɛz skwɪn'ɛn ɛwɑi, sɛz shii, fɜr ɛal dhɛ wɑrd'l lə'ɪk ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld, ɛr ɛ lɪ'l gærl vɛrɛn.

11. ɛn dhæt hæp'nd ɛz shii ɛn hɜr dææ-tɔr ɪn lAA kAM druu dhɛ bæk kuu'rt frɛm hæq-ɛn ə'ʊt dhɛ wɛt klooz tɔ drə'ɪ ɔn ɛ wɔsh-ɛn dɑi.

12. wə'ɪl dhɛ kit'l wɛz ɛbə'ɪlɛn fɜr tɛɛ wɛn brə'ɪt zAM-ɛr ææternuun wɛn'li ɛ weɛk ɛguu' kɛm nɛks dhɛr'ɪ.

13. ænd dəst 'dhii noo? ə'ɪ nɛv-ɜr lAArnt noo muu'r nɜr dhɪs hii'r ɛ 'dhæt bɪz'nɛs ɛp tɛ tɛ-dɑi, ɛz shuu'r ɛz mæ'ɪ ni'imz :dʒɔn :shɛp'ɛrd ɔn ə'ɪ duu'nt wAANT tɛ, ɛɛdher, zoo dhee'r!

14. ɛn zoo ə'ɪ bi gwə'ɪ-ɔn wɔo'm tɛ zAP-ɛr. gud nə'ɪt, ɛn

dun't bii zo kwick tɛ kroo wævər ɛ tʃæp ɛɡɪn, wɛn ɛ tʌks ɔ dhɪs dhæt ɛr tædlɪr.

15. ɛt s ə wɛk fuɪl ɛz sez muu'r nɛr i niid. ɔn dhæt-s mɔʊ'i last wɑrd. gud bəʊ'i.

Notes.

0. *hasn't got no doubts*, or simply *has no* (ɛ noʊ) or *has not got* (ɛ nɒt ɡɒt). The vowel (ɔ) was Mr. Leigh's ordinary (ə) and was not (o).

1. *neighbour*, Mr. L. gave both (nái-) and (n.oi-).—*tho-him*: *tho* is used for both nom. and acc.; *him* is nom. and (hi) emphatic, (ɛn) regular unemphatic S. acc.

2. *ain't* is most natural, but (beent) is also used.—*few* with (i) not (v).—*chaps*, Mr. L. varied, apparently unconsciously, from (æ) to (a^l) wherever the short sound occurs.—*what*, simple (w) no (wh).—*hain't* or (bii nt). The use of *be* in the third singular here and elsewhere is doubtful.

3. *rights of the story*, for *facts of the case*, which is not a dialectal expression.—*thy* (dhəʊ'i) emphatic, (dhi) unemphatic.—*friend*, the (v) is doubtful.—*adone*, the use of (v) before the past participle is more frequent than not, among the regular old-fashioned people.

4. *say* sometimes (zái).—*through* as dictated, but this change of *thr-* to *dr-* implies that the real change is into (dr-) and this is doubtful in Ha.—*thing* (dhiŋ) is only occasionally used for (thiŋ)—*from* is more naturally pronounced with (t).

5. *voice* is not a regular term, perhaps (váis) would be said.—*though* (thɔɪ) was so dictated, but the (th) is doubtful. The word was said to be not common but still used.—*he*, emphatic form of acc., (ɛn) unemphatic.—*any* (ɛni), never

(æni).—*day* (dái) is heard, but not so often as (deɪ).—*yes* (iis) is the regular form, but (yæks) is also used.

6. *old woman*, the (d) of (ool) is perceptibly made the beginning of the word (ʌm'ɛn), as common in S.—*ou-ye*, *tell ye*, sometimes (ɛɪ) is used in place of (-i), but this must be a modernism.—*fuss* is the common word, not *bother*.—*only* (oo'ni) is also used, but (wɒn'li) is more frequent.

7 and 14. *over* (wævər).

8. *saying*, also pronounced (see'ən) or (seen).—*found* generally with (v), (f) sometimes among the younger.—*beast* or (beest), plural (bii'stiz).—*husband* or (əz'bænd, ɛzbænd), not *man*.

9. *saw* or else (sæw, zæw, sid, sin, sii) might be used.—*a-laying*, a general error for *a-lying*, which would be (ə-ləʊ'i'ən).

10. *world*, this pronunciation is not very common now.—*girl* or else (máid).

11. *law* is generally (læw), but in this connection may be (lɑ).

12. *week* uncertain, Mr. Leigh at first wrote *week* (wiik), I expected (wik, wɪk), but both *wicu* and *wuce* are found in Ws.

13. *name's*, or (næəmz).—*shepherd*, (shɪp) is used for *sheep*.

14. *a-going* (gəʊ'ɪn) is probably an error for (ɛgwaɪ'an).—*this*, no (dhiŋ) is used in Hampshire, but (dhiŋ'ɛn) is said in the plural.

15. *says*, the word *prates* is not used, (reez'n) is said.

ANDOVER, HA., specimen and cwl. s

Prof Dr. M. M. Arnold Schröer, from Vienna, of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden, Germany, who had studied phonetics under Dr. Sweet, and had had much experience in observing, analysing, and criticising differences of speech in various parts of Germany, and speaks English with an excellent pronunciation, having spent the summer of 1887 near Andover, Ha., exercised himself in writing Ha. speech from dictation. His two chief authorities were Mr. Benjamin Manning, of Appleshaw (4 wnw. Andover), between 40 and 50 years old, who had lived all his life in the county and been in constant communication with farm-labourers,

and Mr. Archard, a native of Ha., educated at Winchester, then national schoolmaster at Andover, and consequently in the constant habit of hearing dialect, to whom Prof. S. had been recommended by Canon Collier, the vicar, as the very man he wanted. Of these Prof. S. considered Mr. M. as his chief authority. The number of points, however, in which he differed from Mr. A. is considerable. Prof. Schröer selected as an example a letter originally published in *Punch* (vol. ix. p. 264, 1845) and reprinted in the Rev. Sir William H. Cope's *Ha. Glossary*, p. xii. This was read to him by both Messrs. M. and A., and their pronunciation most carefully analysed in Dr. Sweet's revised Romic spelling (*Sound Notation*, Trans. of the Philological Society, 1880-1, pp. 177-235), with which Prof. S. is perfectly familiar. These versions, transliterated into pal. from the references to Mr. Melville Bell's notation and other indications given in the paper cited, are here annexed, with a translation. In the cwl. Mr. M. has been generally followed, and some words in his own orthography have been added. In a few cases Mr. A.'s pron. is specially noted.

Prof. S. considers that the Ha. dialect

"is rapidly dying out, and has been so for the last two generations. Even the oldest farm-labourers are so much accustomed to educated (London) pronunciation, that this certainly influences their natural speech. I attended," he adds, "a harvest-home festival at Longstock House, Fullerton (4 s. Andover), and waited upon a poor blind old man of 80, who, owing to his blindness, could not always know that I was near him or within hearing. Still, though I spent almost the whole afternoon in his company, always listening and secretly taking notes, I did not find more than a very few peculiar pronunciations, except the general tendency of influencing vowels by the reverted *r*."

There are several points which will strike the reader in the following spec. Prof. Schröer having been, as already stated, a phonetic pupil of Dr. Sweet, his appreciation of sounds, as referred to Mr. Melville Bell's scheme, seems to differ in some respects from mine. He has been before all things anxious to make the most accurate transcription possible of the speech actually under consideration. Mr. M.'s own spelling in the cwl. will shew that the speaker evidently thought he was saying (ü, ee), while Prof. S. heard only (yy, EE). The (æ) which constantly occurs corresponds in unaccented syllables to my (e), from which, and also from (əb), which sometimes occurs, the audible difference is small, though the difference of the position of tongue and lips, which determines the symbol, is often considerable. Probably most of the words written with (yy'æ), I should have heard with (ie, iv, iiv). Those written with (oh), considered as Fr. *o* in *homme* and answering to short *u*, I should probably have heard as (o), but both Mr. M.'s (oh) and Mr. A.'s (u) in (pohntj, püntj), punch, in place of (æ), are extremely strange to me. As regards I' words having (áy), I may refer to JGG.'s use of the same symbol at Chippenham (suprà p. 51), which I then thought very remarkable. The symbol (æ'əh), which is the pal. rendering of Dr. Sweet's sign for received London *ow*, is intended to imply that in Ha. Mr. M. used that sound, beginning with (æ) and ending with the rounded form of the same vowel, that is, not coming up to (u) or altering the position of the tongue at all, but merely partly closing the lips while saying (æ). I am accustomed to analyse my own utterance of this sound as (á¹u), and do not hear (æ) at all: in fact, when I first heard initial (æ) from Mr. Trotter (suprà p. 60*d*), it had an extremely strange provincial effect to my ears. This (æ'əh) is, however, not universal. In *count* both M. and A. give (kúant), which I might have heard as (k'ánt), a very singular form. This (úa, úua) is the common form of what I, perhaps, should have written (úv, úv, úuv), as (búvak, stúvad) book, stood, which I should probably have heard and therefore written (búek, stúv). Some other usages

also seem strange, as the diphthong in (nEE'a'z), noise, the advanced high (æ) in (vÆA'R), for, the accented use of (ə) in (pəgz. :y'əmzh'R, hæst, yə'bl), pigs, Hampshire, hast, able, the use of (œ) in (zœns), sense, the double form of (ÆA'a'l, Æa-a'l), oil, where (Æa-a'l) seemed to be an advanced (aa) ending with a slight motion of the tongue into the position for (a'); the hyphen merely separates symbols, so as to form a kind of (a'i) diphthong.

These observations of Prof. Schröer are, I think, very valuable as shewing almost personal varieties of nw.Ha. pron. differing so widely as Mr. M.'s and Mr. A.'s, and analysed with the greatest minuteness and conscientiousness. I feel greatly indebted to him for his kindness in sending them, with long explanations, although it was extremely inconvenient for him to do so in time to appear in this place.

TWO ANDOVER PRONUNCIATIONS OF HAMPSHIRE FARMER'S LETTER.

Written in Dr. Sweet's Romie by Prof. Arnold Schröer and translated into pal. by AJE. All the (t, d, l, n, r) both here and in the sentences and cwl. on p. 104 should be (τ, δ, λ, ξ, ρ), and hence (tɪ, dɪ) should be (τɪ, δɪ, =tsh, dsh) as at Chippenham (p. 51), but as this was not known till the proof was corrected, I considered it safer to let them remain as they are with this intimation.

M. From the dictation of Mr. Manning.

A. From the dictation of Mr. Archard, when the same for any word as in M., only (,) is written.

T. Literal translation, *not* the original in *Punch*.

1. M *myst'r* :pohntɪ, z'R, yf jəh'R [jə'əh] plyy'əz, z'R, əy by)ə
 A ,, pəntɪ, ,, yf j'R ,, ,, ,, ,, a
 T Mr. Punch, sir, if you please, sir, I be a

M :y'əmzh'R vÆA'RMəhR.

A ,, vÆA'RM'R.

T Hampshire farmer.

2. M əy rəyts tə jə'əh kəz əy nə'əhz jə'əh úant máynd máy
 A ,, ,, tu júa kÆ'az ,, núaz ju wənt ,, ,,
 T I write to you because I know you won't mind my

M núat by'ən ə zgələ'rd ən w'l a'kskéiz byy'əd zbælən

A ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, óal [w'l] ykskjuz ,, ,,

T not being a scholar[d] and will excuse bad spelling

M ən EE'l dhEE'ət [dhyy'ət].

A ,, Ə'al dhyy'ət.

T and all that.

3. M lúakən ə'əhvə dhə pyy'əpə tədh'r myy'ərkət dáay
 A ləkən úavə ,, ,, túadhə ,, dyy'əy
 T Looking over the paper t'other market day

M ət :wəntɪyst'r əy zyysd [zyd] ə kúant ə dhə práyz

A ,, :wəntɪystə'R ,, zyy ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

T at Winchester I see'd a count of the prize

M *kyy'əot'l*)zhjə'əh *úap yn :lunəon* [:lohəon].

A ,, ,, *zhúá* ,, *yn :lohəon*.

T cattle show up in London.

4. M *áy wEE'əontydl* tə *núua wEE'əot ə zəð əbúat ə pəgz* ;

A ,, *wúantyd* ,, *núá wúat ə zəd əbúat ə pygz* ;

T I wanted to know what he said about the pigs ;

M *úaz dhə wEE'əoz ən wEE'r dhə kúam vrəom*.

A ,, ,, *wúaz* ,, *wəh'r* ,, *kohm vrəm*.

T whose they was and where they come from.

5. M *áy və'əhənd əz ə'əh dhEE'r wʒə'1rnt ə ziq'g'l pəgz vrəom*

A *áy və'əhnd* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, *úag vrəm*

T I found as how there were'nt a single pig [hog] from

M *:y'əomzh'r* [:jəomzh'r] məq dhə ləot.

A ,, ,, *əoməq* ,, *lúat*.

T Hampshire among the lot.

6. M *jə'əh núuaz dhEE'əot, áy'd'r* zEE'a¹, əz wə'l əz *áy*

A *júá núaz dhyy'əot, ,, dyy'ə'r* zyy'əj, əz wəl ,, ,,

T You knows that, I dare say, as well as I

M *dúá, ən vəh'r láyk jə'əh béey zðná'ysht yy'əot)əot*

A ,, ,, *vəRRy* ,, *júá byj əzdənyzhd ət)yt*

T do, and very like you be astonished at it

M [jəot)əot] zohməot. tə'l áa¹ ə'əh)əot)əz)z'r.

A zohm't. tel *yj* ə'əh[*úú*] tyz)z'r.

T somewhat. Tell you how it is, sir.

7. M *wá'y və'əhks ən :y'əomzh'r bREE'əodz* [bryy'əodz] pəgz əz

A *wy vúaks yn ,, bryy'əodz* ppygz)əz)

T We folks in Hampshire breeds pigs as

M pəgz ə'əht)ə bá'y, ən *dúant gúá vətəon ən əm úap*

A ppygz *úat)ə by,* ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

T pigs ought)to be, and don't go fattening on them up

M *ty'l dhə kyy'əont wEE'əog*.

A *tyl* ,, ,, *wyy'əog*.

T till they can't wag.

8. M *wá'y zəz pə'əh'rək ə'əht)tə hEE'əov lyy'əon əz wə'l əz*

A *wy sez púark úat tu* ,, ,, ,, wəl ,,

T We says pork ought to have lean as well as

M *vyy'əot, ən wá¹ láyks úar byy'əokn stryy'əokyd. zyy'əom*

A ,, ,, *wy* ,, ,, ,, *stryy'əoky.* ,,

T fat, and we likes our bacon streaky. Same

M wy kyy'ætl.

A „ „
T with cattle.

9. M wʌʌ¹rʲz) dhæ zœns ʌʌ¹R REE'æzn æ stohf-æn æn KRÁæmn
A wá¹rʲz „ „ „ Rʌá¹zn a stof'n „ KRæmn
T Where's the sense or reason of stuffing and cramming

M æ bulyk ty'l yy byy'ænt y'æ'bl tæ zyy jæ'æht? [out
A æ hœks ty'l æ „ yy'æ'bl „ „ úat
T an ox [bullock] til he be not able to see out [out

M of his eyes, not used]

A a yz æyz?
T of his eyes]?

10. M wee'æt jæz dhæ jæ'æhs æ EE'l dhEE'æt EE'æR vyy'æt
A wúat iz „ juuz a æE'l dhyy'æt yy'æR „
T What is the use of all that ere fat

M [vee'æt] áy wee'ænts tæ næ'æh? úa jæz dhæh'r æz
A „ wúants tu núa? „ iz „ „
T I wants to know? Who is there as

M jæts)æt?

A yy'æts)yt?
T eats it?

11. M dhæ ʌʌ¹a¹ kyy'æk, t'rmæts, mæqg'lz[w'rʲlz) æn ky'æbydʲ
A „ áa-a¹ „ „ mæqg'lw'rʲz¹ æn kæbydʲ
T The oilcake, turnips, mangelwurzel, and cabbage

M æz)æz wee'æstyd æn mee'ækæon wɣn bulyk æ [monster]
A æz)yz wyy'æstyd yn myy'ækæon wúan „ „ monst'r
T as is wasted in making one bullock a monster

M ohd gúa tæ kee'æp drá¹y ʌ¹ væ'æh'R váyn ky'ætl yn
A ud „ tu „ dry „ væ'R „ hœks'n yn
T would go to keep three or four fine oxen [cattle] in

M gúad kondysh'n.

A „ „
T good condition.

12. M uáy, z'R, dháa-a¹ med dɣst)æz wæ'l væt)ohp
A „ „ dhá-a¹ máyt dɣúast)æz wá'l vyy'æt „
T Why, sir, they might just as well fat up

M zdægz)æn yy'æh'rʲz æn REE'æbohts, áy æn vEE'æz'nz æn
A „ „ EE'æRʲz „ Ræbohts, „ „ vœz'nz „
T stags and hares, and rabbits, aye and pheasants and

M pEE'ærdra'ldjyz vÆ'æ'r dhæ mEE'ætæR æ'dhEE'æt.
 A pœE'rdrjldjyz ,, ,, mæt'R æ dhyy'æt.
 T partridges, for the matter of that.

13. M tæ'l aa' wEE'æt [tæz] :myy'æst'r :polntj, yf zda'd æ vlyqæon
 A tæ'l yy' úat, ,, ,, pntj yf zded æ ,,
 T Tell you what [it is], Master Punch, if stead of flinging

M æwáa-a' gúad prævnd'r tæ t'rn Æ'æ'nd yæænæm'lz y'ntu
 A æwáy ,, prævænd'r tu ,, ,, ænæmæ'lz æntu
 T away good provender to turn horned animals into

M :dæonæl :læmb'rts, dháa-a' wúaz tæ gyy bryy'æd æn maa'yt
 A ,, :læmb'rts dháy úaz tu byy'æstúa ,, ,, myy'æt
 T Daniel Lamberts they was to give [bestow] bread and meat

M æn t'rmohs tæ :krystænz æn myy'æk zohm æn)æm
 A ,, ,, æn :krystyænz ,, ,, ,, æ'dhohm
 T and turnips on Christians, and make some of them

M æ byt væt'R dhæn dháa-a' bá'y dháa)æ'd dúa múa
 A æ byt'l vyy'æt'R dháæon dháy byy dháy)æ'd dúua múua
 T a little fatter than they be, they'd do more

M gúad æ práa'yshæos záyt, æn áy)m bæ'æhn jæ'æh bá'y
 A gúvad æ pree'æshæos záyt, ,, ,, báund júua byy
 T good a precious sight, and I'm bound you be

M dhæ zyy'æm pynæon.
 A æ dhæ ,, æbbynæon.
 T of the same opinion.

14. M áy ba', z'r, jæ'æh'r báa'yldæont zÆ'æ'rvnt :djúan :græ'æhts.
 A ,, byy, ,, ju'r byyldæont ,, ,, :gráuts.
 T I be, sir, your obedient servant, John Grouts.

Notes to the above Letter.

1. *knows*, M. writes (*áy næ'æhz*) and says *not* (*wúaz*) which is what A. gives; but M. says that 'to know' is (*tæ núa*).

3. *looking*, an octogenarian at Redenham (5 nw. Andover and 1 nw. Appleshaw) agreed with A. here.

5. *found* or (*væ'æhd*).—M. says "hog not used," that is in the sense of a male pig; but as a young and as yet unshorn sheep, the word is common in Ha., so that a *Hampshire Hog* means a country simpleton. There is a 'Hampshire-Hog Lane' at Hammer-smith, London, W.

6. *very*, M. says the final *y* is frequently omitted.

9. *bullock*, M. says *æx* is not used in Ha., but A. gives it.

11. *oil* (*œE'yli*) in ewl.—*making* not (*myy'ækæon*) says M., as A. has, it is only the infinitive which is (*myy'æk*). M. says *monster* is not used, and Prot. S. put a ? against (*mEE'ænst'r*) as a possible pron.—*four* is (*væ'æh'r*), but *fourteen* is (*vÆ'æ'rtin*).—*cattle* was *æxon* in the original, but M. says the word is not used, though A. has it.

13. *tell you what*, according to M. should have had *'tis* appended.—*a bit*, M. says *not* a little, which A. uses.—*bestow* is not used says M., but it is given by A.—*you be* [*of*, to be omitted according to M.] *the same opinion*.

ANDOVER COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

Written by Prof. Schröer from dictation of Mr. B. Manning. See p. 100.

1. (dhəot háyv wəz núua dhəon heef brúuəd), that hive was more than half brood.
2. (t)yy'əont láyk dhyy'əot), it [=the thing said] is)not like that, [=is not so].
3. (y yy'əont núua gúuəd), it [referring to a rake] is-not no good.
4. (yy'is dhyy həost, dhyy)st stóulst my mee'ə), yes thou hast, thee hast stol'st my maw=heart. [The phrase is said to belong to a well-known anecdote, using *stol'st* for *stolen*.]
5. (gymy dhýk zee'ə. uy'tm? dhýk)n), give me this saw. which one? this)one.
6. (dhyy'ə byy'əost ə bee'əd bóoe), thou be'st a bad boy.
7. (dhyy'ədst [dhyy'əldst] nee'ə byy núua gud)an), thee'dst [thee'ldst] never be no good one.
8. (tyz máyn bee'əd, z'r), it)is main [=very] bad, sir.
9. (áy kyy'əont kə'əhnt)əm dhée'ə ee'a'l əməə), I can't count them there all among [mixed up together].
10. (úy dūant júua gúua húuam [wúuam]), why don't you go home?
11. (dūant mee'əhk sytɪ)ə nee'a'z), don't make such a noise.
12. (áy tə'l dhý uət)yz, mən!), I tell you what [it] is, man!
13. (wæɪ'r byy'əost [hyst] dhyy gwáuh)n?), where be'st thee going? [In (gwáuh) "the first element low-back-wide, the second rather mid-mixed-wide, but certainly labialised by the (a). I [Schröer] make it (uh₁) lower, between (oh) and (uh), but more (y) than (oh)."]
14. (wee'əst hyst gwáyn væɪ'r?), what be'st thou going for? [=why are you going?]
15. (uət)s dhyy wee'əont?), what)is [it that] thee want?
16. (máyn smyytɪy, máyn smyy'rt), main (=very) dusty, main smart.
17. (áy wynt. áy úant gúa úam tənáy)t), I will)not. I won't go home to-night.
18. (lúakyy yy'r; y túald my túadhə dáay), look ye here; he told me the other day.
19. (yf dhyy wast gwáuh)n tə :əksf'rd, wytɪ wáy wudst gúua?), if thee wast going to Oxford, which way wouldst [thou] go?
20. (wytɪ wáy udst æv)yt; a'ət ə kúu'ld [kə'əha'ld]?), which way wouldst [thou] have it; hot or cold?
21. (myy'əot dháy mee'əot), meet thy mate.

ANDOVER cwl.

from the phonetic observations of Prof. Arnold Schröer, chiefly on Mr. Manning and Mr. Archard, who are sometimes distinguished as M and A. Mr. Manning also gave Prof. S. a list of many words in the cwl. in his own orthography, which I annex in Italics because it serves to shew his own appreciation of his own sounds. I preserve even Mr. M.'s division of a word into two. See p. 100.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zúu. 3 byy'əok. 4 tyy'əok. 5 myy'əok, mee'əhk. 6 myy'əd. 8 [hee'əv. 9 byyy'əv. 11 mee'ə. 12 zee'ə. 14 dree'ə, dræɪ'. 15

[[æa'afəd, ee'əfəd] awfəd]. 17 M lee'ə, A lææ'. 18 kyy'ək. 19 tyy'əl, táy'l. 20 lyy'əm [more decided dialect], lee'əm [less broad]. 21 nyy'əm, nee'əm. 24 zhyy'əm, shyy'əm. 30 kyy'ər, kyy'r'. 33 ryy'ədhə.

A: 39 kyy'əm, káym, keeam [not much used. M.]. 40 kúam. 41 dhəqk. 43 [hyy'ənd. 44 lyy'ənd. 45 wee'ənt. 46 kyy'əndl. 47 wyy'ənd'r. 48 zyy'əq, zohq. 49 yy'əq. 50 təqz [doubtful whether ever (tyy'əqz)]. 51 məm. 55 M ee'əshyz [never (yy'ə-)], A yy'əshyz. 56 wee'əsh [very seldom (wyy'əsh)]. A: or O: 58 vrəm, vrohm. 60 ləq. 64 ree'əq.

A'- 67 gúua, gu. 69 núua. 70 túua, túua, túnua? 72 úua, hyy'u, hjúua. 73 zúua. 74 túua, túnua. 76 túuad. 77 lææ'rd. 78 úua. 79 úuan. 80 əl'rdə'i, əl'rdə. 82 wəns, wúuəns. 84 múua. 85 zúuə'r, zə'əhə. 86 úuəts, [usually (wúuəts)]. 87 klææ'əz, klee'əz. 89 búuəth, bee'əth. 91mə'əh. 92 núua, nə'əh. 96 zúuu [but mostly (zə'əh, zə'əhd, zə'əhə) sow, sowed, sowing]. 97 zúu'l. 98 M nee'əd [knowed], A núuan [known]. 99 drə'əhd. 100 zə'əhd [but the (z) is gradually giving way to (s)].

A': 101 [wúuək. 102 əks, ə. 103 əkst, ee'əkst, éykst, ət. 104 rúuad. 106 brúuad. 113 úu'l. 115 úuam. 117 úuan. 118 búuan. 122 i. núuan, ii. núua. 124 stúuan. 127 [hææ'rz. 133 rúuat.

Æ- 138 (v)éyy'ədh'r. 140 ee'əjl. 141 nee'əjl. 142 snee'əjl. 143 tee'əjl. 144 əgyy'əən əgeee'əən. 146 máyn [rarely (myy'əən, mee'ym)]. 147 bryy'əən. 148 vee'ə'r. 149 blyy'əz. 152 úatə, wootə ["with voiceless d, 'Stimmlose lenis,' the pron. (úatə) apparently dialect, (wootə) influenced by educated pron., heard both from old country people." AS.] 153 zəf'rdəay.

Æ: 154 byy'ək. 158 ah ter. 159 ee'əz, əz. 161 dəay. 162 tudəay. 163 láay. 164 máay. 165 zed. 166 mee'əd. — wəps [wasp]. Æ'- 184 lee'əd, lee ad. 187 lee'əv. 189 wəy. 190 káy. 194 ee'əni [occ., but oftener (əny)]. 195 mee'əni, məny. 197 djee'əz. 198 lət. 199 blee'ət. 200 wee'ət. 202 ee'ət.

Æ': 203 zbee'ət. 204 yndee'əd [indeed]. 205 dhæd. 208 M eev'r, A əv'r. 209 M neev'r, A nəv'r. 210 kləay. 211 grəay. 212 wəay. 213 əydh'r, ee'ədh'r. 214 nəydh'r, nee'ədh'r. 215 tūuət. 216 dee'əd. 217 ee'ət. 218 M zhyy'əp, A zhee'əp. 220 M zhyy'əb'rd, A zhee'əp'rd, zhəp'rd ["the latter rather confirming the pronunciation of M.']. 223 dhəh'r, dhæ'h'r. 224 uææ'h'r, A əəh'r. 226 múuəst. 227 wət. 228 zwət, zwee'ət.

E- 231 dhə. 232 bree'ək. 233 spyy'ək, A spee'ək, [M makes (spee'ək) he spoke]. 234 nee'əd. 235 wee'əv. 236 vee'əv'r. 238 ee'əd. 239 zaa-a'l. 241 raa-a n. 243 plaa-a'l. 244 wə'l. 246 M kwee'əən, A kwəə-a'n. 248 mee'ə'r. 249 wee'ə'r. 250 zwee'ə'r. 251 M maa'yt, A myy'ət. 252 kyt.

E: 256 zdryy'ət, stree'ət. 257 ee'əd. 260 læa-a'l. 261 zaa-a'l. 262 waa-a'l. 263 awaa-a'l, waa'a'l. 265 zdree'ət, zdraa'a't. 266 wə'l. 269 zaa'lf. 271 taa'l, tyy'l. 272 aa'lm. 273 myy'əən. 274 byy'ənt. 275 zdyy'ənt, stee'ənt. 276 dhəqk. 279 wee'ənt. 286 a'rəh'r. 288 lət.

E'- 289 jee'ə and jyy'ə. 290 [hyy. 291 dhyy. 292 mee'ə [not much used. M]. 293 M waa'y, A wee'ə, wy. 294 vee'əd, réad. 296 hylee'əv. 297 vəl'r. 298 vee'a'l. 299 gtee'əən. 300 kee'əd, kéeyə. 301 [hyy'r. 302 M myy'ət, A mee'ət, méeyt. 303 zwee'ət, zwéeyt. E': 305 [háy. 306 hoight. 307 náy. 308 naid. 311 tin. 312 hé ere. 314 [hyy'r. — bləsn [blessing]. 315 réate.

EA- 318 leelt. 320 kyy'ər. EA: 321 [(zyd) see'd, used]. 322 láife. 324 əty [eighty]. 326 úu'ld, ə'əhd. 330 [húu'ld, [hə'əhd. 332 tūu'ld, tə'əhd. 333 kə'af. 334 heef. 335 ee'a'l ee'l. 338 kee'a'l. 339 [(hyy) used]. 340 jyy'ər, jyy'rd [orchard is (ee'ə'r)rd, -ənt)]. 342 yarm. 343 wəyarm. 344 tyy'ld. 346 gee atc. EA'- 347 hé əv. 348 əy [pl. (ee'a'z)]. 349 fyəə'əh. EA': déəde. 351 lid. 352 ree'əd. 353 bryy'əd. 355 dyf. 357 dhə'əh. 359 nəyb'r. 360 tee am. 261 bee an. 363 tyy'əp, tjee'əp, tje. 366 gryy'ət. 368 d'ath. 371 stráú.

EI- 373 dháy ["of course not genuine instead of (hyy) the old Southern form"]. EI: 380 dhəni, əm ["in (ə) perhaps the old genuine Southern form Anglo-Saxon heom, him"].

EO- 384 *heb n.* 386 *you.* 387 *nee'u.* EO: 388 *m'u'lk.* 390 *shohd,* *shrad.* 392 *jæn.* 394 *jænd'r.* 396 *wærk.* [(*wærked*) worked]. 399 *bráyt.* 402 *læa'rn.* — *smyy'rt* [to smart]. 406 ["never heard it used" M]. EO'- 409 *báy.* 412 *shy,* *hy.* 419 *jæ'oh'r.* 420 *væ'oh'r.* 421 *væa'ty.* EO': 422 *zyk.* 427 *baa'y* [been (ba'n)]. 428 *zæa'y,* *zy.* 430 *væend.* 433 *bréast.* 435 *jæ'oh.* 436 *dræ'oh,* *dræu.* EY- 438 *dáy* [and (*dáua*)?] died (*dáyd,* *dæa'y'd*).

I- 440 M *wáayk,* A *wæe'æk.* 446 *nóine.* 449 *gyt* [forget (*f'rgyt*)]. I: 452 *áy.* 455 *lay.* 458 *náyt,* *nyy'æt* [the latter "most decided dialect"]. 459 *ráyt.* 465 *syt.* 466 *tyy'ld,* *tyyy'ld.* 469 [*'áy w'l*] I will]. 475 *wóind.* 484 *dhýk* [(*dhýk'n*) this one]. 485 *thæ'sels.* — *sóhns* [since]. I'- 490 *by.* 492 *zayd.* 494 *táym.* 496 *áy'rn.* 498 *náyt.* I': 500 *layk.* 506 [wuman. 507 *wum'en.*

O- — *smaa'æk,* *smáuaek* [smoke]. 519 *æ'ohvæn.* 521 *vou'el.* 522 *oop'un.* 524 *world.* O: 527 *bout.* 528 *thout.* 529 *brout.* 531 *dæetæ.* 532 *ko'ol.* 534 *ho'ol.* 535 *væ'ohk.* 536 *goo uld.* 541 *wynt,* *vant.* 550 *wárd.* 552 *kæa'rn.* 553 [hæa'rn]. O'- 555 *zhoo.* 558 *lúak.* 559 *moother.* 562 *mo'um.* — *mouth* [month]. 564 *ziuan,* *zon.* 565 *nóuuz.* 566 *ohdh'r* ["but usually (*tohdhær,* *túodhær,* *tæ'ohdhær*); I heard an old farm-labourer, 80 years old, at Longstock (9 nw. Winchester), say (*máy tohdh'rz*) = my others." AS.] 568 *braadh'r.*

O': 569 *búuak.* 570 *túuak.* 571 *gúuad.* 572 *blúuad.* 574 *brúuad.* 575 *stúuad.* 576 *wúuuzzdæ.* *wóhuzzdæ.* 578 *plaa,* *plæ'oh.* 579 M *inæ'oh,* A *noh* [which M doubts]. 580 *tæ'oh.* 583 *túuajl.* 584 *stúuajl* ["that is inverted (t almost like ts); this sound is said to be frequent, though M does not admit it in (*tw*), two, where I heard it distinctly myself, though not always." AS.] 585 *brúuam.* 586 *dúua.* 587 *dohm.* 593 *níst.* 595 *vo'ut.*

U- 599 *ah'boone.* 601 *vouul.* 602 *zow,* *plu.* *zows.* 603 *kohm,* *koosm.* 604 *zohm'r.* 605 *zohm* [see 629]. 606 *d'er.* — *uud* [wood]. U: 609 *v'l.* 612 *zohm.* 613 *drohok.* 615 *pæ'ohnd.* 616 *græ'ohnd.* 623 *væ'ohænd.* 625 *to'ung.* 626 [not used. *I be'a móin hunger'd,* M]. 629 *zohm* [see 605]. 632 *ohp.* 634 M *dræ'oh,* A *dræu.* 639 *dowst.*

U'- 640 *kow hu,* *pl.* *kow'ho's.* 641 [hæ'oh]. 644 *zohk,* *zok.* 645 *dúuav.* — *dhúuam* [thmmb]. U': 658 *dæ'ohm.* 663 [hæ'ohs].

Y- 673 *mohtj.* 675 *dráy.* 680 *byzy.* 682 *lee'dle.* Y: 684 *bræ'adge.* 685 *ru'dge.* 688 *zohjt.* 692 *johqgæst.* 694 *wærk.* 695 [æa'rk], [hy'rk]. 700 *wos'er,* *wass.* 701 *væa'rst.* 702 *wy.* Y- 706 *wáy.* Y': 709 *vjer,* *voyer.*

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *bæe'æd,* *bææd.* 714 *læe'æd.* 732 *æpn.* — *æpy* [happy]. 736 *lææs,* *læe'æs.* 737 *myy'æt,* *mæe'æt.* E. 745 *tæe'a't.* 749 M *lyt* ["which I myself heard," AS.], A *læe'ait.* I. and Y. 758 *gæe'l.* 759 *vyt.* 760 *zhry'ld.* O. 761 *loo'ud.* 765 *djúuæn.* 766 [I believe this word *moidered* to be purely Irish, I never heard it in Ha., M.]. 767 *nææyz,* *næe'a'z.* 769 *mo'el,* *wæant.* 773 *doqky.* 774 *púuani.* 776 *gúuad báuy.* 783 [*poultry* is not used or they would say *powel try,* M.]. 791 *bææ'y,* *bóoe.* U. 796 *bloo'u.* 801 *ræn.* 802 *róhm.* 804 *dræqkn* [compare 613]. 808 *poht.*

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *v'ass.* 811 *pl'ass.* 813 *byy'æk.* 818 *æe'ædj.* 822 *maay,* *moy.* 826 *æe'ægl.* 828 *æeggy.* — *kæmpl áymyn* [complaining]. 833 *pyy'æ'r.* — *plaa'yiz* ["(*plyy'æz*) is probably not genuine dialect"]. 835 *ræa-a'zn.* 836 *zyy'æzn.* — *myy'æst'r.* 849 *chámber.* 841 *tyyy'æus.* 847 *dáinger,* *dóinger.* 849 *zdrænd'r.* 850 *dyy'æus.* 851 *æænt.* 852 *æe'æp'rn.* 854 *bææ'r'l.* 855 *kæe'róhts.* 856 *pæe'ært.* 857 *kyy'æus.* 862 *zyy'æi.* 864 *kæa'æus,* [shorter *kæus*]. 865 *væe'lt.* 866 *pæ'r.*

E.. 867 *tæe'a't.* 869 *væe'æjl.* 874 *ryy'æm.* 875 *væe'ænt.* 876 *dæe'ænty.* 877 [not used, M.]. 885 *væeh'r,* *væ'ri* ["an old man of 80 in Redenham (5 nw.

Andover), apparently eager to avoid the dialectal change of (f) to (v), said (ferŷ),'' A.S.]. 888 *sartun* [often it is *zartun zure*, M.]. 890 *byy'æst*. 893 *vle'e'li'r*.

I.. and Y.. 897 *dylæyt*. 898 *næys*. 900 *prææ'ly*. 901 *væyn*. 903 *dæyn* [not vulgar]. 904 *væylæf*. 912 *ræys*. O.. 913 *kærtj*. 915 *zdoht*. 916 *ænjæn*. 918 *fæy'ble*. 920 *pæ'ynt*. 922 *bohshl*. *bushl*. 923 *maist*. *moin de'amp*. 924 *choy'iss*. 925 *vææ'lys*, *vææ'ys*. 926 *zbææ'ylj*, *zbææ'yl*. 929 *kæ'ohkæmb'r*. 930 *kææ'ym*. 935 *kohntri*. 939 *klæas*. 940 *kæat*. 941 *roo'ul*. 942 *bohrt'r*. 943 *titch*. 950 *zohp'r*. 951 *kohpl*. 952 *koo'us*.

U.. 965 *ææ'yjl*. — *pohnish* [punish]. 969 *zhu'r*. 970 *djæast*.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

The *Isle of Wight* may be regarded as part of Ha. dialectally as it is politically. Owing to its separation from the mainland, and the absence of commercial ports, it has not been so much exposed to the influence of great towns as the county generally. The MS. form of dial. is strongly marked. The reverted (r) is well recognised when final. My information, independent of books, is derived from Rev. C. E. Seaman, the vicar of Northwood (2 s. Cowes), for the n. of the island, and Mr. Titmouse, schoolmaster of Shorwell (5 sw. Newport), for the s. The latter says that initial (z) is not frequent, but occurs in (zæmæt) somewhat, and there is a tendency that way in many other words, and also that the tendency is generally to use initial (v) for *f*, as (værlæq, væg) furlong, fog. Mr. T. says that *thr-* does take the sound of *dr-* in a very pronounced manner, and points to *dresher* for *thresher*, but Mr. Seaman does not admit this, but introduces an auxiliary vowel, as (th'ru) through. The transposition of (r) has not been noticed. *I be, we'm going, don't us, I've a walked, I do know*, are general. Mr. T. (a native of Hu.) had been previously a schoolmaster for six years in n.Sm., and the Wi. speech struck him as bearing a very strong general resemblance to n.Sm. speech. Having some difficulty in interpreting some of Mr. Seaman's spellings, I confine myself to giving those words which Mr. Titmouse has re-spelled.

SHORWELL (:shæ'r'l), 5 sw. Newport, Wi.

cwl. furnished by Mr. Titmouse, 14 years schoolmaster, pal. conjecturally by AJE. The diphthong (æ'i) may be (æ'i), but is not (ái). The MS. character is very evident from this list.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *biek*. 4 *tiek*. 5 *miek*. 7 *siek*. 8 *hee*. 12 *saal* [part. (saaliq) perhaps (L)]. 14 *draal*. 19 *tuel*. 20 *liem*. 21 *miem*. 24 *shiem*. 31 *liat*. A: 41 *theqk*. A'- 70 *tuu*. 74 *ty₁* [written *tuæ*, and Mr. Seaman said that it approached Dv. (y₁), possibly (tæ'u)]. 86 *whats*. A': 102 *aast* [asked]. 108 *doo*. 115 *whõem*. 118 *bœen*. Æ- 138 *veedhær*. Æ: 155 *dha'tj*. 158 *aater*. 166 *míed* [the common word, but apparently confused with *made*]. 172 *graas*. 179 *wæt*. 181 *paath*. Æ'- 182 *see*. 183 *teetj*. 190 *kee*. 196 *weer*. Æ': 224 *weer*.

E- 232 *briik*. 236 *feever*. 252 *kít'l*. E: 265 *street*. 272 *elem*. 284 *dra'sh*. EA: 323 *fæ'ut*. 342 *jíerm*. 343 *warm*. EA'- 349 [·f more like v'']. EA': 359 *neeber*. EO- 386 *soo*. EO: 393 *bjæ'nt*. 399 *bræ'it*. 407 *fard'n*. EO'- 411 *drii*. 420 [f as v]. 421 *varti*. EO': 425 *læ'it*. 426 *fæ'it*.

I- 449 *gít.* I: 458 *nə'ít.* 459 *rə'ít.* 462 *sə'ít.* 484 [(dh)ik used].
 488 *jet.* I': 505 [*my wife* (mə'í mɪsɪs, mə'í ʊəl'd)əmən)]. 506 *amen.*
 O- 521 *fúel.* 524 *wær'ld.* O': 597 *sət.*
 U- 606 *door* [Mr. Seaman (dAAER)].
 Y: 700 *wás.* 701 *fást.*

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 *múet.* E. 750 *ba'g.* O. 767 *nə'íz.* 772 *bənefə'ír.* 773
dəŋki.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fies.* 811 *plies.* 824 *tjúr.* 851 *naant.* 852 *eepern.* 853
bargen. 854 *bar'l.* 866 *poor.* E.. 890 *biest* [pl. (biestiz)]. 891 *fiest.*
 I.. and Y.. 899 *nees.* 904 *və'ílet.* 910 *djə'íst.* O.. 923 *mə'íst.* 926
spə'íl. 930 *lə'ín.* 942 *batjúr.* 944 [I allows it will rain=I think, admit,
 etc.]. 947 *bə'íl.* U.. 965 *ə'íl.* 968 *ə'ístér.*

VAR. iv. SR. AND Ss. FORM.

The n. of Sr. will be treated under D 8. The s. of Sr. and w.Ss. vary but slightly from the Ha. var. iii. of D 5, but the dialect is manifestly dying out. The initial (z, v) have vanished. The (ái) for AEG, EG, scarcely appear, having become (ee', ee, ee), as frequently even in D 4. The A- fractures remain generally. The I' remains (ǽ'i) or nearly so, but as we go eastward becomes more confounded with (ǽ'i, ǽ'i). This last diphthong has been constantly given me from other districts, when subsequent vivâ voce information has shewn it to be (ǽ'i, á'i) or even (ái). Here Rev. T. Burningham, then Rector of Charlwood (6 ssw.Reigate), wrote *aw-i*, and hence I give his words with (ǽ'i). In e.Ss. and in Ke. most informants give *oi*, but I have found (ǽ'i) in n.Ke. At the same time (ǽ'i) so often simulates (ǽ'i) that an unaccustomed ear would unhesitatingly give the latter. Mr. Burningham finds s.Sr. and n.Ss. more mincing than the s.Ss. He says: "It is difficult to give a notion of the close, mincing, squeezed-in pronunciation of the s.Sr. and n.Ss.: '*huaow* much a *paaround* is that *raaround* of beef?' as also to give the *burr* of the *r's*." The *aa* is explained by *hay*, and the italicised words are closely (héu, péund, réund) common in London and n.Ke. "A Sr. man would say 'rebbit,' a s.Ss. man 'rahbut,' e.g. 'eve a'-got a rahbut in ees pawkut' (ii y egət v rabut in iiz pAAket). I speak of the pronunciation of 50 years ago. It still prevails among the old, but is polished off a good deal among the rising generation by 'education.'" My information from w.Ss. is very meagre, but there can be no doubt that it continues Ha. speech with a still further falling off of the dialect in the direction of Ke. The separation between e. and w.Ss. depends on the use of (d) for (dh) in certain words. This is unknown even at Bolney (12 nnw.Lewes) in w.Ss., but has been heard from old people at Cuckfield (3 ne.Bolney). The commencement of the line at the mouth of the Adur is due to the late Mark Antony Lower. In these districts *I be* remains, but

I are is found in Ke. The ewl. on which I rely are those obtained vivâ voce from students at Whitelands, and these I annex, including some other words.

SOUTH SURREY AND WEST SUSSEX ewl.

Pal. by AJE. from diet. of Miss Jane Sayers, native of Ockley (8 sw.Reigate), where she had lived all her life; Miss M. A. Forth, not a native, but who had been always resident at Ockley and had spoken Sr. talk when a child; and Miss Alice Slyfield, native of Reading, who had lived 7 years at Stoke (1 n.Guildford), all in Nov. 1877 students at Whitelands. The reverted (r) of Miss Sayers was perfect. The C, G, W were pal. by AJE. from indications.

C Charlwood (:tɒləd) (6 ssw.Reigate) from Rev. T. Burningham.

G words from Dr. Grece's dt. for Weald of Sr. Since Dr. G. marked numerous words in his wl. as having the vowels in rs., I have given some of them in ro. and in Italics.

O Ockley only)
S Stoke only) unmarked, both O and S.

W Wisborough, Ss. (8 sw.Horsham) from Rev. W. A. Bartlett.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bake* [no (e'e') vanish]. 5 *make* [no (e'e') vanish]. 12 *saa* [no euphonic (r)]. 13 C *naa*. 17 *laa* [no euphonic (r)] and C. 20 *léem*. 21 *néem* and G. 23 *séem*. 24 *shéem* and C. 33 *raadher*, O *rædher*. 36 C *thaa*. 37 *klaa*. A: 41 C *theqk*. 43 *a'n* [h always omitted], W *haand*, G *haand*. 51 *man*. 64 *waant*.

A: or O: 58 *from*. 60 *long*. 61 O *eməq*. 64 *wrong*.

A'- 67 *guu* and C [ɪ'gwee'n] a-going O, not S]. 69 *noou*. 70 *tóou*. 73 *sóou*. 74 *two*. 76 *too'd*. 77 C *lærd*. 79 *oo'n*. 85 C *sóover*. 86 *wats* and C. 87 *tlouz* [(tɪ, dl) for initial *cl-* *gl-* general]. 92 *nóou*. A': 101 *oo'k*. 104 *róovd* and G. 106 *broo'd*, C *braad*. 107 *loo'f*. 108 *dóou*, C *doo*. 111 *ought*. 115 O *oo'm* and C, S *oom*. 122 *næn*. 123 W *naathen*. 124 *stoo'n* and C, *stan* [as a weight]. 131 *gooot*.

Æ- 140 *ee'l*. 141 *nee'l*. 142 *snee'l*. 147 *bree'n*. 152 *water*. 153 *sa'lderdee*. Æ: 155 *thetj* and W. 166 *mee'd* [(gæɪ) usual, quite London]. 170 *arvíst* [no change of (v) into (w)]. 171 *barley*. 172 *graas* and C. 174 *oesh*.

Æ'- 182 *sea*. 183 *teuch*. 184 *lead*. 190 *kee*. 193 *clean*. 194 *eni*. 197 *cheese*. 200 *wiit*. Æ': C *eedher*. 215 C *taat*. 218 *ship* and C. 219 C *slip*. 224 G *wéevr*. 226 C *móovst*. 227 S *wet*.

E- 233 *speak*. 235 *weave*. 236 *fever*. 241 C *ráin*. 246 i. *queen*. 250 *swíer*. 251 *meat*, W *meet*. 252 *kid'l* [common], C *kit'l*. 254 [C (*lídex*) old Sr.]. E: 261 *say*. 265 *strá'it*, G *street*. 272 *elém*. 278 [a term of depreciation]. 280 *leeb'n*. 282 C *strenth*. 284 *thresh* and W.

E'- 296 C *bliv*. 299 *green*. E': 310 C *hiél*. 312 C *fiér*. 314 C *híerd*. 315 *fit*. 316 *nikst*.

EA- 319 *gee'p*. 320 *kéevr*. EA: 322 C *laaf*. 323 *fa'ut* and C and W. 324 [tendency to (áit)]. 326 O *ood*. 330 *ood* [same as 326]. 333 *calf*. 334 *half* [no h]. 340 *jíerd*. 343 *waarm*, C *waarm*. 346 *gee't* and G.

EA'- 347 *ed*. 348 *ái*. 349 *few* and C. EA': 355 *deaf*. 357 *though*. 358 S *niist* [highest, heard in use]. 360 C *tiem*. 361 C *bién*. 368 *death* and C. 371 *straw*, C *straa*.

EI- 373 *they* [no (d) for (dh) as in D 9]. EI: 377 *steak*, C *stíik*. 378 *weak*.

EO- 383 *seb'n*. 386 *Joó*. 387 *new*. EO: 393 *beyond*, C *bi'e'nd*. 394 G *jender*. 397 *soo'rd*, C *súvrd*. 399 O *bráit*, S *brá'it*. 405 *arth*. 406 *earth*. EO'- 412 *she*. 413 *devil*. 414 *fly*. 417 *tpoo*. 420 *fóovr*. EO': 423 *thigh*. 424 *roof*. 425 *láit*. 426 *fáit*. 433 C *bríist*. 435 *you*. 436 S *tríu*, O *troo*, C *tríu*. 437 C *tríuth*.

EY- 438 *dái* [once O said (*déi*)].

I- 440 O *wik*, S *wiik*. 442 C *A'ivi*. 444 *stáil*. 446 *náin*. 448 *these*. 449 *git*. 450 *Tuesday*. I: 452 *ái*, *á'i*, C *A'i* [often]. 457 C *ma'it*. 458 O *náit*, S *ná'it*. 459 O *ráit*, S *rá it* [and so for I']. 465 *siti*. 467 *tjái'ld* and C. 469 *tjđer*, -*ern*. 472 *sriqk*. 475 *wind*. 484 *this*. 487 O *jisterdee*. 488 *jit*.

I'- 494 *táim* [C (*A'i*) for I']. I': — *dik* [ditch]. 503 *láif*. 505 *wáif*. 507 *amen*. 508 *máil*. 509 *wáil*.

O- 521 *foal*, C *ióobl*. 522 *open*. 524 *wérld*. O: 526 *kaaf*. 527 *bought*. 528 *thought*. 529 *brought*. 530 *wrought*. 531 *daughter*, C *daater*. 532 *coal*, C *kóobl*. 533 O *del*. 536 *gold*. 546 C *túverd*. 549 *úverd*. 550 *wárd* and C. 551 C *starm*. 552 *corn*, C *karn*. 553 *horn*, C *harn*.

O'- 555 *shoe*. 559 *mother*. 562 *moon*. 564 *son*. 566 *ædher*. O': 569 *book*. 570 *took*. 573 *flood*. 575 *stood*. 578 *ple'u*. 579 *enough* [never heard (*bná'u*)]. 580 *tough*. 586 *do*. 587 *done*. 588 *noon*. 589 *spoon*. 592 *soor*. 594 [*shoes* always said even for boots]. 596 *rot*, *rat*. 597 *sát*.

U- 605 *son*. 606 *dúver* and G. 607 *butter*. U: 611 *ballock*. 613 *drunk*. 615 S *tun pan* [two pounds]. 618 *wan*. 619 *fan*. 620 *gram*. 625 *touque*. 629 *sun*. 631 *thæzdee*. 632 *ap*. 633 *cup*. 634 *through*. 636 *tardher*.

U'- 640 *ke'u* [all U' like this]. 641 C *he'u* [and all U' like this]. 649 *the'uzend*. 653 *bat*. U': 656 *ran*. 662 *us*. 663 *e'as*, C *héeus*. 665 *me'as*. 666 *uzben* [O (*'gaque*) commonly used]. 671 *me'uth*.

Y- 676 *láí*. Y: 689 *baıld*. 691 C *ma'ind*. 700 *was* and C. 701 *fast*. Y': 711 *láis*. 712 *máis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 *dréin*. 737 WG *mécut*. E. 743 C *skroem*. I. and Y. 758 G *græl*. O. 761 *lu'n'd*, C *lóod*. 769 *móoul*. 790 *ge'un*, C *ge'und*. U. 808 *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *able*. 810 *fee's*. 811 *plee's*. 813 *bacon*. 840 *chamber*. 843 *brensh*. 850 *dens*. 852 *apron*. 854 C *barl*. 861 *tee'st*.

E.. 868 C *djái*. I.. and Y.. 899 *niece*. 906 C *va'ipber*.

O.. 913 *kúustj*. 916 *iq'n*. 919 *æ'intment*. 920 *pæ'nt*. 926 *spæ'il*. 929 *ke'ukember*. 930 C *le'in*. 934 C *be'anti*. 938 C *karnber*. 940 *koo't* and C. 947 *bæ'il*. 948 *bæ'ol*.

U.. 961 *graunl*. 965 *æ'il*. 968 *æ'ister*. 969 C *sháuber*. 971 *fiut*.

D 6, 7, 8 = BS. or border of S. as against M. and E., forming the Border Southern Group.

Boundary. This cannot be determined with great accuracy, and will be given for each district separately.

Area. Extreme n.Gl., most of Wo., sw. Wa., most of Ox., extr. se.Be., n.Sr., and extr. nw.Ke. This was an area of continual conflict and mixture of the S., W., M., and E. populations.

Character. A mutilated S, which is strongest in the w. and gradually fades towards the e. and s., becoming finally scarcely perceptible in D 8.

D 6 = n.BS. = northern Border Southern.

Boundary. Begin at Bewdley, Wo. (2 w-by-s. Kidderminster), and go along the reverted *w* line 3 (see p. 17) through Wo., Wa., and Np. to the b. of Np., which pursue as far as its sw. angle (6 sw. Banbury), and then cut across the projection of Ox. and proceed w. to Moreton-in-Marsh, Gl. (17 ne. Cheltenham). Then continue direct w. to the s. of Tewkesbury, Gl., and of Eldersfield, Wo., and n. of Staunton along the n. b. of D 4. Here turn n. and pass over Red Hill and the Malvern Hills and their n. continuation to the starting-point, Bewdley. Although this b. is laid down with much minuteness, it is often uncertain, and must be considered to be at least six miles broad.

Area. The extreme n. of Gl., most of Wo. and s. of Wa., the extreme n. of Ox. and sw. of Np.

Authorities. See the following places in the Alphabetical County List, where * means *vv.* per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ in *so.*, ° in *io.*

Gl. °† Ashchurch, † Buckland, † Ebrington, † Fairford, ° Kemerton, *† Shenington (locally in Ox.), † Long Marston, † Tewkesbury.

Np. † Ashby St. Legers, † Badby, °† Byfield.

Ox. °† Banbury (part locally in Np.).

Wa. † Butler's Marston, † Claverdon, † Kington, † Knowle, † Pillerton Priors, † Stratford-on-Avon, † Tysoe.

Wo. † Abberley, † Bengeworth, † Bewdley, † Birt's Morton, † Droitwich, † Dunley, † Eldersfield, † Evesham, † Great Malvern, † Great Witley, * Hanbury, ° Hartlebury, † Kidderminster, † Malvern Wells, † Saleway, † Stourport, ° Upton Snodbury, † Worcester.

Character. This complicated district, containing the transition from S. to M., is naturally by no means well marked. Except at Eldersfield, the use of initial (z, v) for (s, f) seems lost; the (r) is inclined to approach (r) when initial, at least all my informants so hear it, and Mr. Hallam generally writes (r) only, even when final; and finds only traces of (r) in parts, which fail especially towards the e. *I be* remains, with *her* for *she*, and *I, she, we*, as emphatic forms of the object. It is convenient to distinguish four geographical varieties, though the differences between them are small. These are Var. i. s. Wo., Var. ii. s. Wa., Var. iii. Banbury, Var. iv. sw. Np. The general character of all is A- (éu) as (néum) name. A' = (oo, wā) as (road, wām, stwān), road, home, stone. Æ: = (ái, éi, ee), as (dái, déi, dee), day. EǦ = (ái, éi, ee), as (râin, réin, reen), rain. EA' = (iū, éu, éi, ee), as (biēnz, béēnz, gréit, greet), beans, great. O = (a) occ., as (drap, starm, kras), drop storm, cross. U = (ā, u_o), as (kām, sa_om), come, some. U' = (ǎ'u, ǎ'u, áu), as (ǎ'u, ná'u, dáun), how, now, down. The variations from these normal forms are so slight and probably individual that they cannot be formulated, but they must be collected from the following cwl. The whole district lies in the mixed *sum*, *sōm* or *som* region, and *sōm* prevails more and more as we approach the Midlands.

Illustrations. A cwl. derived from numerous places for each variety, dt. for Worcester, Hanbury, Claverdon, and Shenington; cs. for Banbury.

VAR. i. WO. FORM.

WORCESTER.

dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. W. Brown, native, about 42, who had gone to Wolverhampton 9 years previously.

1. *ái sêi*, tʃaps, jɛ)si *ái*)m rə'it' ɛbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl wɛnʃ kəm'in frəm dhɛ skuul.

2. ɛr)z gu'in də'un dhɛ rood dhɛr θruu dhɛ rɛd gʃɛit ɔn dhɛ left and sə'id ɛ dhɛ rood.

3. luk dhɛr ! ɛr)z gə'n stre'it u_p' tɛ dhɛ dɔər ɛ)dhɛ roq ə'us'.

4. wɛr ɛr)l vɛri lɑ'ikli drɔp ɔlt [=hold] ɛ dhat ɔuld drʌ_ɔk'n dɛf ri:k'ld :tɔm.

5. ju aal noo im vɛri wɛ'l.

6. wɔ)nt dhɛ ɔld tʃap sʌn tel)ɛr nɔt tɛ)kəm ɛgʃɛ'n, pɹɛ θi:q !

7. luk dhɛr ! ɛ)nt it tru: ?

Notes.

Words omitted : *yonder* ɹɔndɛr, *girl* gɛrl, *so* soo, *now* nə'u, *way* wɛi, *sure*

enough shúer ɛnʌ_ɔf, *child* tʃáild, *fellow* fɛlb, *name* nɛm, *shrivelled up* sʃrɪv'ld u_p, [with (sʃrɪmps, sʃrə'ud)] shrimps, shroud.

HANBURY (6 wsw.Redditch).

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, then a student at Whitelands Training College.

1. soo ə'i sái, méets, jɛ si: nɛ'u dhɛt ə'i bi rə'it' ɛbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl gʃɛrl ɛkəm'in frəm dhɛ skuul ɹændɛ.

2. ɛr)z ɛ gu'in də'un dhɛ róovd dhɛr θrúuv dhɛ rɛd géert ɔn dhɛ left a'nd sə'id ɛv dhɛ wái.

3. shúer ɛnɛ'u dhɛ tʃə'ild)z gən stráit ɛp tɛ dhɛ dúer ɛv dhɛ rɛq ə'us,

4. wɛr ɛr)l lə'ikli fə'ind dhat tɪpsɪ dɛf fɛlɛr ɛv dhɛ nɛm ɛ :tɔmɛs.

5. wi aal nooz)im vɛri wɛlv.

6. wɛnt dhi ə'uld tʃə'p sɛn tɛtʃ ɛr nɔt tɛ duu it ɛgɛn, pɹúur θi:q !

7. lʌkɛ ! bɛɛnt it trúuv.

Principal variants in the dt. from Hartlebury (4 s-by-e.Kidderminster), sent by the Misses Haviland, daughters of the then Rector :

1. *so* su, *say* sɛz, *see* si:z, *girl* wɛntɪ, *school* ɹɔndɛr skúuel ɹɔndɛr. 2. *there* dhéer, *through* θru, *gate* gʃɛt, *way* wɛei. 3. *enough* ɛnɛf, *is* bi, *straight* stréet, *door* dɔər, *wrong* rɔq. 4.

where wéer, *chance* tɔ mɛbi ɛp'n, *Thomas* :tɔmɛs. 6. *old* ɔld, *soon* súen. *won't* ɔnt, *teach* lɑ:rn, *again* nɛmúer. 7. *is* nɔt, *is* biɛnt, *true* tru:.

S. WORCESTERSHIRE cwl.

Made up from the following sources :

- A Abberley wn. by TH. (r-, -r), doubtful if one (α), no (z-, v-, h-).
 B Bewdley wn. by TH. mostly from Mrs. Ashcroft, a centenarian, one (z-), (α) frequent, occ. verbal pl. in *en* as ($\delta\alpha$ n-jə, wi t α k'n. wi n) do you, we took, we have, with the He. form ($\delta\alpha$ h $\delta\alpha$ h'ut) of 'with without.'
 Bg Bengeworth, a suburb of Evesham, Wo., wn. by TH.
 Bu Buckland, Gl. (11 ene. Tewkesbury), wn. by TH.
 D Droitwich wn. by TH.
 E Eldersfield, Wo. (9 s. Great Malvern), wn. by TH. from Mrs. Knowles, aged 79, native, ($\delta\alpha$ 'i kiip'n) they keep, ($k\alpha$ m wi 'ə'i t ϵ plāi) come with I to play, many (z-).
 Eb Ebrington, Gl. (18 ne. Cheltenham), wn. by TH.
 G Great Witley, wn. by TH.
 H Hambury, vv. to AJE., the dt. is not included in this cwl.
 M Gt. Malvern and Malvern Hills wn. by TH.
 P from 'quaint words' by 'A parson,' that is a *parson*, in s. Wo. from Worcester on n. to Chaceley on s. and Evesham on e. to Great Malvern on w., pal. as well as he could do it by AJE.
 S Saleway (7 sw. Redditch) wn. by TH., no (z-, v-), but (r-, -r), (ν z. wi)z) her is, we has, ('ant ain't).
 W Worcester wn. by TH., no (z-, v-).

* * For brevity, when several places are grouped, the medial length of vowels has not been distinguished from the short.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 4 BS Bu *tæk*, H *ték*, E *tèk*. 5 H *méek ái* [make hay]. 20 AE *lém*, S *lém*, BBu *lém*. 21 ABSWBu *neem*, W *néim* [as well as (*neem*)], Eb *niam*. 23 *seem*. — P *əmer* [hammer]. A *əmber* [compare inserted *b* in *number*, *timber*]. S *əmer*. — P *fear* [to fare, a fare]. 33 D *mader*. A: — P *krøb* [a crab]. 51 P *mað*, BW *mā'n*. A: or O: 60 SD *luq*. 64 D *ruq*.
 A'- 67 AD *gwæn*, W *gwēn*. 77 P *lard*. 81 E *leen*. 92 AD *nou*. A': 104 Bu *rood*. 115 PAWH *wam*, D *wòm*, Bu *oom*, W *òm* [also *home*, refined], — S *eloon* [alone]. 117 AEM *wən*, W *wan*. 118 P *bwæn*. 120 D *íuz* eguú [years ago]. 122 Bu *nə'n*, H *nən*. 124 P *stwan*, AD *stoon*. 130 P *bwat*.
 Æ- 138 A *fiadher*, B *fiædher*, S *íædher*, D *fiædher*. 141 B *ná'iz*. 147 H *bráin*. — W *stanz* [stairs]. 152 S *wæter*, D *wæter*. Æ: 161 PAD *dái*, S *lá'i*, W *dái*, [in city] *déi*, *dec*, Bu *dec*. — P *əp'l* [apple]. — P *kərt* [cart].
 Æ'- 182 W *sii*. 192 P *mæn*. Æ': 210 P *klái* [clay]. 211 AS *grái*, B *gréi*. 213 H *iidher*. 218 PD *shíp*. 223 Bu *dhéer*, BÐS *dhíer*, Bu *dher*. 224 B *wé'r*, S *wíer*, BuW *wær*.
 E- 233 BW *speek*. 241 AB *ráiv*. 243 ABESH *plái*. — P *beer* [to bear]. 248 P *meer*. 252 A *kjæt'l*. E: 260 ABBu *láí*. 261 PABSD *sái*, Bu *sái*, AE *zêi*, W *sái*. 262 B *wái*, W *wéi*. D *wái*, [foundations] AAL *gjin wái* [all given way]. 263 ABESBu *əwái*, M *əwéi*. 265 W *stráit*. E': 315 PH *íit*.
 EA- 320 P *keer*. EA: 324 BESH D *áit* [Mrs. A. said (*ái* *sái* *áit* *er* *nó'in*)]. 326 BS *əud*, EBu *əudd*. 328 B *kəud*. 333 KAAf. 335 Bu *aal*, AAL. 346 W *gjíit* [in the city] *gjíet* [in the country]. EA'- 347 SD *jæd*, BuW *éd*, *jéd*. EA': 350 B *djæ'd*. 353 S *bræ'd*. — A *kráim* [cream]. 360 S *tiim*. 361 P *bænz* [beans]. 366 A *græ't*.
 EI- 372 B *ái*. 373 ABS *dhái*, ED *dhái*, Bu *dhái*, D *dhé'i*, *dhe*. EI: 378 B *wæck*. EO- 383 E *zév'n*. EO: 393 BuD *jænder*. 395 S *juq*. — P *bəkm* [barm]. EO'- 409 P *bæz* [bees]. 411 AB *thrii*, E *drii*. — H *trií* [tree]. EO': 426 B *féit*. 428 E *zií*, S *sii*. EY- 438 W *dái*, D *dái*.
 I- 446 E *nó'in*. — G *jis* [yes]. I: 452 A *ə'i*, D *ái*, W *ái*. 458 W *náit'*. 459 WD *rə'it*. 469 W *wɔnt* [won't], Bu *ut* [wilt]. — *spel* [to spill]. — A *rən* [run], S *ruən* [H added "donkey boys say (*ruən*)"]. — P *set* [to sit]. — E *ziks*. I'- 490 G *bə'i*. 494 A *tə'im*. I': — BW *tə'idí* [tidy]. 502 E *və'iv*. 506 W *mæn*, H *ə'ud*(d)*əmæn*, [a woman, old woman]. 510 W *mái*. — D *læ'in* [line].

O- — S *shu_ov'l*. — D *drap* [drop]. O: 525, ii. *áf*. 531 D *daater*. — D *kráp* [crop]. 551 BuD *stáun*. 552 Bu *kár n*. — BS *A's* [horse]. — GS *márnin* [morning]. 554 M *ékrás* [across]. — P *pwást* [post]. O': 555 W *shé'u*. 559 GW *mádhér*. 564 D *sun*, *H san*. 568 B *brú_odher*. O': 573 D *flu_od*. 575 H *stád*. 579 D *máf*. 586 S *du_os dhú* [dost thou]. 587 AH *dán*, S *du n*. 588 H *nán*. 589 H *spán*. 594 H [has no (buuts, only (shuuz)]. 595 PH *tát*. 596 H *rát*. 597 H *sát*.

U- 601 ASB *tá'ul*. 603 M *ékámín* [a-coming], H *kám ap* [come up]. — M *thú_onder*. 605 S *sú_on*, D *sá'n*, ABu *sán*, BD *són*, D [between] *són*, *sú_on*. 606 WD *dóer*, Eb. *dúer*. 607 B *bú_oter*. U: 612 S *su_om*. 613 B *drú_oqk*. — M *ú_onderd* [hundred]. — Bu *Aqgrí* [hungry]. 632 BW *u_op*, M *ap ap*. U'- 643 G *ná'u*, D *ná'u*. 650 E *vbá'ut*. U': 656 G *rùm*. 658 ABESW *dá'un*, Bu *dá'un*. 663 SW *á'us*, D *á'us*, *á'uz'n* [pl.]. 667 D *á'ut*.

Y- D *mu_otí*. 675 *dra'i*. 679 D *tjártí*. Y: 691 ES *má'ind*. — P *haxnet* [hornet].

II. ENGLISH.

— P *wágín* [wagging]. O. 767 A *náíz*. 791 H *bvó'i*. U. — B *mu_ok* [muck]. 803 M [between] *dju_omp*, *djæmp*. — M *ku_ot*. 808 Bu *put*, D *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A .. 811 D *pléus*. 820 P *gái*. — PD *pái* [pay]. — G *fád* [fail]. — Bu *táiler*. 830 Bu *tráin*. 833 A *pár*. — PS *plez* [please]. 847 D *dáindjer*. 851 W *nànt*.

E .. 867 P *tee*. — B *prectí* [preach]. 878 P *sælbrí*. — P *pors'n*, B *paasn*.

I .. and Y .. 898 Bu *ná'is*. 900 P *prái*. — P *sperít* [spirit]. 910 P *djá'ist*. — B *bif* [beef]. — P *djá'int* [joint]. 923 P *má'ist*. — B *nu_oqk'l*. 930 P *bá'in*. — P *kárpis* [corps]. — EG *sárt* [sort]. 940 P *ku_oat*. 947 A *hwóil*.

U .. 970 M *djást*, D [between] *djást*, *dju_ost*.

VAR. ii. s.WA. FORM.

CLAVERDON, WA. (5 e. Warwick) dt.

pal. by TH. from the dictation of S. Job, farm-labourer, b. 1824, native.

1. *ó'i se'i*, ju *tjaps*, ju *síi ó'i*)m *rá'it' ná'u vbá'ut* dhat *lít'l wensh kámín* frem *s' skuul jándér*.

2. *er z egu'in dá'un* dhe *rood* [*róud*] *dhiér* thruu dhe *red gjéet* on dhe *left* and *sa'id* [inclining to *sá'id*] *v* dhe *rood*.

3. *lu_ok je!* dhe *tjá'ild*)z *gá'n stre'it' u_op'* te dhe *roq ó'us'* [*dúer*].

4. *wier er'l* *praps fá'ind* dhat *drú_oqk'n*, *def*, *thín* un *ag'id* [haggard] *fele* [*kré'iter*] *ez* dhe *káal :tóm*.

5. *wi aal noo* im *veri wé'l*.

6. *wu nt* dhe *óuld* *tjap mé'ik* *er noo* *betur* *ner gù* *dhiér* *egjén*, *púr thiq'*.

7. *lu_ok je!* *jent it tré'u*.

Note.

This has a very neutral character. I find among the wn. from the same person *jander* old, *jänder* new, etc., and as the latter appears in the dt., it is possible that Job was sometimes "speaking

pretty." I find, also (*n'ém*, *t'éb'l*), *name*, *table*, *old*, and (*n'ém*, *t'éb'l*) *new*. Compare following cwl. Job used (*srámpis*, *sráud*) *shrimps*, *shroud*, (*shr-*) *being* a difficulty.

SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- B Butler's Marston (10 s. Warwick), pal. by A.J.E. from a nwl. sent by Rev. E. Miller, Vicar in 1877, helped out in parts by K. below. Mr. M. considers that the speech extends for 6 m. round. This would include Kineton. Stratford is only 7 or 8 m. off. As reverted (r) is heard both at Stratford and Banbury, I conclude it must exist here and have introduced it. As exceptional pron. only were marked, the other pron. in the original wl. must be taken as practically in rs. In this case (μ) would occur only in the words so marked. *I be* is used.
- K wn. at Kineton (9 s-by-e. Warwick) in 1880 by TH. from a native of 58, who had, however, resided many years at Warwick as keeper of the gate at the entrance to the common. Only principal words are given. TH. had not noted the reverted (r), but as it was strong in Stratford, I have introduced it. *I am* used. The pron. seems to have been tainted by Warwick. Also from Mrs. Pheasey, lived there 50 years from childhood.
- P Pillerton Priors (8 se. Stratford) wn. by TH., in 1886 from a native b. 1819.
- S wn. at Stratford-on-Avon in 1880 by TH. from an errand boy, native, and G. Phipps, a labourer, 20, native, only absent $1\frac{3}{4}$ years. But both had so marked a town pron. that I give very few words. The errand boy had not even reverted (r), but the labourer and the other people in the town had it strongly. The labourer used *we am*. The (μ) was frequent.
- T Tysoe (11 se. Stratford) wn. by TH. in 1886, from natives b. 1802 and 1809. *I be* used.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 BP bék. 4 BP tók, K tøk, S ték. 5 BP mék, T méek. 6 B méed. 7 B sék. 10 B haa. 12 B saa. 13 B naa. 14 B draa. 17 B laa. 18 T kék. 19 B téel. 20 BKPT léum, S lèän. 21 BP nóm, K noom, nóm nóm. — K amer [hammer]. 23 BP scém. 24 B shém, T shém. 25 B mén. — spüir [to spare]. 31 B lét. 35 T aal. 36 B thaa. A: 39 B kém. 40 B kuum [? confused with *combe* a hill]. 43 B änd. 44 B länd. 51 B män. 57 B aas. A: or O: 59 B läm. 60 T loq, loq. 61 T umoqsk. 64 P roq, T roq. A'- 67 B guu, K egün. 75 B struuk. 76 BT túed. 77 B lard. 81 B lén. 84 B múer. 85 B súer. 86 T úts. 90 T bloo. 92 S nóu. 93 P snoo. A': 101 B úek. 102 T eks. 104 T rood. 110 P nat. 111 B aat. 113 B háel, T wool. 115 B háem, K óm, T wóm. 117 S wa'n, T wän. 118 T bwän. 120 PT eguu. 121 P ga'n. 122 T nän. 123 B nuçthiék. 124 K stoon, PT stwän. 135 B klath.

LE- 138 B féedhék [or féé], SK faadher. 144 B egün. — S præti [pretty].

LE: 158 P ätter. 161 KP deo. 165 B sid. 169 wen. 172 B graas. 174 B áish [? é'ish]. LE'- 182 B séi. 183 B tótp. 185 BT reed. 187 P liev. 192 PT mién. 193 T klén. 195 T meni. 196 B wee'r. 200 K wiit, TP weet. 202 B heet. LE': 215 B taat (?). 216 B diel. T djel. 218 T shóp'. 223 B dhüer, KP T dhier. 224 B wiier. 226 B muust. 228 T swet.

E- 232 briik [but only very partially]. 233 BKPT speek. 237 féever. 241 K re'in, T rân. 243 KT plee. 251 BT moert. 252 B kit'l, T kjet'l. 253 B et'l. E: 260 K lee. 261 KT see. 262 PT wee. 263 KT ewee. 268 K eldést. 270 B i. belas. 272 B elem. 279 T went. 286 B harv.

E'- 294 T fiid. 299 KT griin. 300 PT küp. 301 B jüer, P iur. E: 307 T mói. 312 B iier. 314 K ierd, T arid.

EA: 321 B saa. 322 T lár'. 324 T á'it, e'it. 326 F öld. 345 T de'r. 346 B g'út géet. EA'- 347 B ied, K èd. EA': 350 B died. 360 P tiim. 361 K beenz. P bien. 363 T [between] tjep tjep, KP tjep. 370 B rau. EI: 378 wick.

EO- 383 T. sev'm. 315 B beneath. 386 BT joo. EO: 388 T málk. 393 B bija'nd. 394 SP jander. 395 PT muq. 397 B súerd. 402 BP lãrx, T lã[ru, K lã'rx. EO'- 411 KT thrii, T thríi. — K trii. 420 B

fəʊɐr. 421 B fərti. EO': 423 T thə'ii. 425 B lāit. 426 B fāit. 432 fəʊkth. 433 T brest. 434 B bəit. 438 K dā_i [marked as lying between (a', a)].

I- 443 S frə'idi. 446 T nə'im. I: 452 K āi, P ə'i, T ə'i. 458 B nāit, K [the (a) marked as lying between (a, ə)], P nā'it, T [between] nā'it, nā'it. 469 B əd. 480 T thiq'. — KS rə_n. I'- 490 B bāi. 492 K sə'id. 494 K tām, T tām. 496 K āiern. 498 B rāit. I: 502 B fāiv. 503 T lə'if. 505 T wə'if. 506 KT umen. — T ee [hay].

O: 526 B kaat. 527 B baat. 528 B thaat. 529 B braat. 531 B daater, KP daater. 547 B búerd. 551 B starn. 552 B karn. 553 B harn. — nārnin [morning]. 554 P ekrās. O'- 559 S modher, K mādher. 562 T nuun. 564 KP sūn. 568 S brə_ndher. O': 569 T bək. 579 B ənāu, T enā_f, [plural] enā'u. 581 B saut. 586 P dāu. 587 KP dōn [marked as lying between (ō, ə)], another time merely (dā'n], S dh_n. 588 TKP nuun. 589 T spuun. 595 B fāt. 597 B sāt.

U- 601 K tād. 603 B kām, KP kām, PS kām. 604 K sū_ner. — S thə_nder [thunder]. 605 K sōn [as in 587] sū_n, TPS sū_n. 606 B dōour. U: 610 T ūl. 612 SP sū_n. 632 BKT ūp. 633 BK kə_p. 635 wath. 636 B fārder. 639 T dū_nst. U'- 640 T kja'u, Pkja'u. 641 K ə'u āu, T ə'u hā'u. 648 KT ə'uer. 650 T əb'at (ə'u). U': 658 KT də'un. 659 TSP tə'un. 663 K ə'us, T [between] ə'us, ə'us. 666 T ū_nzun.

Y- 677 T drā'i. 679 Stjartj. Y: 689 B bild. 690 B kāind. 691 BHK māind. 700 B was. 701 B fās. 705 B skāi. 706 B wāi. Y': 709 B fāir, ST fā'ier. 711 B lāis. 712 B māis.

II. ENGLISH.

A- 718 B tréed. E. 743 B skríum. 744 B meez'lz. 751 B púert. O. 761 B lúed. 767 B nāis. 778 B ufúerd.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 B éub'l. 810 B fées. 811 B plēs. 813 B b'éek'n. T b'éek'n. 814 B mées'n. 824 B tjeer. 829 B géen. 833 B peer. — K pliz [please]. 835 BT reez'n. 836 BT seez'n. 837 B leesh. 852 B éapern. 860 T p'a'ist. 861 T tēust. 862 B séf. 865 B fāt.

E.. 867 BT tee. 869 B veel. 888 T sàrtin. 889 B sees. 890 B beest. 891 B feest. 894 B disceev. 895 B riseev. I.. and Y.. 898 B nāis. 910 B dja'ist.

O.. 916 T ə'inen. 919 B ə'intment [the distinctions (ə'i ə'i āi) were not indicated with sufficient precision in 919, 920, 924, 925, 926, 947, but distinctions of a similar kind at least were intended, AJE.]. 920 pə'nt. 924 B trā'is. 925 B vāis. 926 B spə'il. 938 B kammer. 947 B bə'il. 948 B bə'id. 952 B kúers. U.. 965 B āil. 969 S shúer.

VAR. iii. BANBURY FORM.

cs. translated in 1875 by Thomas Beesley, Esq., J.P., F.C.S., native and resident, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and from TH.'s wn. The lw. which Mr. Beesley sent me was made 40 years previously by his uncle, and he had purposely abstained from consulting it, so that this is altogether an independent testimony. Mr. B. considers the dialect to extend for about 6 miles round Banbury, and names the following villages as using the same speech: in Ox., Copredy, Wardington, Adderbury, Bloxham, Swalecliff, Tadmarton, Sibford, Shutford, Horley, and Hornton; in Gl. (but locally in Ox.), Shenington; in Np., Middleton Cheney and King's Sutton. Mr. B. does not mark the reverted (r), but from TH.'s observations I have introduced it. Mr. B.'s letters shew that he used (ɹ) for short U, but TH. heard nothing but (u) at Banbury.

O. wə'i :dʒən aa)nt noo də'uts.

1. wɛl, nɛbɜr, ʒəʊ en iɪ mɛ boʊ'th laaf ɛt dhɪs iɪ'r niuuz v mə'in, huu kii'rz ? dhat)s needhɜr iɪ'r nɛr dhɛe'r.

2. fīuu [fīAA'U] fook də'iz, kəz dhu bii laaft et; hæs nooz, doo'nt)æs? wat shud mīek)am? tʃ'ent veri lə'ikli, hīs)it?

3. hə'useme)vər dhiiz bii dhu faks e dhu kūs, soo dʒest oold jər bədhər, frend, en kiip kwə'it tɪl ə'i bi [ə'i)v] dən. harki!

4. ə'i bi sartin shīuu'r, ez ə'i ii'rd en see—səm e dhee fooks ez went thruu dhi whəl thiŋ bə'i dherse'lvz—dhat ə'i did shīuu'r enaf.

5. dhat dhu jəqest sən hizself, e gret bū'ɪ e nə'in, nood iz fīdherz vōis et wans, dhoo it wər soo kwībr en skwee'kɪn-lə'ik, en ə'i)d trəst hii tɛ spɛk dhu truuth hani [heni, heeni] dee, ɹi. dhat ə'i had.

6. en dhu oold humen vɛself el tel hani on)i ez laafs nə'u, en tel)i street əf, tuu, wi)ə'ut mətʃ, bədhər ɪf ju oni haks)er—wənt)shi [wənt)ɛr], dhat)ɛs aal.

7. leest wə'iz ɛr teld it, 'mii wen ə'i hakst ɛr, tuu ɛr thrii tə'imz oovɛr shi did, en 'ɛr had)nt aat tɛ bi rəq in sɪtʃ e pūə'nt ez dhis'n [dhat-eer], wət də juu thiŋk?

8. wɛl, ez ə'i wɛr vsee'in—'ɛr)d tel)ɛr, hə'u, weer en wen shi fu,nd dhu drəŋk'n biest shi kaalz ɛr əzbend [man].

9. shi swɛə'rd ɛr sɪn in wi ɛr oon ə'iz, lee'in stretʃt et fal leŋkth ən dhu grə'und in iz gud sənde kúut, kloos bə'i dhu dúuɛr e dhu hə'us, də'm et dhu kaarnɛr e dhat eɛ'r leen.

10. hii wɛr e wə'in'in ɛr sez, fɛr aal dhu wə'ld lə'ik e sɪk tʃə'ild ɛr e lit'l gal [lii't'l wentʃ] in e fret [in ɛr tantremz].

11. en dhat ap'nd ez 'ɛr an ɛr daa'tɛr in laa, kam thruu dhu bak jərd frəm aŋ in ə'ut dhu wɛt klóobz,

12. wə'il dhu ket'l wɛz e bū'ɪ'lɪn fɛr tee, wən fə'in brə'it sɛmɛr aatɛrnun, ooni e wɪk ɛguu, kam nekst thezdi.

13. en, dʒe noo? ə'i never larnt noo moo'r nɛr dhis e dhat biznes ɛp tɛ tedee, ez shīuu'r)z mə'i nɪm)z :dʒən :shepɛrd, en ə'i duu)nt wənt tu needhər, dhii'r nə'u!

14. en soo ə'i bi ɛguu'in [gwee'in] whəm tɛ sɛpɛr. gud nə'it, en duunt bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo oo)vɛr e bədi ɛge'n, wɛn i taaks e dhis dhat ɛr t)ədher.

15. it)ɛs e week fuul ez preets [taaks] wi)ə'ut reez'n. en dhat)ɛs mə'i last wə'rd. gud bə'i.

SHENINGTON dt.

6½ w. Banbury, politically in Gl., locally in Ox., pal. in 1881 by A.J.E. from diet. of Miss Harris, native, then a student at Whitelands Training College, who knew of Wykes, the policeman, that furnished the lw. to THL., mentioned on p. 118. Observe that here (*u*) was used for short U.

1. soo ə'i sɛ'ɪ, bu tɪz, jɛ se' nɹ'u dhet ə'i bi rɹ'it ɛbə'ut dha't lit'l gɹɹl e-kɹ)mɪn frəm dhu skuul jə'ndɛr.

2. shii)z e-gw'in də'm dhu ruu'd dhɛr thruu dhu rɛd ge't on dhu left ə'nd sɹ'id e dhu wɛ'ɪ.

3. shuur enɹ'u dhu tʃə'ild)z gon strə'it u)ɔp tɛ dhu duu'r e dhu rəq ə'us.

4. wi'r shii'l a'p'n tɛ fə'nd dha't dru_oqk'n dɛf fɛlɛr v dha nɛm v :tu_oməs.

5. wi aal noo)ɛn vɛrɪ wɛl.

6. wu_o)nt dɛv ool tʃa'p sun laarn ɛr na't tɛ duu)t ɛgɛn, puu'r thiŋ!

7. luk jii'r ! ɛɛ)nt it truɛ ?

Notes.

1. *so*, never (*zoo*), no *z* for *s* or *v* for *f*.—*mates* not used.—*I be* more frequent than *I am*.—*right*, not heard initial (rh, rh).—*girl* the regular word, though (wɛntɪ) is used. The (r) usual. Wykes rejected *girl* and only admitted *weich*.

2. *she's agoing*, *her's* not used, it is quite foreign to the dial. *we*, *you*, *they be*, in general use.—Miss H. never heard *I are*.—*hand*, *h* always omitted, *w* used for *wh*.

3. *sure enow*, they never use (ɛnu_of), does not know the distinction of meaning between *enough* and *enow*.

4. *shrivelled* not used, they say (shru_obz), so that (shr-) is used.

5. *know him*, (vɛn) is used, especially among the elder people.

6. *old chap*, old without *d*, but in (ool)du mɛn old woman, the *d* is disjoined from *l* and run on to the following vowel.

BANBURY WL.

From the following sources :

B Banbury vocabulary by the late Mr. Beesley, uncle of the Mr. Beesley who wrote the es. on p. 116. It is not quite certain that all the words belong to Banbury. There were many repetitions in the list, and sometimes the repeated words were not spelled in the same way the second time they occurred as they had been the first time. Of course the pron. assigned is greatly conjectural. From HB (below) I adopt (ə'i, ə'u, u_o, r). Words not inserted are (ɛɛnt, ɛnt, jɛnt, bɛnt, ɛɛrn), aɪnt, baɪnt, ɛ'ɛr a one, (hɪz'n, hɛrn, twardɛnt), hɪs, hɛrs, *it were not*.

HB Some of the wn. in Banbury by TH. in 1881 from natives. Some of these seem to be rather refined.

S wn. by TH. in 1875 from Wykes, a London policeman, but native of Shenington, confirmed by Miss Harris, a native, in 1881, p. 117.

ES words from the dt. on p. 117, dict. to AJE. in 1881 by Miss Harris, native of Shenington. This village was admitted by Mr. T. Beesley, who wrote the es. for Banbury given above, to be in the Banbury district. I do not give the words from the es., considering his uncle's lw. sufficient.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — S wɛk [a wake or feast]. 21 HB nɛm, ES nɛm. — B hɔmɛr [hammer]. — B pɪb'l [pebble]. A: — B rɔm [ram]. 43 B hanstɔf [handstaff or handle of a flail, (swɪq'l) the other end]. 45 B want. 51 S mɛn. 56 S wɔsh. A: or O: 64 HB rɔq, ES rɔq. A'- 67 B gu [gweɛnɪn gweɛn] going, HB gɔu ngɪ'n, S gwe'ɪn. 74 S tɔ'u. 76 B tɪd. 79 HB ɔn. 81 S lɔn. 84 HB mɪr. 86 S ɹts. A': 101 S ɔk' [Miss Harris (ɔk)]. 102 B aks ɛks. 104 ES ru'd. — B drɔv [a drove]. 110 B nat. 111 S ɔt'. 113 B whal. 115 B wham, S wɔ'm, ɔ'm [Miss Harris did not know the last form]. — B wɔps [wasp]. 118 B bwɛn. 123 B nathɪk, HB nɔ'thɪk. 124 B stɔn, HB stɔn, S stɔn. — B lɔft [loath].

Æ- 138 B fɪaðhɛr [spelled *fak'ther*], S fɪdɪr. — S jɛ'kɛr [acre]. — B lɔdɪr [ladder]. — B bladhɛr [bladder]. 144 B ɛgɛrn. 149 B blɪzi blɪ'iz [is (blɪzi), one of the S. infinitives in -yʔ]. 152 S wɪtɛr. Æ: — B stɪdɪ [steady]. — B stɔm [stem of a tree]. 158 S a'rtɛr. 161 HB dɛi. — B stɛd [handle]. — B hɔps [hasp]. 172 S graas. — S dlaas [glass]. — HBS kjà'rt. [cart]. — B rɔt [rat]. Æ'- 190 B kɛ. 200 B wɛt, HB wɪt. — B hɛth [heath]. Æ': 205 B thrɪd. — B sɪd [seed]. 218 BS shɪp. 223 ES dhɛr. 224 B wɪr [where], no'wɛr [no-where]. — B strɪt [street].

E- 233 S *əspɛ'ikin* [a-speaking]. 243 HB *plɛi*. 246 S *kviin*. — B *ɛt* [eat]. 251 B *mɛt*, S *mɛt*, *mɛt* [Miss Harris says the last is more usual]. 253 B *ɛt'l*. E: — B *fɔt fɔtɪ* [fetch]. 261 HB *s'ɪ*, S *see*, ES *sɛ'i*. 262 ES *wɛ'i*. 263 HB *ɛwɛi*. 265 ES *strɛ'it*. — *fɪld* [field]. 272 S *ɛlɛm* [Wykes, (Elm) Miss Harris]. — B *hoop hoopt* [help, helped]. 278 S *wɛntɪ*. — B *ɪnd*, *ɪnd* [end]. — B *nɛst* [nest]. E'- — B *iitɪ* [to eke]. 299 HB *grɪn*. E': 306 B *hɛkth* [this form is not found in other words, compare *Havelock* *knieth*, *suprà* Part II. p. 477, see below p. 127, No. 306]. 312 ES *jiir*. 314 B *hiird*, HB *ɪurd*.

EA: — B *tʃaaf* [chaff], *tʃaaf'ɪn* [chaffing]. — B *tʃaalz* [jowls]. 323 B *fə'ut*. — B *tʃook* [chalk]. 326 ES *ool*. 334 *haapni*, *haapth* [halfpenny, -worth], S *aap'ni*. — B *ʊnɪv'ɛst* [almost]. — B *aales* [always]. — S *hà'kɪd* [hard]. 346 B *jéert*, ES *ge't*. EA'- 347 B *hadhend* [headland], *ɔɛd*, BH *ɛd*. EA': 350 B *dʒɛdli* [deadly, extremely]. 352 ES *rɛd*. 355 ES *dɛt*. — S *bíam* [beam]. — B *krem* [cream]. — B *sem* [seam]. 360 S *tɛm*. 361 S *bíam*. 363 B *tʃɛp tʃap*. — B *ɔp*, *ɔpɪ* [heap, heaped]. 364 ES *tʃa'p*. — S *ɪur* [year]. — B *ɛest* [east]. 366 B *grɛt*. — B *ɛzi* [easy]. — B *dɪoo*, *dɪa'a'u* [dew]. 370 B *raa*.

El- 373 HB *dhéi*. EO- 386 S *ʃou*. EO: 394 S *jander*. — B *hərd* [herd]. 397 B *sward*. 402 BES *larn*. 404 B *stac* ['with a rough burring sound']. 406 B *ɔeth*. EO'- 411 HB *thrii*. 413 B *dɪv'l*. EO': — B *liv* [lie]. 425 HB *lɛit*. 428 ES *sɛl*. 436 ES *truu*. EY- 438 HB *də'i*.

I- 440 B *wik*. — B *hiis* [yes]. — B *sine* [sinew]. 447 S *ar*. — B *peez*, S *pe'iz* [pease]. 450 B *tʃuuzdɪ*. I: 452 HB *ʃi' & A* [unemphatic], ES *ɛ'i*. — B *bərd*, S *bərd* [bird], *bɛdiz* [birdies]. 458 HB *nɛit'*. 459 HB *rə'it*, ES *rɛit*. 465 B *sɪt*. — B *fɪlɛr* [thiller or shaft horse]. 469 B *hɔl* [will, 'rhyming *wool*'] *hɔt* [wilt, 'rhyming with *pot*'], S *u*. 470 ES *en* [weak, old people = *hine*]. 477 ES *fə'in*. — HB *rɛn* [run]. — B *bashəp* [bishop] — B *spɛt* [spit]. I'- 492 HB *sə'id*, ES *sə'id*. — *giɪ gin gɪz* [give, gave or given, gives], *giɪtɛr* [gift]. — B *brɪit* [rite, a remnant of (*ii*) in *S'wife*, confused with *brɪif* and so preserved:] — HB *thənti*. I': 502 HB *fə'iv*. 506 B *ʊmən*. — B *hɛ'mɛkɪn*, *hɛ'rɪkɛrd* [haymaking, hayrickyard]. 508 S *má'l*.

O- — B *shə'ud* [shovel]. — B *rat'n* [rotten]. O: 529 S *brət'*. 531 S *daa'rtɛr*. 538 B *həd*. 543 B *an*. 549 B *wərd*. — B *hɔs* [horse]. 554 B *kras*, S *kraas*. — B *púestiz* [posts]. — B *mooɪs* [moths]. O'- 555 HB *shə'u*. 557 S *tə'u*. — B *fə'dhɛr* [fodder]. 559 S *mə'dhɛr* [not with (*u*)]. 560 ES *skud*. — B *gumz gɔmz* [gums]. 564 S *sun'*, ES *sun*. 566 HB *ʊdhɛr*. — B *blə'uz* [blows = blossoms]. O': 571 S *gud*. — B *həd* [hood, peascods (*hii dhɛ pɛz* *hədəd* ?)]. — B *rad* [rod]. 579 HB *ɛnə'f*, ES *ɛnə'f* [not with *f*]. 587 HBS *də'n*. 588 HB *nə'un*, S *nun*. 595 B *fət*.

U- 599 HB *ɛbə'v*. — B *həd* [wood]. — B *drə'ʊth* [drought]. 603 S *kəmɪn*, ES *kə'mɪn*. 605 HBS *sə'n*. 606 HB *də'vɛr*, ES *dun'r*. U: 612 HB *sə'm*. 619 B *fənd* [? *ɪv'nd*]. — B *antɛr*, *ansəntɪn* [unfair, uncertain], *anka'qg'ld* *ɪmpɔsəb'l* [untangled, impossible]. 626 HB *ʊggrɪ* [hungry]. 631 S *thəzdɛ*. 632 HBES *ʊp*. 634 ES *thru*. 636 B *fərdɛr*. — B *rə'ʊstɪ* [rusty]. U'- 640 B *kjə'ʊ*, S *kjə'ʊ*. 641 B *həs'm* *ɛvɛr* *hə'ʊsɪm* *ɛvɛr* [however]. 643 ES *nə'ʊ*. 650 HB *ɛbə'ut*, ES *ɛbə'ut*. U': 658 S *də'ʊm*. 663 HBES *ə'ʊs'*, S *ʊz'n* [houses]. 666 S *ʊzben*.

Y: 684 B *bərdɪ*. 685 B *rɛdɪ*. 689 B *bɪldɪn* *bɛə'ldɪn*. — B *shɪlt* [shelf]. — B *fəz* [turze]. 701 B *fəst*. Y- — B *ɛdrənd* [a-dreamt]. 707 HB *thɛtɪn*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 B *dɔm*. — B *tʃar* [a chare]. 737 B *mɪnt*. — B *əkɛrd* *həkɛrd*, S *əkɛrd* [awkward]. E. — B *zəd* [letter z]. 751 B *piirt* [as (*ɪrlaks* *múer* *piirtɛr* *nar* *ɛr* *dɪd*) she looks *pɛrtɛr* = in better health, *nor* = than she did]. I *and* Y. 758 ES *gɛrl*. O. 772 B *boont'ɪr*. — B *sə'ʊnd* [swoon]. — B *mɔrt* [mort = many]. 791 S *bóɪ*. U. — B *də'ʊk* [to duck]. — B *pəɪn* [pudding]. — B *tʃuun* [tune]. 804 ES *dru'qk'n*.

805 B kərdz. — B shet shetərz [shut, shutters]. — ES ba_uti [butty, companion].

III. ROMANCE.

A .. —S tiubl [table]. 811 B plécs, HB pléis. 813 S bík'n. — B threel [flail]. 824 B tpir. — B pleez [please]. — B eezi. — B máster [mister]. — B koor [quarry, (as got dhe stəanz from :hərkten koor we got the stones from Hornton quarry)]. — B marvilz [marbles]. — ES tlaas [class]. — B slat, S slút [slate]. — B saas [sauce]. 865 B íaat.

E .. 867 BS tee, S tee₁. — B fit₁ [vetch]. 878 B saleri. — B fenem [venom]. — B tpiri [cherry]. 888 B saktin. — B sarv [serve]. — B mízbr. 892 B nevi.

I and Y .. — B wedth [width]. 901 S fáin [Wykes, (fa'in) Miss Harris]. 910 B dpa'is.

O .. 916 B ə'injən ə'inən. — B kəə'in [quoin=coin]. — B nə'ínt [anoint, thrash]. — B dpa'in [join]. 929 B kja'əkəmber. 930 B lá'in. — B kja'ənt [to count]. — B kja'ənti [county]. — B :hə'ris [Horace, with a rough burring sound]. — S táust [toast]. 940 HB kóat. 947 B ba'il bæ'əil, S ba'il. — B rə'at [rut of a wheel]. 956 B kiver. U .. — B dpa'it [duty]. — B trəvent [truant]. — B tjuulep [tulip]. — B pípít [pulpit]. 970 B dprest.

VAR. iv. SW. NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CWL.

From the following sources:—

A. Ashby St. Legers (3 n. Daventry).

Ba. Badby (2 ssw. Daventry) including Daventry and Woodford (6 ssw. D.). Ex. (shənt, ədhat'n, wət s i səi? shan't, of that kind, what does he say? (ai də n dhat kəə'it rəq) I [have] done that quite wrong, (just to sə əmen en náu it s a'men) used to say a-men and now its ah-men.

By. Byfield (7 sw. D.). Ex. (in mi sev'mti tóu in my 72nd year, (a' bi)ju? bi'ju in priti gəd elth? how are you? are you in pretty good health?

T. Towcester (11 sse. D.) including Helmedon (7 sw. T.), Syersham (6 ssw. T.). A man of 60 says when he was a boy, say 1830, A was called tee.

W. Watford (4 nne. Da.) and Weedon (4 se. D.). A man of 60 who attended school at Whilton (3 sse. Watford) was taught to call A, E (aa. əj. One person examined at Watford had (R L) strong.

All from wn. by TH. from natives in 1881 and 1886. The variants were probably due to individual habits, and did not extend over districts.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 W béikt, A beek be'ik [new], bakes [bakehouse old], By biuk. 4 A tək, By tək. 5 A mək, Ba mək. 6 By méud. 18 W kjéik, By kjék. 20 Ba léem. 21 T nəim [villages about Towcester say (néem)] ABa nələm nóm [new]. 23 A sém séum, By séum. 31 By lét. A: 39 Ba kəm. 56 A wash. A: or O: 60 A láq. 64 TBaBy rəq, W ruəq.

A'- 67 TWBy gə'in góə'in, ABa góu, By gwə'in. 69 Ba nòu. 74 T tə'n, W tiu. 76 ABaBy túud. 81 A le'in l'en. 82 W wəuns. 84 W múuə. 86 A óuts óuts [new] By wuts. 92 W nòu, A noo. 95 By throo. A': 104 A rood rôud [new] rúed. By rood. — W [between] lèidi lā'idi [lady]. 115 AT óam. TABaBy óm, Ba óim [new], By oom. 117 T wə'n, A wón. 120 By eguu. 121 T gə'n. 123 T [between] nothiəq nə_uthiəq, W nə_uthiəq. 124 A stón, BaBy stúm, By stəən. 125 W óanli.

Æ- 138 TWBaBy faadher. — By ladher [ladder]. 142 By sœel. — By seet [a seat]. 152 By wæater. Æ: 158 W a₁rte₁r, A arter, Bā àter. 161 TW dèi, W dá'i, A de'i dii [the last evidently an importation from Le.], Ba dèi, By dee. 172 Ba gràs. Æ'- 190 W kii. 197 ABa tpiiz. 200 TW wiit [villagers], wéit, ABa wíet, By weet. Æ': 216 A dil, By de'l. 218 Ba ship. 223 A dhier dhéer, Ba dhíer dhíu₁r, By dhíer. 224 By wíer.

E- 233 T spíik [villages about (spéik)], WABY speek. 241 W rá'in, A re'in, Ba

rèn, By reën. 243 W plé'i pléi. 250 W swée'vr. 251 Ba m'ët. E: 260 W léibz [layers]. 261 A se'i, BaBy see. 262 TW wèi, W wá'i, A we'i, Ba wè, By wee. 263 W ewèi, Ba awee. 278 W wentj [an offensive term]. 280 A lev'm. E'- 299 TBy gr'ím, W grím. 300 ABa kiip. 302 By m'ët. E': 305 By s'i. 312 T ír, By ír. 314 W írd, TW and, By írd.

EA: 324 T á'ít, ABa e'ít. 326 T óud óud, BaByW óud. 334 W àt. 335 W aal. 346 Ba gj'ët. EA'- 347 T e'd, WBy èd. EA': 350 W de'd. 353 By bre'd. 360 ABy tium. 361 BaBy bíen, Ba béen. 363 ABa tjep. 366 TA gréit, By gréet gret. EI- 373 W dhéi dhè.

EO- 383 T sev'n, ABaBy sev'm. EO: 395 ByWA juq. 396 Ba wark. 402 W lern, By larn. EO'- 411 T thríi, Ba thríi. — Ba tríi [tree]. 420 T tóe, By tóer. EO': 425 A [between] bíit lóit, By ló'it. 431 T Ba bíer. 437 TBy tra'uth. EY- 438 T dá'i, A dái, By dá'i dá'i. EY: 439 W tra_smí [trust'me].

I- 440 W wíik. 444 A [between] str'íl stó'íl. 446 T ná'in náin. I: 452 T Ba ái, By ái. 458 TBy ná'ít, W náit, A [between], náit nóit, Ba [between] ná'ít náit. 459 A [between] rá'ít róit, By ró'it. 466 By tja'ld. 469 Ba wíl w'íl [will]. — W ru_n [run]. — W dánt. I'- — [long í Ba (á'i, á'), Daventry (á'i)]. 492 A [between] sá'id sá'id, Ba sáid. 494 TBy tó'im, A [between] tá'im táim, Ba [between] táim tó'im. I': 500 TBy ló'ík. 502 W [between] tó'iv tóiv, By tó'iv. 503 T ló'it.

O: 527 Ba b'át. 529 ABaBy bra't, By bróut. 531 ABaBy daater. 532 W kóud, A ká'ud. 543 By a'n. — By á's [horse]. O'- 555 W shuu, By sháu. 558 By luk. 559 By madher. 560 A skuul. 562 A múm, BaBy mumm. 566 A u_dher. 567 By tu_dher. 568 ABaBy br_udher. O': 569 BaBy buk. 571 A gud. 586 T da'n, W dóunt [don't]. 587 W don, Ba du_n. 588 A núm, Ba numm. 594 W ba'ut [occ.].

U- 603 TBy kam. 604 A su_umer. 605 T s'ón [and between that and 'son'] WABY s'ón, Ba [between] sonz sonz. 606 T d'uar d'uar, ByW d'uar. U: 612 WBy su_um. — T [between] tomb'l, t'omb'l [tumble]. 615 W p'and. 622 Ba u_under. 629 By su_un. 632 By u_p. 633 T kop', WA ku_p, Ba kop ku_p. 636 ABy farder. 639 A du_ust. U'- 640 Ba kja'uz. 641 A á'u. 643 TByW ná'u. 648 T á'uar, W [between], e'uar, á'uar. 650 TWBy eb'at. U: 658 TWBy d'ám, W dá'um, A dá'um, Ba dáum. 659 Ba tó'm. 661 A [between] shá'uar shá'uar. 663 TABY á'us, Ba á'uzez á'uziz, By á'uz'n. 666 Ba u_zhun. 667 T á'ut, A [between] á'ut e'ut. 668 By p'and. 671 W mee'uth.

Y- 677 By dra'i. 679 Ba tjartj. 682 T lá'l. Y- 707 T thart'ín. Y': 712 By ma'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 ABa tAAK. I. and Y. 758 T gjal, gjelr [refined]. O. 761 By lúed. 767 T n'óiz. 791 By b'oi. U. 803 A dmu_p.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — W léiber [labour, (r) rather strong]. 811 A pléiziz pléuz. 822 Ba m'í. — Ba pe'i p'ed. — W pléin [plain]. — A mu_ster [master, Mr.]. 848 W tjeindj. 849 T ju_m'v stréindj [you are a stranger]. 851 TW ànt. — W pleet [plate]. E.. 867 W tii t'ei, A tii, By tee. 885 By veri. — Ba paas'n [parson]. I.. and Y.. 898 W ná'is, By ná'is. 901 T táim tó'im. O.. — bi' [beef]. — T u_qk'l [uncle]. 933 A íru_{nt}. 940 By k'ut. 947 By bóil. U.. 963 By kwá'it. 970 A dmu_s.

D. 7 = m.BS. = mid Border Southern.

Boundary. Start from Little Rollright, Ox. (19 nw.Oxford). Proceed to the e. to the sw. corner of Np. and continue by the b. of Np. to the b. of Ox., go se., s. and n. by the b. of Ox. round to Iffley (2 s.Ox.). Then pass through Be. to the w. by Kennington,

Wootton, and Appleton to the b. of Ox. Proceed n. by the b. of D 5 through Ox., e. of Witney, w. of Handborough, e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton, to the starting-point.

At the s. part of the peninsula of Ox. the dialect, however, has become so worn out that no b. can be assigned with certainty, as the district abuts on the metropolitan area.

Area. Most of Ox., with a small portion of Be., included in a bay of Ox. This is entirely a region of transition from S. to E. The dial. forms are uncertain, and become practically lost at the s. part.

Authorities. See the Alphabetic County List under the following places, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

O.c. †Blackthorn, ‖†Ensham, †Freeland, °Fringford, °Greys, ‖†Handborough, ‖Holton, †Islip, †Oxford, °Somming, †Stonesfield, †Tiddington.

Character. In contradistinction to D 6, D 7 is very homogeneous. Mrs. Parker (author of the Ox. Glossary and Supplement published by the English Dialect Society) divides D 7 into three principal parts. The first two might be called the Handborough (9 nw.-Oxford) and the Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford) varieties, forming mid Ox., bounded on the n. by the n. b. of D 7, and on the s. approximately by a line through Sandford (3 s-by-e.Oxford) and Thame (12 e.Oxford). With these two varieties she was personally well acquainted, being a native of Handborough. Mrs. Parker was kind enough to acquire the use of Glossic, in order to furnish me with information, and to allow TH. to "interview" her, by which means I was able to substantiate the accuracy of her phonetic spelling. TH. also visited Freeland (close to Handborough), and obtained supplementary illustration and confirmation. I give below the es. and dt. and a number of sentences, evidently recollections of actual speeches heard by Mrs. Parker (sent me in MS., but subsequently printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary), several of which I add in pal. Mrs. P. considers that the chief differences between these varieties are that Handborough says (bjent, gween, wats, bjenz, kwat, dwent) ben't, going, oats, beans, coat, don't, and Blackthorn has (bient, gw'in, úats, bienz, kúut, dûent). Now these are only constantly interchangeable forms of the same original for each pair. Ws. áte, oats, becomes regularly (úáts), whence by putting the stress on the first element only (úats), and by putting it on the second only (ũats, ũats, wats). And so for the other forms. Hence the difference is a trifling variety, often found, while there is a substantial identity in this respect, and a real identity in others. The third or s.Ox. variety embraces all the s. peninsula of Ox. between Be. and Bu., with which Mrs. P. was personally unacquainted, but she procured me a dt. from Miss Slade, a schoolmistress at Sonning (4 sw.Henley-on-Thames), and I obtained another from Rev. N. Pinder, rector of Greys (or Rotherfield Grays, 2 w.Henley-on-Thames), neither of which I can fully interpret, but they are sufficient to shew that the speech is a mere variety, differing from the other two mainly in indicating a still further degradation, but

still having an unmistakable S. character. Thus Miss Slade says that in 1880 there might be commonly heard (wə'ut) without, (púest púestiz) post-s, (neer'n) ne'er a one, (aaternuun) afternoon, (aasts) asks, (dhiiz iir_o, dhat eer_o) these here, that there, (hant) have not, (shp) sheep, (həs) horse, etc., of which the first three, at least, are distinctive S. forms, though the rest are familiar in the metropolitan area. And in Miss Slade's dt. she uses (mèuts, skuuld, jender, roud, güt, strèut, mùest, nêum, want) mates, school, yonder, road, gate, straight, most, name, won't, which have the same character. Whether (r) is used I could not determine, but probably it has faded to (r_o) or been entirely vocalised. The analysis of (a'i, a'u) could also not be determined. Mr. Pinder wrote *oy*, but as writers of dialect constantly use *oy* for (á*i*, á*i*, a'*i*), I am very sceptical when I see it. Even in Aylesbury, Bu. (see E div. D 15), where Mr. Fowler said (á*i*), I heard it once only from labourers. The whole e. side of Ox. and w. side of Bu. seem inextricably mixed up, and I have marked the e. b. of Ox. as the b. of the district and group, simply from inability to determine where any change takes place. Mr. Fowler, of Aylesbury, considered the part of Ox. from Deddington (15 n.Oxford) to just e. of Charlton (7 n.e.Oxford) to belong to Bu., but the pron. to change at Thame (12 e.Oxford), and the s. peninsula of Ox. to be quite different. It was only an impression, and he was unable to assign his reasons, but this would give Mrs. Parker's Blackthorn variety to Bu. and too much of a S. character to the s. peninsula. It is, however, provoking not to be able to draw a boundary with certainty between dialects so distinct in their development as the S. and E. But it certainly lies between a line on the w. connecting Blackthorn (10 n.e.Oxford), Islip (4 n-by-e.Oxford), Holton (5 e.Oxford), and Henley-on-Thames, and a line on the e. connecting Buckingham, Aylesbury, and High Wycombe. From Aylesbury to Islip, the greatest width, is 18m. Rev. C. Coker, of Fringford (16 n.e. Oxford), says that he does not consider the difference between Ox. and Bu. at that place sufficient to constitute a different dialect, and certainly the whole e. side of Ox. is much affected by Bu. There is no natural barrier between Ox. and Bu., and the Chiltern Hills pass through both.

Illustrations. A es. and a dt., both from Mrs. Parker, a series of observed sentences written by the same, bringing out the southern character of the dialect very conspicuously, and finally a cwl. furnished by the same lady, with some words noted by TH.

a. HANDBOROUGH es.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's systematic spelling, assisted by notes, and TH.'s observations.

0. wə'i :dʒən aant gət noo də'uts.

1. wel, maa'ster, dhii un ii med bwath un i laaf ut dhis-jər niúuz
v mə'in, uu kii'kz ? dha)s nə'i'dhər jər nər dhaar.

2. tʃent men'i men ɛz də'iz kAAZ dʰe bi laaft ɛt, ɛs nooz, dwənt)ɔs, mən? waat shuud meek)əm? tʃent var lə'ik li, iz it?

3. awevər dhɪs iz ə'u t,wɛz, soo dʒɛst ɔold dhii nə'iz, ut? maa'stɔr, ɛn bi kə'ɔ'ɪt, tɪl ə'i v dɛn. lɪ'sɛn.

4. ə'i bii saar'ten shuɪ'r ə'i jɪrd)əm see—sɛm v dʰee fooks ɛz went θruu ɛv'ri mɔs'əl an)t frəm dhə fast dʰɛs'ɛlvz—dʰat)i)dɪd, seef ɛnɛf—

5. dʰet dʰe lɪ'tɛlest bwa'i iz'sɛlf, v grɛt bwa'i v nə'in, nood iz faa'dʰɛrɪz vɛɪ'is dʰɛrɛk'li, dhoo t,wɛz sɛ kə'ɪ'r ɛn skə'ɪk'ɪn, ɛn ə'i)d tɹɛst 'ii tɛ spɛk dʰe trʌθ [trʌf] ɛni dɛe, aa, 'dʰat)i 'ud, mən.

6. ɛn dʰe ɔold)əm'ɛn ɛr'sɛlf ɪd tɛl ɛni)ɛn'i ɛz laafs nə'u, ɛn tɛl)i stɹɛt aaf tuu, mən, ɛdhə'ut mɛtʃ tɔ-dʌu, ɪf juu,l ɛnli aks)ɛr, dʒɛst wʌnt)ɛr?

7. ɛni ə'u ɛr tɛld ə'i it wɛn ə'i akst)ɛr. ɔovvɛr ɛn ɔovvɔ'r ɛgɛn, ɛr 'dɪd, ɛn 'ɛr dɪd)'nt aat tu bɛ rɔɔj ɛn sɪtʃ v pɛə'ɪnt ɛz dhɪs-jɛr, waat dɛst 'dhii θɪŋk?

8. wɛl, ɛz ə'i wɛz v see'in, 'ɛr)d tɛl dʰe, waar, wɛn, ɛn ə'u ɛr fə'und dʰat dʰaar drɪŋk'n biɛst ɛz ɛr kalz ɔr ɛz'bɛn.

9. ɛr swaə'rd ɛr sɪn i wi ɛr ɔon ə'iz, lee'in sprɔald aal ɛləq', ɪn iz gʌd sɛn'di kɛət, kloos bə'i dʰe ə'us duu'r, də'uɪn ɛt dʰe kaar'nɛr v dʰat leen jan'dɛr.

10. ii wɛz v wɪn'ɛkɪn ɛwee' ɛr seɪz, mən, fɛr aal dʰe wɔrld lə'ik ə sɪk tʃə'ɪld [tʃə'ɪld], ɛr v lɪ'tl gʃal an dhə grɪz'ɪl.

11. ɛn 'dʰat ap'nd ɔz 'ɛr ɛn ɛr :tɔmz wə'ɪf kɛm θruu dhə bak jaard frəm aq'ɪn ə'ut dʰe wɛt klooz tɛ drə'i, an v wɔsh'n dɛe,

12. wə'ɪl dʰe kʃɪ'tl wɛz v bɔw'ɪlɪn fɛr tee, wɛn fə'in sɛni sɛm'ɛr aartɔrɪn ɛnli v wɪk ɛgɔo kɛm nɛkst θɛrɪz'di [θɛrɪ'di].

13. an, dɛst noo? ə'i nɛv'ɛr jɪrd nɛ muu'r nɛr dhɪs v dʰat bɪz'nɛs ap tɛ tɔdɛe, mən, ɛz shuɪ'r ɛz mə'i nɛmz :dʒɛn :shɛp'ɛrd, ɛn ə'i dwənt waant tu niidhɛr, sɛ dʰaar!

14. ɛn nə'u ə'i bi v gwɛe'in ɔom tɛ aa mə'i sɛp'ɛr. gʌd nə'ɪt, ɛn dwənt bi ɪn sɪtʃ v gʃal'ɛp'ɪn ɛri tɛ kɔk-kroo ɔovvɛr v bɔdi ɛgʃɛ'n, mən, wɛn v taaks v dhɪs dʰat ɛr tʃɛdh'ɛr.

15. t'iz v week faul ɛz pɹɛts ɛdhə'ut rɛe'z'n. ɔn dʰa)s mə'i laast wɔrd. gʌd dɛe.

Notes.

1. *master*, all the *r*'s not preceding a vowel are marked (r), for, although in Mrs. Parker's own pron. to TH. they were nearly evanescent, their existence was clear close to Handborough. Before a vowel TH. observed no cases,

nor did he observe any assimilating effect on *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, producing (r, ɒ, ɛ, l). Like JGG. in D 4 at Chippenham, Mrs. Parker considered the (r) to be rather retracted than reverted, and always untrilled, that is, (r_ɔ).

b. HANDBOROUGH dt.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's Glossic.

1. *soo ə'i see*, meets, ɛr sɪz nə'u ɛz ə'i bi rə'ɪt ɛbə'ut dʰat dʰaar lɪ'tl gʃal əkɛm'ɪn frəm dhə skɪnuəl jan'dɛr.

2. ɛr-z ɛgwee'n də'uɪn dʰe rood dʰaar θruu dʰe rɛd grɛt v dʰe lɪft aand sə'id v dʰe rood.

3. *seef* enaf dhu tʃə'ɪld)z gaan street əp tɜ dhu dúnur v dhu rəq ə'us,
 4. wəɹ ʔr)l vaar lə'ɪk fə'ɪnd dhat dhii'r drɔk'n def srɪvɛld fɛl:v v dhu neem v :təm'əs.
 5. ʔs aal nooz 'ii vɛ[rɪ wɛl.
 6. wənt dh)ool tʃap sən laarn əɹ nat tɜ du)t ɛgjen', puu'r thiɔ.
 7. jalak ! jent ɪt truɪ ?

Notes.

1. *mate* is often *boy* (bɔr'a'i) in the singular, in calling out to several men they would say (ə'i see jiu), and not the usual (joo).—*as* and not *that* would be used here, compare the mummers rhyme, where (ɪt) means *yet*, and (jɛd) *head*—

(hii'r kemz ə'i, vɜ aant bɪn ɪt,
 here come I that hasn't been yet,
 wi mə'i grɛt jɛd ɛn lɪt'l wɪt.)
 with my great head and my little wit.

—*be* becomes in the negative (bjent, bent).—*that, th* is sometimes omitted from this word, as (at i ul) = that he will.—*little* (lɪt'l) = very small.—*girl*, “my wench” is a usual term of affection, “wench,” by itself would be offensive.—*yonder, yon* is not used.

2. *her*, the (r) is always felt; (shii) is used only as an emphatic objective case.—*agoing*, (əgweɪ'n) is also common, especially at Combe and Wood-

stock, in this district.—*there*, (dhaar, dhɛr, dhii'r) are all used, and similarly (waar, wɛr, wii'r), for *where*.—*the child's gone*, 's means *is, has* is not used in the dialect; they say, “*is gone, is come, had went or a-went*,” this a- (ɛ) is used after *had*, but not after *have*.

3. *been and gone* is frequently used.

4. *shrivelled*, initial (shr-) unknown in this part of the country.—*fellow*, with a strong (r), as (fɛlɛr), is used a little further north and north-east.

5. *we* for *us*, and *us* for *we*, is the rule.—*he*, (ɛn) for *him* and *it* when unemphatic.—*learn*, but (tɛ'tɛrɛ) with distinct (r).

6. *thing*, (səm'ret, nath'n, nath'in, nath'ɪk), etc., are all heard for *something* and *nothing*.

7. (lak, al'ak, dhal'ak, lək) as exclamations for *look there!* but *look* is otherwise (lɔk).—*is not*, (ɛnt) is more refined than (jɛnt).

c. HANDBOROUGH PHRASES.

All these phrases and many others were printed in *Glossic* in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's *Ox. Glossary* after having been supplied to me in MS.

1. (ə'i nevr went nuur enə'ɪst)ɛn), I never went no-where near him.
2. (twəd ʔndɛr v ʔr), toad under a harrow.
3. (dhɪs biir)z dʔst, ɛn ʔr aaləs duu dʔst ɪt), this beer's dashed [mixed with some of an inferior quality], and she always do dash it.
4. (duu)i kəm ɪn, ɛn aa v dɪʃ v tɛ wɪ ʔs), do ye come in, and have a dish of tea with us.
5. (aal ə'i wʔnts ɪz faar duuz, ɛn faar duuz ə'i)l aa, fɛr aal dhii ɛr ɛnɪbɔdɪ ɛls), all I want is fair dealings, and fair dealings I'll have, for all thee or anybody else.
6. (:puɔni :ʔdɛrɔ v bɪn ɛn fɛl ɛpɔn :tɛpɔt :adɛmz, ɛn i və'uz ɛn dɪklaarz ɪl pəl)ɛn), Puddingy Woodward has been and fallen upon Teapot Adams, and he vows and declares he'll pull him.
7. (ɪf dhii bigɪ'nst ɛni v dhə'i ɛgrɪvɛtɪn weez ʔr, ə'i)l kət dhu klɛn v tuu ɪn dhɜ mɪd'l), if thou beginnest any of thy

- aggravating ways here, I'll cut thee clean a-two in the middle.
8. (bitwiin juu en ə'i en dhə gjet pwəst), between you and I and the gate-post, i.e. between ourselves.
 9. (əm sez əm bii), they say they are.
 10. (bənt)'n əp artər ə'i, əl'i), push him up after I, will ye?
 11. (nə dhən, kjAA, wə's bin v duu'in ən, nə'u?), now then, eaw [fool], what-hast been a doing of, now?
 12. A. (dhii lən ə'i dhə'i nə'if), thee lend I thy knife.
B. (dhii ut)'nt gi'n ə'i bak), thee wilt-not give-it I back.
A. (ə'i)l jət fə'nr ən flaar ən aal dhə wə'ld et wən mə'uffl, if ə'i dwənt), I'll eat fire and flare and all the world at one mouthful, if I don't [a usual boyish asseveration].
 13. (dhis grə'und)z in sɪtʃ bəd ɔ:t, tʃɛnt noo ju:z tə soo weət nɜ:w wəts, ə'i θiŋks ə'i shel plənt 'teetə:z), this ground [field] is in such bad heart [condition], 'taint [it isn't] no use to sow wheat nor oats, I thinks I shall plant potatoes.
 14. (if dhii gəst in ool :dæn'l :kjɛziz kloos, iz bəd əl ɔ:ntʃ dhə), if thee goest in old Daniel Kearsey's close [field], his bull will horn [toss] thee.
 15. (daut stæn dha:k v lə'pɛtɪn v bə'ut, sɛt v bə'ut duu'in sɛmɛt), don't stand there a-lounging about, set about doing something.
 16. (mæn ən dɔ:d), mother and father.
 17. *maid-servant* (if ə'i bjɛnt nəθ'n bət v sər'vənt, ə'i bjɛnt pʊə'iz'n), if I ben't nothing but a servant, I ben't poison [=an object of disgust]. *boy* (dhat dhə bɪst, pʊə'iz'n tuu), that thou be'st, poison too.
 18. *question*, is she a respectable woman? that is, one above the position of a labourer; *answer* (noo, sɜ:, ɛr ɛnt v rɪspek'təb'l wɪmən, nə mʊ:ɜ:n nɜ: ə'i bi, ɛr ɛzbɛn wɜ:kz et dhə seem fɑ:m əz mə'in duu), no, sir, she aint [iz'nt] a respectable woman, no more than I be, her husband works at the same farm as mine do [does].
 19. (ə'i bi sɪk ən seetɪd wi dhə veri :sə'it v wɜ:k, ə'i a:nt sɛt də'uən dhɪs jɜ: blesɪd deɪ, ən mə'i bak eɪks dʒɛst fɪt tə kʌm v)tuu), I be sick and sated with the very sight of work, I have-not sat down this here blessed day, and my back aches just fit [ready] to come a-two.
 20. (dhɪs tee lɛvz sɪtʃ v nə:stɪ smæk in dhɪ mə'ʊθ, t)iz wɜ:sɜ:n nɜ: sɪnɪ), this tea leaves such a nasty smack [taste] in the mouth, 'tis worsɜ:n nɜ: [wɜ:sɜ: θæn] sɛmɑ:.
 21. (dhɪs nə'ɪz iz ɪnəf tə stænɪ ɔ:nɪbədɪ, ə'i)d əz lɪv bi et :bedləm əz bi jɜ:), this noise is enough to stun [s. inf. in -y, but used with an object, which is unusual] anybody, I'd as lief be at Bedlam as be here.
 22. (mə'i ool)d'wɪmən)z ɛgwe:n tə'i'in əp 'fɑ:mɛ), my old woman's a-going tying up 'for me [that is, making sheaves of corn into stacks, observe emphasis in *for*, if it had been 'for me,' he would have said (fɜ:k 'ə'i)].

23. (a'i nooz i went rə'it, fer v sez tə ə'i, v sez, "a'i v sɪn v eendɪ'l," un ə'i sez, "aav)i faadhər?" un v sez, "iis," un ə'i sez, "dɪd v speek tu)i, faadhər?" un v sez, "iis, mə'i wentɪ, v dɪd, v sez, :dʒoo, ə'i waants)i"), I know he went right [that is, to heaven], for he says to me, he says, "I have seen an angel," and I says, "have ye, father?" and he says, "yes," and I says, "did he speak to ye, father?" and he says, "yes, my wench [term of endearment], he did, he says, Joe, I want ye."
24. (ə'i aalus θiŋks ez raɪt ɪn buks un preeɪn, un aal sɪtɪ θiŋz ez dhɛm bi mɛnt fer dhɛe ez kjaant wɜrk), I always think as [that] writing books and preaching, and all such things as them [those], be meant for they as [those that] can't work [do manual labour].
25. (lɛn)s aa)t, let-us have-it.

d. HANDBOROUGH ewl., Ox.

7 n.w. Oxford, with Freeland, a hamlet of Ensham just s. of Handborough, Islip and Blackthorn. Words generally from Mrs. Parker, but occasionally from TH.

B Blackthorn, wn. by TH. from Mrs. P.

F Freeland, near Handborough, wn. by TH. from Mrs. Waime, Mrs. P.'s mother.

G General in Ox., from Mrs. P.'s lists.

H Handborough, from Mrs. Parker's lists, but by no means exhaustive.

Ha Handborough as noted from Mrs. P.'s pron. by TH.; almost every such word is here noted.

Ho Holton, from Mrs. P.'s glossie.

I Islip, from Mrs. P.'s glossie.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 12 IIIa saa. 13 IIIa naa. 14 H draad [drawed = drawn, drew]. — gjɛm [game]. 24 IIIa shɛm. — F pɪb'l [pebble]. — H staar [to stare]. 30 H kjɛr, kɪɛr. 33 G rɛdher. 36 H thaa. A: — rɔm [ram]. 43 Ho ənd. — Ha kja's'nt [canst-not]. 54 Ha waant, F want. A: or O: 64 Ha raq. A'- 67 Ho ɛgʊ-ɪn, Ha ɛgwɪn, ɛgwɛɪn, F ɛgwɛ-ɪn. 72 Ha uu. 76 H twad. 84 G mɪuɛr. 85 G sɪuɛr. 86 Ho ûets, HF wats, HaF wats. 89 H bæath, bath. 92 Ha noo. A': 113 H wɛl, əl, Ha əl'. 115 I ôəm, FHa oom. 123 G nath'n. 124 F stwɔn, Ho stan. 135 H klaath.

Æ- 138 HI faadhər. 148 Ha fɪlɛr. — Ha stɔlɛz [stairs]. Æ: 161 Ha I dɛ'i FHa dɛe. 179 F wɛt. Æ'- — G rɛtɪ. 183 G tɛtɪ. 187 G lɛv. 190 Ho kɛe. 192 IIIa mjɛn. 200 Ha wɛ'it, F wɛt. 202 Ho jɛt. Æ': — Ha mjɛ'd [mead, G]. — F sɪd [seed]. 214 naarn an ɛm [ne'er a one of them]. 223 Ha dhɔlɛr, H dhar, dhær, dhɛr, I dhɛr. 224 H war, wær, wɛr, Ha wɛr.

E- 233 Ha speek. — HaG tɛr, tɛrd, tɛrd [to tear, teared, tore]. 248 Ha mɔlɛr. — H lɛzɪn, Ha lɛzɪn [leasing = gleaming]. 252 Ha kjɪ't'l. E: 261 Ha see, sɛi. 262 Ha wɛ'i. 265 Ha strɛt. 278 F wɛnɪtsh [perhaps (wɛnɪtsh)]. 280 G lɛb'n. E'- 299 Ha grɪm. E': 306 HaG ɛkth (see p. 119, No. 306). 312 F ɪer. 314 HaF jɛlɛrd. 315 HaF ɪɪ't.

EA- — H shɛk, shɛk [shake, shook]. 319 Ha gjaap. 320 Ha kɪr. EA: 321 F [(sɪn) = seen, for have seen, used]. 322 Ha laaf. 323 HaG fɔ'at. — tʃoʊk [chalk]. 333 G kjaaf. — Ha ɔltɛr [halter]. — shar [share]. 345 F dɛer. 346 I gjɛit, F gjɛt, Ho giɛt, gjɛet. EA'- 347 Ha jɛ'd.

EA': 350 H djed. 352 F red'. 354 G shef. 356 H lef, levz. — Ha bjem [beam]. — krem [cream]. 361 H HaF bjenz, Ho bienz. 363 HaG tjep. — G east [east]. 366 Ha gret. — H jezi [easy]. 371 H Ha straa.

EI: 378 HaFG weck. 382 Ha dharn [theirs, G].

EO- 383 G seb'n. 384 G eb'n. 386 Ha job. EO: 394 HaF jandær. 397 H suurd. 402 Ha lærn. 403 H fan. EO'- — G flec [a flea]. 419 Ha jûern [yours]. EO': — Ha ilt [held]. 427 Ho bient [be-not]. 434 H Ha bjet. 437 Ha trûi, trûth.

EY- 438 Ha dæ'i, da'i [marked as lying between them, the first is analogical].

I- 440 Ha wk'. 447 Ha ær, ærn [hers]. — FG peez [pease]. I: 452 Ho ai, a'i. — Ha hed [lid]. 466 Ha tje'ld. 468 G tje'dær. 469 H ut [wilt], F want. 482 I ENT [is-not], H bjent, Ha bi'ent [probably (bient) is near enough], Ha jent, tjent. 483 Ha iz'n [stated to be general]. 487 H istardi. 488 H it. — t'it [teat]. — sens [since]. I'- — H güi, gin [give, given, gave]. — HF rîp [to reap].

O- — G rat'n [rotten]. O: 531 Ha daate:r. 537 H mæ'aldi [mouldy]. 538 H ud. 543 HaF an. 546 H far, far. 547 G buurd. 549 H úurd. 554 G kras. O'- — gum [gum of tooth]. 564 Ha sen'. 568 F brædhær. O': — Ha bræk [brook]. 586 Ho düent [don't], Ha dwent, F dwent [modern (dænt)], F d'us'nt, Ha d'ust [dost]. 587 Ha dæn. 590 H flûær. 592 Ha swær. 595 Ha rut', F t'ot'. — t'oth, t'ith [tooth, teeth].

U- — ud [wood]. 603 HaF kæn. 606 FG dûær, Ha dûær. U: — ulf [wolf]. — G shæ'ulder [shoulder]. — ænderd [hundred]. 623 H fan. — vnder [wonder]. 626 Ha v'ægri [a hungry]. 632 I æp'. — H mûær [mourn]. — H thasti. U'- 643 HaF næ'u, F nê'u. 648 Ha æ'ue:rn [ours]. U': 667 F æ'ut.

Y- 675 Ha v'dræ'i [a-dry, thirsty]. 676 B lig, ligster [a lie, a liar]. Y: — shilf [shelf]. 694 F wærk. 700 G wæs. Y- 706 Ha wæ'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — kraal [crawl]. — H æurd, akwid, Ha æurd [awkward, stubborn]. E. — Ha eft [to heft, weigh in the hand, from to heave]. I. and Y. 756 I srimps. 757 H tiini. 758 Ha gjal [sometimes (gjærl), Oxford (gærl)]. O. 778 G efuurd. 791 Ha bwæ'i, F bæ'i. U. I djæmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 I fies. 814 Ha mænter. — G freel [flail]. 824 Ha tjeur [G]. 835 Ha reez'n. — H master [master, Mr.]. — Ho gjalep [gallop]. — Ha pant'nî [pantry]. — Ha a'rtj [arch]. — G kjaar [to carry]. — G kjaar-fentur [carpenter, Ha (kjaar-)]. 857 Ha kjes. — slat [roofing slate].

E.. 867 F tee. — Ha dhurekli. 872 H tjeif. — sarv, sar [to serve]. — G Ha mizher [measure]. 891 H bjest, B best. 896 H Ho beever.

O.. — Ha biif [beef]. 916 G æ'inen. — pæ'iz'n, pæ'iz'n [poison]. 925 Ha vwa'is [mod. va'is]. — G kûerd [cord]. — Ha pûerk [pork]. 940 Ho kûet, Ha kwot, F kwät. — fuurm [form]. 947 Ha bwæ'i:lin. 955 Ha dæ'uts. — Ho mæv [move]. 956 G kiver.

U.. — trîbent [truant]. 969 shûær.

D 8 = s.BS = southern Border Southern.

Boundaries. From Reading, Be., follow the n. b. of D 5 through Sr. to Knockholt, Ke., and continue ne. to Gravesend, Ke., then turn w. and follow the s. bank of the Thames back to Reading.

Area. Extreme se.Be.; ne.Sr., and extreme nw.Ke., embracing London s. of the Thames and the adjacent suburbs.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., ° in io.

Be. ° Hurley, ° Hurst, °* Wargrave, † Windsor.

Sr. ° Chertsey, ° Chobham, ° Croydon, ° Leatherhead.

Ke. No information from this very small portion of nw.Ke.

Characters. The composite nature of a very shifting population in this district renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible. Still in country places and even in the suburbs of London there is a slight tang of S. speech even if it is limited to using *I be*. At the extreme w. of the district adjoining Ox. the S. character is almost strong. Thus at Wargrave, Be. (5 ne. Reading), T. F. Maitland, Esq., gave me vv. the words:

A- 4 téek. 21 néem. A': 104 róud. Æ- 142 sne'íl. 143 te'íl. ÆE: 161 dee. E: 261 see. — fiild [field]. EA: 346 gént. EO: 394 ɪndɛr [this is an E form, for (ɛnder)]. I: 466 tɛ'á'dd. P' 492 sɛ'á'd. Y- 682 hɪt'l. A. 737 méet. A: — kɒmple'nt. R is regularly (r). H generally omitted, and also wrongly inserted. *Usages*, I be, her be, I am, I are, we knows-un.

From *Hurley* (9 ne Reading), and hence close to the former place, Mrs. Godfrey, marking the only 'peculiarities' (that is, differences from rs.) she could think of, in a dt. gave me:

A- 21 néem. EA. 346 gént. EO: 394 ɪndɛr [the (ɪ) is assumed from the neighbouring Wargrave, and the (ɛ) confirms the former (i)]. O: 541 wɛnt. U- 603 ɛkəmɪn. A. 737 méets. I. 758 gɛl. *Usages*, I be, housen, Michaelmast, feller.

From *Hurst* (4 e. Reading; the late Rev. R. A. Cameron wrote (1879) with a dt.:

"It is difficult to characterise the genuine dialect of the district. The population is very mixed and migratory. The chief characteristics as they struck me when coming 40 or 50 years ago from Suffolk were (besides the perverse confusions about the aspirates, particularly strong hereabouts), the addition of a short vowel sound to all long terminal syllables, as (méets, mistéek, kɒmple'nt) [these words were interpreted from Wargrave with (éu), but the last may have been (a'í)]. It was difficult to see whether Mr. Cameron wrote *ái* or *ái*. TH. heard (trɛɪn, é'í't) train, eight, from unknown speakers at Windsor, but these were probably London importations]: the dropping of the initial *w* as (ul, ɪmɛn) wool, woman, (ɛ ə'uld ɪmɛn) an old woman; a peculiar sound of the *l*, something like the French *l mouillée* as 'teulld, chiuld' for field, child, but this cannot well be expressed by any combination of letters phonetically." Perhaps he meant merely (ɛl) as (fiild tɛ'á'ild), but the sound may have been possibly been (ɛl). There is no sound of (l) in the modern French *l mouillée*, and hence I have given his own spelling. He wrote long *ī* as *oi*, which Wargrave shews to be (a'í). The following words are taken from the dt.:

A- 21 néem. A: 43 ɛnd. A: or O: 64 rɛq [probably an error]. A': 104 róud. Æ- 144 ɛgɪ'n. E: 262 wɛi [written *wái*, uncertain, might have been (wæ'í)]. 265 strɛit. 266 wæl [doubtful]. EA: 326 ə'á'dd. 346 gént. I: 452 a'í. 459 rɛ'á't. 466 tɛ'á'dd. 469 ul [possibly (ɛl)]. I'- 492 sɛ'á'd. O: 541 ɔnt. O'- 560 skɪul [ɛ]. 564 sɛn. U- 603 ɛkəmɪn. 606 dánt. Y- 682 lɪl ['sometimes, very doubtful indeed whether used by natives, (lɛ'íl) is a N. form]. A. 737 méets. I. 758 gɛl [the (r) is assumed from Wargrave, (máid) written *máid* was said to be commoner]. The rest of the words in the dt. were said to be in rp. *Usages*, I says, I be, she's a goin, bain't, we knows-un, that'en.

The above shews S. in a still moderately active form in Be., but it dies out very rapidly towards Sr., and in Sr. itself the borough

of Southwark and the outlying suburbs seem to have pretty well destroyed all trace of dialect. The following is all the information I could find.

Chobham (S n-b-w. Guildford). An incumbent of 50 years could only give E. 751 *piéct*, the *r* assumed, and the plural *housen*. Neither form is distinctive.

Chertsey (11 me. Guildford). The predecessor of the vicar, that gave me the information, had known the place 70 years, but knew "not one peculiarity in pronunciation."

Leatherhead (12 me. Guildford). Mr. Martel, in writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, said: "It is hard to find distinct traces of provincialism of any sort, as the population is so continually changing," but he gave the *usages* I be, I knows, I saw-r-er, drawing, sometimes *in* for *ing* in the participle, I see (not *I seen*) for I saw, and I were, but in no other person. Of these, *I be* is distinctly S., draw-r-ing, etc., is E. Altogether mixed.

Croydon. Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, of Duppas Hill, tried hard to find provincialisms in the Board Schools, but was not very successful. These are the most he could discover, and I have not been able to interpret all satisfactory.

A' 90 to 97, he writes with *a-ow*, which may bear different interpretations, as *éa*, *é'a*, *é'o*, thus, 93 *snéo*, *sné'u*, *sné'o*, and I incline to the second. EA- 319 *géaip*, 346 *gé'it* [which are not S.]. E: 260 *tái*, 261 *sái* [which I think are not really S. forms, as they seem at first sight, but an exaggeration of the (*lé'i*, *sé'i*) that may be heard in ne. London], 285 *kriis* [a common Londonism]. E': 306 *b'áth* [this is not dialectal, it is a mistaken analogy, and is even heard from educated speakers]. EO: 436 *tríy*, 437 *tríyth* [these seem mistakes for (*tríu*, *tríuth*), which are not uncommon; the diphthong is East Anglian]. I: 472 *seríqk* [this is an example of the non-pronunciation of 'sh' before 'r', and is not distinctive. It is also inconsistent with 654 *shreoud*]. U- 601 *se'u*, 602 *fa'ud* [these were written *sā-ow*, *fā-owl*, and were said to resemble 'æ-ə'u', an unknown combination, but as many dialect writers use *ow* to indicate what has been found to be 'ə'u', I so interpret; the sound is, however, not S., but nearest (*éa*) of Ke., or the E. diphthong. In the same way the long *i* is said to be (*æ'i*), a very common sound in London, but decidedly not S., unless occ. for the *ai*, *ay* words which are not contemplated. This (*æ'i*) is stated to be a favourite sound in Croydon, which is called (*kra'id'n*). Again, U: 654 *shreoud*, 658 *deoun*, 668 *preoud*, look as if meant for 'shri'oud, diə'un, pra'ud, 'the *e* very slight,' which looks like a well-known M. triphthong. O. 769 *mə'il* [this must be an accident, it is not known in any dialect].

The above only betray a very mixed set of speakers. But one observation is to a certain extent S., 608 *agli*, 697 *beri*, 773 *dəqki*, 785 *pooltri*, 934 *ba'anti*, 935 *kmtri*, with a clear final (*i*) not (*i*) or (*i*₁). It is, however, not a certain criterion. *Usages*, 'I be agoing' is S., but 'I am,' 'I are,' also heard, are not so. V and W are said to be properly distinguished.

On the whole, therefore, it must be right to characterise D 8 as a S. dialect almost entirely obliterated by town influences. It forms the s. part of the metropolitan area, or that lying s. of the Thames.

D 9 = ES. = East Southern.

Boundaries. The w. b. is the e. b. of D 5 and D 8 from the mouth of the Adur in Ss. to Gravesend in Ke. The other borders are the sea-coast round Ke. and e.Ss.

Area. Almost the whole of Ke., with e.Ss. It was the supposed seat of the Jutes, but the modern speech is a decaying S. form, with the exception of a peculiarity of entirely modern growth, subsequent to A.D. 1340.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List, under the following places, where * marks vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || systematic spelling, ° in io.

Ss. °Ashburnham, †Battle, †Brighton. °Cuckfield, *Eastbourne, °Etchingham, ||Leasam, †Lewes, °Marklye, °Possingworth, °Selmeston, °Weald of Sussex.

Ke. *Charing, *Chatham, °Denton, *Faversham, ||Folkestone (fishermen), *Maidstone, °Margate, °Rolvenden, °Shadshurst, *St. Nicholas, *Sheerness, *Strood, °Stoke, °Stourmouth, °Wingham.

Character. The general character is that of w.Ss. and Ha., that is that of D 5, only still further decayed. Initial (z, v) seem never to be used for (s, f). The ÆG and EG words have passed pretty well into (ee, ee) and in some cases (ii). The (r) remains; I have heard it myself from Cuckfield and Eastbourne in Ss., at Tunbridge Wells and Maidstone in Ke., and have had it indisputably recognised at Possingworth and Marklye (14 wuw. and 15 n.Eastbourne), and in several places in Ke. But it has a tendency to degenerate into the ordinary English vocal r, a mere vowel (ə, ɪ) or a buzz (r_o), the form that it retains in London. Rev. Mr. Parish (Sussex Glossary) does not notice or apparently acknowledge it at all, using *ar* simply as a symbol for (aa). But Miss Darby, of Marklye, graphically and accurately writes, "The roll of the R is most peculiar, and I never heard anything like it anywhere. It can only be sounded by beginning the sound with the tongue straight," that is, in its usual direct position for the preceding vowel, "and suddenly curling it round so that the underpart of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth," that is, for the consonant itself.

The peculiar character which separates D 9 sharply from the adjoining D 5 and D 8 is the pronunciation of the initial *th* as (d) in *this, that, the, there, their, theirs, them, then, these, those, they*. To these words would probably have been added *than, thou, thee, thy, thine, though, thus*, had they been used in the dialect, but they have not been heard; *than* is always replaced by *nor, thou* etc. by *you* etc., *though thus* do not seem to be required at all. Rev. Mr. Parish (Glossary, p. 8) says "the *th* is invariably *d*," this is not the case for the initial *th* of any other words, so far as I can learn. In the middle of words we have *d* in *farthing* and *further*, but that is common to other dialects. Miss Darby thought she knew it in *other, either, neither*, but was not able to verify her supposition when she tried. In Faversham, Ke., however, Mr. H. K. Hugessen gives (enæder) another. Final *th* in *with, smooth* becomes *d* before a vowel, as (smuud *it, wid it*) smooth it, with it, but not regularly, compare (ed'ın, edéwt) within, without. Now here some might suppose we had the desired Jutish peculiarity, but alas! there is no trace of it in Dan Michel, who (see pp. 38-41) had plenty of initial (z, v), which have since his time entirely disappeared. In John Lewis's *History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenet* [that is, Thanet, the ne. corner of Ke.], 2nd ed. 1736, he says (p. 35) that "the English spoken here is generally very good, only the natives in common with the other inhabitants of this part of Kent are used to pronounce the *th* as a *d*, the *o* as an *a*, as *an* for *on* [regular S.],

the *i* as *ee*, as *Deek* for *Dike* [rather (*dik*) like (*dít*)], and to say *who* instead of *how* and *how* instead of *who* [the latter not met with]. As for example, *How is dat man dere?* for, *Who is that man there?*" Yet in Thanet at the present day, as among the fishermen at Folkestone, I have not been able to discover a single instance of this use of *d* for initial *th*. But Sir F. Burton (of the National Gallery) informed me in July, 1887, that his housekeeper from the Isle of Thanet has an old uncle about 80, who always says "dat man dere," and knows other old people who do so. Hence Lewis is confirmed, and the disappearance is only recent. In Thanet the watering-places of Margate and Ramsgate might be credited with the restitution of *th*, but this hardly applies to the fishermen of Folkestone.

Another peculiarity has also developed itself, but is disappearing under the influence of education. It is not, however, confined to e.Ss. and Ke., but extends along the e. of England from Ke. through Es. and Sf. to Nf. inclusive, which form what may be called *the Land of Wee*. This is the replacement of (*v*) by (*w*), but not conversely. Sam Weller, who spelled his name "with a *we*," and Cockneys are especially credited with the interchange. I have never yet heard (*v*) used for (*w*) in good faith, though I have much wanted to do so, but (*w*) for (*v*) I have known all my life in Ke. Rev. W. Parish acknowledges it in e.Ss., but Miss Darby does not. Now the late well-known traveller Dr. Beke declared that the Cockneys and the Trasteverini in Rome pronounced German *w* (*bh*) in place of both (*v*) and (*w*), and that the Cockneys, with whose habits he was well acquainted, did not know when they were saying one or other, because in fact they said something that was neither, but sounded like (*w*) when (*v*) was expected, and (*v*) when (*w*). Now I am perfectly familiar with (*v bh w ü*), the last being the unstressed vowel diphthongizing with a following vowel. I can readily and easily distinguish in my own and other person's speech *vie* French, *wie* German, *wee* English, *ui* in Italian *Guido*, *oui* French = (*vii, bhii, wii, üii, úi*). Yet I do not hear Dr. Beke's (*bh*) from those who use (*w*) for (*v*). Mr. H. C. Coote also affirmed that he knew coachmen (*cocchieri*) in Rome to say (*üento*) for *vento*. That is possible, but requires investigation. I think, however, that they could not say (*wento*). The English (*w*) is a peculiar consonant which I do not find in the rest of Europe. The *r* and *w* habits of the fishermen of Folkestone will be especially referred to on p. 143.

Although the dialect is tolerably uniform over the whole district, it will be convenient to separately consider Var. i. e.Ss., Var. ii. n.Ke., Var. iii. e.Ke. including the Folkestone fishermen.

VAR. i. EAST SUSSEX FORM.

Miss Darby, who lives in a very out-of-the-way place, Marklye, which used to be seven miles from a railway-station till 1880, says, "I feel quite sure in a few years all these old terms will be extinct. A railway has been opened for the last few months within four miles of us [at Heathfield], and already the change is

very great. We have two old men who have worked on the farm in our family for many years, one for forty years. He is of an old superior family, but cannot read. He said yesterday [dated 15th Oct. 1885] that he was much put out at hearing people talk now, and he could not make out 'high words.' His wife, who is upwards of seventy and able to write, has much disgusted him by buying a dictionary to keep pace with the times. There are not a dozen people left in the parish who speak the real old dialect." Miss Darby's information is checked first by Rev. Mr. Parish, both of them having sent me versions of the dt., and secondly by the vl. vv. given me by two students at Whitelands, p. 134.

TWO INTERLINEAR EAST SUSSEX dt.

M. by Miss Anna M. Darby, of Marklye (:marklɛ'i) (15 n. Eastbourne), pal. by A.J.E. from indications.

S. by Rev. W. D. Parish of Selmeston (:sɛmsɛn / 6 ese. Lewes), pal. conjectually from io., for which no indications were furnished either in writing or in h's glossary. Only those words which apparently differ from Miss Darby's are given.

1. M *Marklye*. soo ói see, méuts, ɛ sɪi nɛ'u dɛt v bi rɔ'it vbe'at
S *Selmeston*. míuts, jɪn s'í,m [bi] be'at

M dæt-éer liit'l gæl ɛkɛ'min frəm dæt-éer skúel e'ut jəndɛr.
S dæt lid'l gærl dɛ skuul [omit] jɛndɛr.

2. M shii z ɛgɛm dɛ'ɪn dæt-éer rúed déer thruu dɛ rɛd gébt on
S shii)bi gɛ'ɪn dɛ rúed

M t)ædhɛr sɔ'id v) dɛ rúed.
S dɛ left haand wee.

3. M shúer ɛnɔ'f dɛ tɔ'ild bi gæm rɔ'it ɛgɪn dɛ dúer v) dɛ nɔq e'us.
S shúer)ɪnf 'z- stráit ɛp tɛ) dɛ

4. M wíer shi)l ɛp tɛ fɔ'ɪn dæt-éer dræqk dɛth sríveuld tɔ'ɛp v) dɛ
S wéer tɔ'ans fɔ'ɪnd dæt dræqken fɛlɛr

M néem v :tɔm.
S níem :tɔmɔs.

5. M wi aal nooz im vɛri wéel [waal].
S aal him wɛri wel.

6. M wúent dɛ óuld tɔ'ɛp súen larn ɛr never tɛ dau ɛt nɔɔ
S wənt ool tɔ'ɛp sun tiitj hɛr nɔt it

M móer, púer thiq!
S ɛgɪn, pɔɔr

7. M lɛ'k)i déer! bíent ɛt truun?
S [omit] it

Notes to M.

1. *I*, at the beginning of a sentence *little*, Miss D. was surprised at Mr. (*s'i*), and (*v*) in the middle.—*be*, used, P.'s (*lid'l*, which she never heard. Mr. P. prefers *am*; *he be* also used.— Mr. P. says "double *t* is always pro-

nounced as *d*, as liddle for little, etc." Miss D. inquires what becomes of bottle, wattle, which are in constant use.

2. *she, her* is used for *she* only immediately after a verb, as 'didst' *she* be gooin', or *she's a gooin'*, optional.—*way*, *w* never becomes *v*.

3. *enough*, with *o* in *col*.—*straight* = *stréut*, but *br't* is the word that would be used here.—*up*, pr. *ʌp*, but here *agin* = against, *i.e.* towards, would be used.—*house*, the *h* is 'dropped slightly, never put in the wrong place.'

4. *deaf*, Miss D. says, "As regards this word, I consider it a most peculiar thing that it should be called *death*, and it is a very common expression, 'she is troubled with *deathness*,'" so also Mr. P.'s Glossary. Halliwell says it is a Suffolk pron.—*Thomas*, a common name, but always abbreviated.

5. Miss Darby wrote *waal*, which ought to mean 'wéel', but as Mr. H. Knatchbull-Bugessen at Faversham said 'waal', may have been meant for the latter.

Notes to S.

1. *mates*, written *méits*, similarly par. 4, *name* *niam*, written *niam*. Misses Darby, Francis and Sayers have all *ném*.

2. *road*, written *róad*, but Mr. P. may have meant *prúed*.

4. *chance*, as this is written *cháance*, it ought to be *téens*, which is unlikely, but I have no guide but Cuckfield 851 *áht*, *aunt*.

EAST SUSSEX CWL.

Those words in which only the ordinary spelling is given in Italics are supposed to be in rp.

C Cuckfield, vv. from Miss Sayers, native, student at Whitelands.

E Eastbourne, vv. from Miss Francis, of London, 8 years at an Eastbourne school, student at Whitelands.

FC Cuckfield, from Archdeacon Fearon, native.

L Leasam, near Rye, from a numbered wl. by Miss B. C. Curtis.

M Marklye, given by Miss Darby, in addition to her dt.

P from Rev. W. D. Parish's *Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect*, conjecturally pal. by AJE, with the help of C and E above.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 CE *béek*. 4 CE *téek*. 5 CE *méek*. 6 CE *méed*. 7 CE *séak*. 9 FC *biléev*. 12 CE *-saar* [even without a following vowel]. 17 CE *laar* [as 12]. 18 [always called *biscuit*, even a large Christmas cake is called *biscuit* at E. and Brighton, not at C.]. 20 CE *léem*. 21 CE *ném*. 22 CE *téem*. 23 CE *séem*. 24 CE *shéem*. 33 CE & FC *reedhur*. 36 CE *thaar*. A: 43 CE and. FC *an*. 44 FC *lan*. 51 P *maan*. 56 L *wash*. A: or Ó: 60 CE *long*. 61 C *eməq*, E *eməq*.

A'- 67 P *egwə'u* [a going], *ə'i* *guz* [I go], CE & FC *guu*. 70 CE *toe*. 72 CE *uu*. 73 CE *so*. 76 CE & FC *téud*. 79 CE *óv*. 80 FC *həlud*. 82 P *wəst*. 83 FC *móen*. 84 CE *móu n dat* [more than that]. 86 P *wəts*. 87 CE *tlooz*. 90 CE *bloo*. 91 CE *mə'u*. 93 CE *sɪp'u*. A': 101 CE *óvk*. 102 L *ast* [int. and past tense]. 104 FC *róed*. 105 FC *róed*. 106 CE *bróed*. 108 P *dat*. CE *doo*. 111 CE *ought*. 115 CE *hóm*. 118 P'CE & FC *bóem*. 120 P *eguu*. 122 P *naan*, CE *nān*. 124 CE & FC *stóun*. 125 CE *only*.

E- 138 P *fiedhur*, CE *téudhur*. — P *laader* [ladder]. 141 CE *néel*. 142 CE *snéel*, L [often 'snag' or *snæ* omitting l]. 143 CE *téul*. 147 *bréem*. — P *amets* [ants]. 149 CE *bléz*. 152 CE *water*. 153 CE *səbndv*.

E: 155 CE & FC *ihetj*. — P *aader* [adder]. 158 FC *aatur*. 161 PLM *dii*. 162 P *tadii*. 166 *méud*. — P *wənts* [wain or waggon horse]. 168 P *tble*. — *wəps* [wasp]. — *həps* [hasp]. 170 CE *arvist*. 171 *barley*. 172 CE *gwas* [common]. E'- 185 CE *road*. 188 P *nəkur*. 190 *key*. 197 *cheese*. 199 CE *bleet*. 200 CE *wéet*. E': 203 CE *speech*. 207 CE *niedj* [with

an indistinct (l)]. 218 PCE ship. 223 CE dhúer [(d) not marked in this word]. 224 CE wébr. 227 CE wet.

E- 231 P du. 232 *break*. 233 *speak*. 234 *kneud*. 235 *weave*. 236 *fever*. 239 CE sérl. 241 CE rérn. M rírn. 243 plév. 250 CE sóbr [swore]. 251 C müt, E meet. 252 CE kú'l. 253 CE *nettle*. E: 261 CE see. 262 CE wéer. 264 CE éul. 265 CE stréut. — fíld [field]. 272 *elm* CE [volunteered that it was (el'm in Es.). — P hiin [a hen]. 281 CE lenth. 282 CE strength. — mesh mash [marsh]. 284 CE thrésh. 286 L harrrr [and so for all words having double *r*, as *carriage* (karrrr), that is, very much lengthened *r*].

E'- 290 CE *he*. 292 CE *me*. 293 CE *we*. 294 CE *feed*. 296 P 'á'í bliv. E beleev, biléit [believed], [I believe, parenthetically]. 300 CE kíp, kep [keep, kept]. 301 CE ier. E': 305 CE hái [?]. 307 CE náí [?]. 308 CE *need*. 309 CE *speed*. 312 CE jéer. 314 íed. 315 CE fít. 316 CE neks.

EA- — P vólé [tallow]. 319 FC géup. EA: 323 CE fá'ut. 324 CE ébt. 328 CE ool. 330 CE ool=328. 333 CE kaeaf. 334 CE haef. 336 CE *fall*. 337 CE *wall*. 345 CE *dare*. 346 P géit. CE & FC géet.

EA'- 347 CE ed. — haafér hafer [heifer]. 348 ói. 349 CE *few*. EA': 350 CE *dead*. 353 CE *bread* [but brén.tpiiz bread and cheese]. 354 CE *shaf*. 355 P deth. CE def. 356 CE *leaf*. 357 CE *though*. 359 C neeber. E níber. 366 P gart. 368 CE *death*. 369 CE *slow*. 371 CE straar.

EI- 372 CE [not used]. EI: 378 E weck. 380 P dem. 382 P deerz.

EO- 385 CE *beneath*. 386 CE *too*. 387 CE nuu. EO: 388 FC melk. 394 P jaqer [?: q]. CE jander jander. 399 CE bróit. 400 CE arnest. 402 CE lam. 405 CE arth. 406 CE *earth*. EO'- — CE *fla*. 411 CE *three*. 412 CE *she*. 413 CE *devil*. 414 CE *fly*. 415 CE lóí. 417 PCE tpa'u. 420 P'E t'uar. C f'ar. 421 P farti. EO': 423 CE *thigh*. 424 P brat. 425 CE kút. 426 fót. 435 CE *you*. 436 CE tríu. 437 CE tríuth. EY- 438 CE *die*.

I- 440 PCE wík. 442 CE óiví. 444 CE sto'd. 446 CE nóin. — shiir [shire]. 448 PCE díiz. 449 CE gít. 450 CE tuuzde. I: 452 CE ói. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 CE róit. 462 CE sóit. 465 CE & FC sít. 466 CE tpa'ild [?]. 468 CE tpa'ld'n. — klám [climb]. 472 CE sríqk. 473 CE blá'in. 475 CE wóind. 476 CE bá'in. 477 fá'in. 478 grá'in. 479 CE wá'in [compare 475]. 483 P hiiz [his, written he's]. 484 CE díis. 485 P síis' [‘the usual pronunciation of thistle,’ says Parish], CE thís'l. 488 CE jít. — P spit [spit]. I'- 490 CE bóí. 493 CE dróiv. 494 CE tóim. I': 502 CE fóiv. 503 CE lóíí. 504 CE nóíí. 505 CE wóíí. 506 CE *women* [(móí ool *women*) my old woman = (móí mísís). 511 wóin.

O- 524 CE wáird. O: 527 CE *bought*. 528 CE *thought* [often (thó'ut) L]. 529 CE *brought*. 531 CE daater. 532 CE coal. 533 CE *dull*. 536 CE *gold*. — krap [crop]. 552 P karn. CE karn. — marr'n [morning]. 554 P kras. — CE *poostásiz* [posts]. O'- 555 CE [baunt] is always used, never (shun). 558 CE *look*. — fódher [fodder]. 562 CE mmum. 563 CE *Monday*. — v mant [month]. 564 CE sán [very short]. 566 CE adhar [not (adhar)]. O': 569 CE *book*. 570 CE *took*. — rad [rod]. 577 CE bá'u. 578 CE plá'u. 579 CE enaf [(en'e'u) not known]. 586 P dónt [don't]. 588 CE níyn [in afternoon, this is Sí., it was difficult to appreciate]. 589 CE spíyn. 590 CE fláer. 592 P suur. 595 CE fat. 596 CE rut. 597 CE sat.

U- 600 CE *love*. 602 CE sá'u. 605 CE *son*. 606 CE dúer. 607 CE báur. U: 609 CE *fall*. 610 CE ul. 611 CE *hallock*. 613 CE dráqk. 614 P héand. CE é'um. — P méand [mound]. 615 P péand. 616 CE gráem. 619 CE fá'um. 620 CE grá'an. 625 CE tq. 629 CE *sun*. 631 CE tharзде. 632 CE ap. 633 CE káp. — vuur [a furrow]. 634 CE *through*. 635 CE wath. 636 CE farder. 639 CE *dust*. U'- 640 CE kjeu [rather rounder, approaching (kja'u)]. 653 CE bát. U': 657 CE bré'um. 659 CE te'um. 665 CE mé'us. 666 CE ézben [but (méster) is usual]. 671 CE mé'ath.

Y- — P hiiv [hive], biiv [beehive]. 676 CE lóí. 679 CE tpa'tp. 682 P ló'l. Y: 689 CE *build*. — P kel [kiln]. 690 CE kóin. 691 móin. 700 CE wás. — P brás'iz [bristles]. 702 P ul'é'n [within]. 703 P pit. Y- 705 CE skéi. — P diiv [to dive]. Y': 711 CE liis, L le'nsiz. 712 P miis, CE & L mé'usiz.

II. ENGLISH

— P *rəbət* [rabbit]. 716 P *aad'l* [stupid], *əd'l* [rotten]. 722 P *driin*, M *driin*, CE *driin*. 725 *séul*. — P *klaps* [clasp]. 737 P *mint*. 741 CE *mééz*. E. — P *liar* [lear, empty]. 752 P *púnt*. I. and Y. 756 CE *scámp*. 758 CE *gá l*. O. 761 CE *læd*. 767 CE *náiz*. 769 C *mówl*, E *má'ul*. 772 CE *bánfrín*. 773 CE *dəqki*. 774 P *póeni*, CE *pooni*. 775 CE *booby*. 778 CE *efauud*. 781 CE *bother*. 787 CE *se'us*. 790 CE *gr'umd*. U. — *jaf'l* [yuckel or wood-pecker]. — P *káid* [a cow's eud]. 799 CE *scull* of head. 800 CE *scull* of boat. 801 CE *ram*. 805 CE *cards*. 808 P *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — P *stéub'l* [stable]. 811 CE *plées*. 812 CE *léus*. 813 CE *béuken*. — P *fréd* [fiail]. 822 CE *mee*. 824 CE *tjeerur*. 826 CE *eagle*. 827 CE *cager*. 828 CE *agur*. — M *grüin* [grain]. 830 CE *train*. — M *stiien* [stain]. 834 CE *shee*. 835 CE *rèzn*. 836 CE *sèzn*. 845 CE *ancient*. 847 CE *deendjür*. 848 CE *change*. 849 CE *streendjür*. 851 C *a'nt*. 852 CE *ceppun*. — *plint* [plate]. — P *riut* [rate]. 862 CE *séef*. 863 CE *tjéef*. 865 CE *faat*. 866 CE *poor*.

E.. 867 CE *tee*. 868 P *dja'i*. 869 CE *veal*. — P *spaatuk'lz* [spectacles]. — *i'tijz* [vetches]. — M *striend* [strained]. — M *piin* [pain]. 876 CE *déenti*. 878 CE *sa'lleri*. 879 CE *female*. — *jarb* [herb]. 887 *klardji*. 888 *sartín*. — P *sarv* [serve]. 890 CE *beest biist'iz* [beast beasts, observe the change of vowel]. 892 CE *nephew*. 894 CE *deceive*. 895 CE *receive*. I.. and Y.. 899 CE *niece*. — *v'ident* [violent]. 904 P *vó'ilet*, CE *vóilet*. 909 CE *brooze*. 910 CE *dja'is*. 911 CE *sestun*.

O.. 913 *kóntj*. 914 *bróutj*. 915 CE *stuff*. 916 CE *injun*. 918 *feble*. 919 CE *náinted* [anointed, beaten]. 920 CE *páint* [a pint pron. in same way]. 925 CE *váis*. 926 P *sp'ál*, CE *spáil*. 928 CE *e'oms*. 929 CE *ke'ukomber*. 930 CE *kán*. 935 CE *country*. 939 CE *close*. 940 CE *kónt*. — *fanm* [a form to sit on]. 942 CE *batjan*. 947 P *bá'íl*, CE *báil*. 948 CE *br'adder* *br'ader*. 952 *kúms*. 953 CE *cousin*. 954 CE *cushion*. 955 CE *de'ut*. 959 CE *convey*. U.. 963 CE *ke'áint*. 965 CE *áil*. 968 CE *áister*.

CE *usages*, I are, I're, I be, he be, I were, he do, he didn't ought. *Intonation drawing*.

VAR. ii. NORTH KENT FORM.

A student of Whitelands, Miss Croucher, a native, dict. to me a dt. for Charing (6 nw.Ashford), but with slight exceptions all recollection of the dialect seemed to have left her. The (r) was quite cockney. It would, I think, be useless to give the test. The Rev. A. E. O. Harris, of Stoke (7 nne.Chatham), also gave me observations on a dt. which shews that very little dialect exists in the Hundred of Loo between the Thames and the Medway, while a settlement of Irish there, about 1845, seems to have much influenced pron. H. stated also that very few people used the few 'provincialisms' he gave. After due consideration I omit these as not sufficient. Rev. C. W. Rolfe, of Shadoxhurst Rectory (4 ssw.Ashford), marks (*méuts*, *gæl*, *kám'in*, *fræm*, *de*, *jænder*, *gú'n*, *róud*, *déar*, *géut*, *stréut*, *dúer*, *wal*, *feler*, *níam*, *weri*, *wuunt*) for mates, girl, coming [very doubtful] from, the, yonder, going, road, there, gate, straight, door, will, fellow, name, very, wou't, which are probably correct, but says nothing about (r). These indications are confirmed by Rev. J. W. Ramsay, of Rolvenden (12 sw.Ashford), who, however, also omits to notice the (r). The Isle of Sheppey

has no dialect, as I learned from Miss Lowman, a student at Whitelands, who had travelled all over it and resided there some years. It is a mere soldiers' depôt. Merely therefore glancing at these, I proceed to the best account of n.Ke. pron. I have been able to obtain.

Mr. Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, Faversham (8 wnw.Canterbury), a well-known landed proprietor, who had learned the dialect well from his tenants, bailiff and farm-labourers, was kind enough in 1873 to spend many hours on several days in teaching me the pron. of a es. written by Rev. Henry B. Berin, then of Biddenden (10 wsw.Ashford), to represent the Weald of Kent. This version Mr. Berin kindly supplemented by answering, as well as he could, more than 60 troublesome questions which I sent him, and finally introduced me to Mr. H. K.-H., who was able to give me the pron. of his own neighbourhood, and thus convert the version into one for Faversham. This was at an early period of my investigations, and I was then unacquainted with the S. r, and consequently confused the *r* with the London (*r*, *r*_o, *r*_i). In 1880 Mr. H. K.-H., in answer to my inquiries, wrote: "On the whole I should say that the Kentish pronunciation of the *r* is distinct and has a burr," this identifies it with (r), which I have accordingly introduced regularly when not preceding a vowel. When the *r* precedes a vowel, minute examination is required to be sure of the existence of a true (r). I have therefore left the received *r* in those cases. And I have not assimilated the adjacent (t d n l) to (r) as in D 4. After the es. I give a few phrases which Mr. H. K.-H. dictated to me, and a ewl. containing wd. which he pronounced to me. Without this kindly help from Mr. H. K.-H. and Rev. H. B. Berin, my account of Ke. would have been very imperfect.

FAVERSHAM (8 wnw.Canterbury) es.

pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq.

0. dɪs ɪər)z wæ'i :dʒən dʊnt dɔʊt.

1. waa, mɪts, ju ən ii mɜ bɔʊth hef æt dɪs ɪər tʃæt vɜ mæ'in? uu sets eni stʊər bi dæt? dæt)s nedhɜ ɪər nɜr dɔʊr.

2. dɜr eent [beent] tɔrb'l mɛni dæ'i kéunt v bi'i)in læaft æt, wi noo dæt dɪn v lɪ'l dʊnt-wi? wæ'i shud dee? dæt eent [beent] tɔrb'l lɔ'ikli, iz it?

3. dæt)s éu t'iz éu)ever, soo ju dʒest aad jɜr tɔq ən kiip wɪst tɪl æ'i v dæn. ɔrki'!

4. æ'i)ɜr sartin shúər æ'i ɪərd ən sáɪ, sɛm v dem déer tʃæps wɔt v bɪn thru aal ən it dɜrsæ:vz frɔm de fɔrst ɔnsɛt, dæt æ'i sartinli dɪd,

5. dæt de jæqgest bɔ'i izsæ:f, v grɪit tʃæp næ'in jɜr oold, nood iz faaderz wɔ'iz dɪrɛkli mɪnɪt, doo it wɔz so tɔrb'l kɜ'ɜr, ən rɪqi lɔ'ik, ən ii'l taa)i de trɪəth déut eni rɔmɛnsɪn eni dái, i sartinli wɪd.

6. en d'ool umen ersaaf 'l taa eni æn jì, daet keaf néu plamp aaf, déut noo trab'l, ef ju l ooni aast'er, woont shi?

7. Hiistweez shi kep aal on tel'n æn mii, wen a'i aast'er, shi did —en shi ad'nt aat te bii for éot béut d'is ier dj'ob, thi'qk sh hæd?

8. waal ez a'i wez e tel'n æn jì. shii (d tau)'i ra'it aaf, éu shi kam epon d'is ier dra'qk'n t'jap wot shii'z got mæ'r'd tu.

9. shi swá'ber shi ket't a'i æn ðn ersaaf lee'zn aal l'q de gréun ðn ðz best k'wónt, tlóus eg'zn de dáer e de héus, et de f'óderer iind e daet éer r'óud.

10. ii wez kær'i'zn on, sez shii, fer aal de wald læ'ik e æmp'eri t'j'á'íl, er e l'it'l gæl wot s b'ín opset.

11. d'is ier hæpt wa'íl d umen en er daa'ter'ínlaa kam tré'sín kraes de bæc jard, wéer dee'd b'ín hæ'q'n éut de tlóuz te dra'i on wásh'n dá'i.

12. wa'íl de ket'l wez ebf'i'l'n fer tii, wan baufid sá'm'ber æet'ernuun, wáni e wiik bæc kam thi'z'di.

13. æn, behoo'dji! a'i neyer i'erd taal noo mó'ber e daet i'er dj'ob, ez shú'ber ez ma'i n'ém'z :dj'æk :sh'ep'erd, en, enáder thi'q, a'i déut wónt tu ðt, déer néu!

14. néu a'i l n'ep aaf wó'm te sápar. waa, gud ná'it, e enáder ta'im. w'n e t'j'ep g'ínz taak e d'is, daet, er t'ud'ber, dúent i bii ðn s'it'j e t'orb'l em ev e æri te kær'i de swá'i.

15. ðt)s e t'orb'l s'it'i t'j'ep wot kiips aal on t'j'æ'ter'ín ebf'ut wot a'i kaal r'end'em. æn néu a'i shæ'nt see ne má'ber. gud ná'it.

Notes.

2. *terrible*, the common intensive adj. or adv.—*on account of*, the first and last words omitted.—*den* is *within*, which first assumes the form *'wden'*, the (*wdh'n*) of He.

3. *whisht*, as 'the wild waves whisht,' Temp. 1. 2. 378.

5. *directly minute*, immediately, common phrase in the district.—*though it was so terrible queer, and ring-y like*, and like a ring, and he'll tell ye the truth, without any romancing any day, romancing; the people are fond of long romance words in this dialect. Observe (*sái, dá'i*). Mr. Harris also gave (*sái*) for Stoke, calling it Greek *ai*.

7. *She hadn't ought* [ought not] *to be far out about this here job*, [do you] *think she had*. The first *had* without, the second with the aspirate.

8. *drunken* (*dra'qk'n*) is drinking, that is, playing the drunken man, not drunken itself.

9. *further end*, certainly the (d)

must have been assimilated to the two *re* as *fóderer*.

10. *amp'ery*, a common word in this district, as applied to cheese, mouldy, decay'd; to people, weak, bad, sickly. Lewis in his Tenet (Thanet) refers to Aegs. *ampre* (not in Etymüller), which Bosworth cites from the Liber Medicinalis of Baldus, and explains as 'a crooked swelling vein, an herb, sweet marjoram, feverfew; others conceive it may be the French *empiré*, worsened.

11. *tracing across*, tracking, walking, across, a phrase actually heard.

12. *only*, the word used may, however, be *one-y*, which must have the same meaning.

13. *behold ye!* a common phrase for 'look there.'

14. *dont ye be in such a terrible hem* [devil] *of a hurry to carry the sway* [victory], *hem* is clearly a euphemism for devil, deuce, devilish, damn, damnation, etc., *i.e.* exceedingly, it is very [or 'hem'] common in this district.

FAVERSHAM PHRASES from dict. of H.K.-H., Esq.

1. (ə'i shæl noo dɪn v lɪ'l, ɪf ə'i kiɪp gwɪn), I shall know within a little [soon], if I keep going.
2. (noo fərm ət ʌʌl), no form at all, common expression, the meaning of which was unfortunately not noted.
3. (ool rɛn'ldz), old reynard, (poop), Guy Fawkes.
4. (d)ool ɛntpmɛn), the old huntsman.
5. (gu ræn, wɪdʒ)ɪ!), go 'on, will you!
6. (wær wɔps prɛdɛntli), beware of wasp presently.
7. (θrii jɪrn aafɛrɜ), three-year-old heifers.
8. (tu drɔ:k), to go about as a drunken man.
9. (fɔrnəl lə'ɪz), infernal lies, the first unaccented syllable of a word is frequently omitted.
10. (səfɪn v dæt, næθɛn ət ʌʌl), something of that, nothing at all.
11. (wani wɔns), only once, (tə'ɪm ɛn ɛgɛ'n), time and again, many times.
12. (ɪr stɔpɛr), fox-earth stopper.
13. (jɪstɛrdeɪ ɛn tɔdɛrdeɪ), yesterday and the other day, *i.e.* day before yesterday.
14. (ɪ ɛɛnt noo kɛʌnt t)ʌʌl), he isn't no account at all, *i.e.* he is of no importance.
15. (moost dɛʌtɛdli dʌnbɛrɔs), most (un-)doubtedly dubious.
16. (ɪz ɛɛd ɪz dæt ɛɛd'l), his head is that [so much] addled.
17. (wɔrkɪn bə'i grɪɪt), working by the piece.
18. (wɪkɪt fɛr wɛkɛt, trɪk ɛn tɛ'ɪ), each = tit for tat.
19. (dóun ju ɪntɛrɛpt sɑf), don't you interfere with self.
20. (dɪər ɑrt ɛlə'ɪv, sɪtʃ v tɪ'kɪn), dear heart alive, such a ticking.
21. (tɛtɛr ɛn skæd'l), cross and mischievous.
22. (ɪt)s trɔə, ə'i tɔk ʌʌf), it's true I took off = went away.
23. (néu ɛn den, néu ɛn tɛn), now and then.
24. (ɪt)s prɪnt mu:n lə'ɪt), it's print moon-light, *i.e.* sufficient to read print in.

FAVERSHAM cwl.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq., containing almost all the wd. in the es. and also many others separately dictated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tɛk. 5 méek níek. — kríed'l [cradle]. — wéek [wake]. 17 laa laa. 19 tɛl. 21 níem. 28 héer. — wær [beware of]. 34 hɛɛst.
 A: 39 [(kɛm) used]. 43 hɛn. 44 hɛn. 49 hɛq. — kɛɛnt [cannot].
 54 wɛnt. 55 ɛɛsh. 56 wɔsh. A: ɔr O: 58 frɛm. 60 lɔq. 64 rɔq.
 A'- 67 gu, gwɪn [going]. 72 un. 73 soo. 74 tɔ. 76 túnd. 82 wɔns.
 84 móer múer. 89 hóuth. 92 noo, nood [knowed = knew]. 94 kroo.
 A': 102 aast [in infinitive also]. 104 rúed. 106 bráad. — dræv [I drove].
 111 aat. 113 d, óel [the whole]. 115 wɛum. 117 wɛn. 118 hɛn. 120 ɛguu.
 122 noon, noo. 123 næθɛn. 124 stáen. 125 ɔoni, wɛni. 129 gúest.
 130 bóet búet. 137 nɛr [unemphatic].

Æ- 138 faader. 140 ce'l. 143 tóel tial. 144 egi'n. 147 broen. 148 fêer. — emet [ant]. 149 blaze. — hiiz'l [hazel]. 150 liistweez [leastwise].
 Æ: 154 bak. — hæd'nt [had not]. hæd, ad [had]. 158 acater. 161 daz.
 164 mee. 166 meed. 169 wen. — waps [wasp]. 171 barkl. 172 graees.
 173 wjs. 176 at. 177 det. 179 wot.

Æ'- 187 ware. 182 wee. 190 key. 194 eni. 195 meni. Æ': —
 spred [it spread]. 209 never. 211 gree. 213 edher. 214 nedher. —
 miil [meal, food]. 218 ship. 220 shepard [the common word is (l)kker), the
 other scarcely ever heard]. 222 héer. 223 déer. 224 wéer wíer. 229 breth.

E- 232 brük. 233 spiik. 234 kwad. — tred [tread]. 239 siel. 241
 ríin. 243 plee [occ. (plái) in the pause]. 244 waa waal. 245 míel. —
 hiil'n [bedclothes, i.e. covering]. 248 mare. 249 wíer. — wiiz'l [weasel].
 252 ket'l. 255 wedher [never heard with a (d)]. E: — web [web]. 259
 widge. 260 lee [as a hen eggs], lee'in [laying for lying]. 261 sai, sez [says].
 — fíl [field]. 269 saaf. 271 taa, taal, tál'n [tell, telling]. 276 thók. — iind
 [end]. 281 leuth. 282 strenth. — neste nestiz [nest nests]. — set [set]. —
 best [best]

E'- 290 ii. 293 wi. 300 kiip, kep [kept]. 301 íer. E': 305 high.
 306 height. 312 íar. 314 íerd.

EA- 320 kéer. EA: 322 heaf. 323 féat. 325 walk. 326 oold. 328
 káld. 330 aald. 331 swáld. 332 túöld. 335 aal. 337 wall. 338 kaal.
 — salt. — bírd. 340 jand. 342 arm. 343 warm. — íern [to earn].
 346 gíet geet [first most frequent]. EA'- 347 eed. — aaterz [heifers].
 348 á'i. 349 fíw. EA': 350 deed. 355 deaf [not (deth) as in e.Ss.].
 356 haf. 357 doo. 359 neeburwad [neighbourhood]. — hiip [heap]. 364
 trep. — íar [year]. 366 griit. 367 thret. 368 deth.

EI- 372 [ayé is not used, but is replaced by yes]. 373 dee. EI: 378 wíik.
 380 dem, dursaa'vz [their = themselves].

EO- 386 soo. 387 nuu. EO: 390 shod. — donk [dark]. 397 sáerd.
 399 færm [farm]. 402 lörn. 403 fæ. 406 íar stóper [fox earth-stopper].
 407 fand'n. EO'- — hií [ilea]. — mií [knee]. — írií [free]. 411 írín.
 412 shi. 416 díer. — tpoz [choose]. EO': 422 (s)k [usual word for
 unwell, not used for vomited, which is called (br)aat ap]. 430 írín [when used,
 rarely]. 433 breast 435 ju. 436 tróo. 437 tríuth. EY- 431 dá'i.
 EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wíik. 446 ná'in. 449 gít. I: 453 kwik. 456 ef. 457 ua'ít.
 459 ra'ít. 463 íl. 465 sít. 466 tja'íl. 482 íz. 483 ízsaaf [his = himself].
 484 díe. 485 thistle. 487 ístendee. — grá'íst [grist]. 488 gót [got, past
 tense]. 489 ít. I'- 494 ta'im. 495 wá'in. I': — díik [ditch, dyke].
 500 lá'ík l'á'klí [likely]. 506 amen. 509 wa'íl. 510 má'in.

O- 519 oover. 522 ap'in. — snáer [snore]. 524 wald. O: 525 aaf
 [off]. 531 daater'nlaa. 532 kóel. 541 woont. — kwált [colt]. 543 on,
 onset [onset, beginning], en [for of as well as on]. 550 wárd. 551 starm. 552
 karn. — mar'nín [morning]. 554 kres. O'- 559 mader. 562 muu.
 564 san. 566 mader [another]. 567 t)adher. O': 571 god. — ruuf
 [roof]. 579 ma'á'u. 584 stúel. 586 dun dáent [don't]. 587 dán. 588 muu.
 590 fláer. 592 swáer. 597 sat.

U- 604 samer. 605 son. 606 díer. U: 610 ul. 612 sëm, saf'in
 [something]. — tamb'l [tumble]. 613 dra'qkín [drunking, acting the drunken
 man]. 616 grém. 618 wéand [n. and p.p.] zéandz [God's wounds]. 625 tóq.
 627 sandi. 629 sun. — antmen [huntsman]. 631 thazdi. 634 thru. 636
 færdær. U'- 641 éu, éu'evær [however]. 643 néu. 650 béat. U': 663
 héas. 666 azhen. 667 éat.

Y- 674 díd [emphatic]. 675 dra'í. 681 bizínis [in three syllables]. 682
 l't'l. Y: 692 jæggest. 694 wærk'in [working]. 695 ærk. 701 ferst. 702
 dín [within], déut [without]. Y- 706 wa'í. Y': 712 miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 716 eed'l. 718 tréed. — t)æt [chat]. 737 míet. 741 maze. —
 swái [sway]. 742 líezi. E. 751 péurt [recovered from sickness].

I. and Ý. — wíp [whip]. 758 gæl. — wíst [whisht, quiet]. O. 761

lúed. — dɔb [job]. 767 náiz. 774 pɛni. 776 gudbá'i. — spúent [sport]. — haver [technical word in hopping, shaking up the measure to make it look larger]. 721 bɔ'i. U. 796 blɔ. 798 kɔ'ien. — ɔri [hurry]. — rusht [to rush, like 105 (aast), the past tense made an infinitive].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 féus. — tréus [trace, track]. 812 ta léas [to lace, beat, drub]. — kɛtɪt [caught, for caught]. — péel píel [pail]. — pee [pay]. 824 tɛér. — féel [fail]. — tɛin, tɛen [chain]. — ɛer [air]. 833 pɛer. 835 riiz'n. — péel [pale]. 843 brɛentɪ [not used]. — meendɛer. 849 stréundɛer [common word]. 851 ɛent. — mɛntɛnt [merchant]. — mɛri [marry]. 857 kéus [often used]. — pɛas [pass]. 862 séuf.

E.. 867 ti. — riil [real]. — krítar [creature]. 870 beautiful. 874 riinz [reins]. — skiim [scheme, very common]. — plenti [plenty]. — wɛntɛrsɛm [venturesome]. 885 wɛri [not much used, supplanted by (tɔrb'l) terrible]. — ɔrb [herb]. — klark [clerk]. — tɔrb'l [terrible]. — mɛsɪfɪl [merciful]. — kɛnsɛru [concern]. — fɔrn [firm]. 888 sɛntɪn. — rɛzɛlɪt [courageous]. — dísebl [dishabille, used commonly for any confusion or litter]. 890 biist. 891 feast. I.. and Y.. 910 dɔ'ístiz [joists].

O.. 919 ɔ'ntment. — dɔ'ɪn [join]. 925 wɔ'is. — kéunt [account]. 930 la'in. — stúur [store]. 938 kɛarnɛr. 939 tlɔs. — rɔst [roast]. 940 kɛút. 941 fiul [foolish]. — trɔb'l [trouble]. 942 batɛr. 947 bɔ'ɪl. 950 sɛpɛr. 955 déat. U.. 965 ɔ'ɪl. 969 shúur. — hort [hurt]. 970 dɛst.

Usages, cent beent. (ɛe) falls much into (ie), thou never used.

VAR. iii. EAST KENT FORM.

The Isle of Thanet has had its dialect nearly obliterated. Mr. Basil Hodges, of Vincent, Margate, to whom I was recommended as likely to know, said that *d* for *th* was unknown, though he had heard it from an old man who came from another part of the county. But (miis) mice shewed a remnant of dialect as well as *weal*, *violet*, *ile*, *bile*, I adopt his spelling, for *veal*, *violet*, *oil*, *boil*. Miss Peckham, a student of Whitelands, who had been at a school at St. Nicholas, Margate, did not know *d* for *th*, or *w* for *r*, nor recognise (ɹ), and found the *h* omitted only by old people and not so often wrongly inserted. Her *r* followed London use, even to its euphonic insertion. But she used (ɔ'i) for long *ī*, except in (liis, miis) for lice, mice. U' gave (éu), and O' had (íu) in (spíun, aatmíun, bíuts) spoon, afternoon, boots, to which (tíu) two was assimilated, being confused with (too). Such words as I could get from her are in the e.Ke. ewl. Rev. R. Drake of Stourmouth Rectory, just w. of the river which bounds the Isle of Thanet, says he has never met with so little dialect. He admits *w* for *r* and finds it so general that "children taught to speak correctly are laughed at by their elders." Though he had been 38 years in the locality, the only dialectal words he could remember were (diik) for dyke, and (wæps) for wasp. He had not heard *I are* half a dozen times, and never *I be*. He notices *aint*=isn't, and *lease*=glean, and the common use of *terrible*=very. Mr. Toomer sent me a lw. for e.Ke. and Thanet, which are inserted in the e.Ke. ewl. p. 144. We may pretty well omit ne.Ke. from dialectal regions, though there is still just enough left to shew that it once resembled the rest of Ke.

The next region of e.Ke. consists of the Highlands east of Canterbury, of which the following dt. gives a good idea. The words are added to the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144.

WINGHAM dt.

6 e.Canterbury, representing the Highlands of e.Ke., Adisham (6 se.Canterbury), Nonington (7 se.Cant.), Chittenden (8 se.C.), Womenswold (7 se.-by-s.C.), Sibertswold (9 se.C.), Goodneston (7 e.-by-s.C.) and Kearney (3 nw.Dover) by Rev. F. W. Ragg, who when it was written was vicar of Ratling with Wingham, and became subsequently vicar of Marsworth, Tring, pal. by AJE. from indications and answers to questions.

1. sóou ói sái. ménts, jéu sii néu dat ói aar ró't bént dat lid'l [l'lh] gæl kinnàn fram de skúel jendér.
2. shii z góor'ín déam de róed dérr, thru de red gént ən de left ænd sóal by de wái.
3. shúer náf de gæl ez gó'en stráit ap tē de dóer by da rəq héus.
4. wíer shí əl bi lóik to fóind dat drəoŋkən def sríveuld fəlb by de néem by itəms.
5. wi aal nóou ím wérí wél.
6. wóant de ool trəp sínn lərn ər nət téu déu ít ɛgín. páur thiŋ!
7. lək i íz'n ít trú?

Notes.

1. *I*, "somewhat resembling [óí], and differing from [áí]," this points to [óí] or [áí]. I have selected [óí] because of the Faversham [óí].—*are*, "the *r* is full, a good burr, and has its usual effect on the *a*," this points to the *r*, lost in Thanet but retained in these highlands. *I are*, rhyming to *five* óer. fóam, is the regular form. *I am* is sometimes used. *I be* very seldom it ever.—"liddle almost lid'l with a rough breathing before the *l*," which I interpret lid'l, l'lh, though the latter is very strange, still I have *lile lill* given me by others.—*yonder*, "I am not quite sure of *yondé*, whether the *r* is sounded at all, but the *é* has the modification which the *r* would give it as nearly as possible."

6. *to do*, written *tóó déóó*, which might have been meant for *tiu dau*, as I got *toe* from Denton (7 nw.Dover), and hence within the district, from Rev. C. J. Hussey, who says, "In the hymns the *toe* for *to* strikes my ear. I have noticed it more in singing than in speaking." But Mr. Ragg says, "The *éóó* is like a very short *ou* in *you*, *about*, *house*," and that is explained to be the *e* and *o* in the Welsh *Bettws*, and hence [éu] or [é'au]. But I believe the sound degenerates into some variety of [y, ə], see Faversham, and may have been originally merely [ə'u], which is apt to generate all these sounds.

FOLKESTONE.

The Folkestone fishermen are credited with a dialect of their own. So far as pron. is concerned, that is not the case. Mr. R. Stead, to whom I am otherwise much indebted, being master of the Folkestone Grammar School in 1880, I asked his assistance. The will of the founder of the school provides for the instruction of sons of poor fishermen, and there are generally six or eight boys there from the houses of genuine working fishermen: and these boys are said to speak the dialect as well as their fathers. By observations on these boys Mr. Stead wrote me the following dt. in Glossic, and

supplemented it by several observations. Mr. Fynmore says: "The fishermen of Folkestone, I understand, are persistent in the transposition of *v* for *w*, and are called old Vills. They talk quick about vat for what, vell, vant, valk, etc., etc." Mr. Stead says: "I can't hear that anybody knows the fishermen by the name of 'old Vills.' I have to-day been listening to the pronunciation of two or three new fisherboys we have, and I can't hear anything but was, we, were, wat=what, etc." But in P.S. he adds, "I have just had communication with a man well acquainted with the town. He tells me that 'Folkestone fishermen are almost universally credited with the use of *v* for *w*,' but he thinks they don't 'do it so often as is made out.' Nevertheless, he says you will no doubt 'now and then hear viting (=whiting), Vellard (=Wellard, a local tobaccoist), etc.' Hence, while *v* for *w* may occasionally occur, it must be rare at least at present, and must be considered still to want satisfactory proof. On the other hand, *w* for *v* is the rule, or, as Mr. Stead says, "very largely if not universally used by the fisherfolk in Folkestone, as in *wessel*, *Nowember*, *W̄esta* (=Vesta, name of a fishing-boat), *w*alue, etc."

On the other hand, *d* for *th* does not seem to be heard among them, but the reverted (r) was distinctly recognised, although it is not unfrequently omitted to his ears. Not having heard these speakers myself, I do not venture to write (r) initial or to assimilate (t d n) to (r) as (T D N). But I feel tolerably sure that all are used, especially as (L) is particularly recognised. Mr. Stead says he never heard the final reverted (l) so decidedly as among these speakers. "Thus, Bill is (b̄iɛl), or often (b̄eɛl), help=(ɛlp), etc." He finds, also, the long O' and its cognates have developed not merely into (iu), but (yy), or an approximation to it, and writes (jy, skyyɫ, thryy, shyyɛr, ty, syyn, dyy, lyk, tryy), for you, school, through, sure, to, soon, do, look, true. Most probably the (yy) is not fully reached, and, as remarked under Faversham, the real sound may be (æ'u). The long I' he finds most like (ói), as at Wingham, and the long U' is (éu).

FOLKESTONE FISHERMEN dt.

written in Glossic by R. Stead, Esq., pal. by A.J.E.

1. sóou ói sái, má'íts, jy s̄i néu dh̄et ói)m róit ebéut dh̄et l̄it'L gj̄ɔrl, k̄əm'ín fr̄əm dh̄e sk̄yyɫ j̄ander.

2. shi)z góow'ín déan dh̄e róoud dh̄éiv̄ thryy dh̄e red gá'it̄ an dh̄e left end sóid̄ əv̄ dh̄e wái.

3. shyy'ɛr enəf dh̄e t̄j̄óild̄ [t̄j̄aal̄d̄] ez gaan stráit̄ əp̄ ty dh̄e dóouer̄ əv̄ dh̄e raq̄ [raq̄] éas.

4. wéiv̄ shi wíel̄ t̄jaans ty fóind̄ [shi'l̄ preps k̄əm̄ ɛkraars] dh̄et dr̄ɔk̄en def sk̄ini t̄jep̄ əv̄ dh̄e ná'ím̄ əv̄ :tames [:tames].

5. wi aal̄ nóoū ím̄ wer'i wéul̄.

6. wóouant dh̄e oold̄ t̄jep̄ syyn̄ tiit̄j̄ ɛr nat ty dyȳ ít̄ egáim̄, púue thiq̄!

7. lyk! iz'nt̄ ít̄ tryy?

Notes.

2. *there*, as well as *where*, *fair*, *pure*, *wear*, have the triphthong (éiè), as (dhéiu, wéiu, féiu, péiu, wéiu). 4. *she'll perhaps come across*, is probably the phrase that would be used.

The following cwl. collects the e.Ke. words. The S. dial. has here decayed as much as possible, and has received strictly E. elements, which entirely extinguish the S. as we proceed n. The ES. group is therefore a transition between S. and E., but different from D 7.

EAST KENT cwl.

F Folkestone fishermen's dialect, from Mr. Stead, p. 142.

N St. Nicholas, Margate, from Miss Peckham, p. 141.

T Iw. sent by Mr. Toomer for in and about Isle of Thanet, known by him to have been used in e.Ke. Although a young man in 1871, he had noticed many changes in his time. Conj. pal. by AJE. from io. He apparently uses *r* as in London *ar* or *ur* = (au aa ə), for he writes *dory* [daag] for *dog*.

W Wingham, the words from Rev. F. W. Ragg's e.Ke. Highlands, p. 142.

Rec. spelling and italics denote rec. pron.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N tee [very long, approaching (téeu)]. 12 N SAAB [with euphonic r before a vowel]. 20 N léem. 21 W néem, F ná'im. 23 N séem. 24 N sheem. 29 W aar er. 33 N reedhu [occ.]. 36 N thau [with inserted euphonic r]. A: 42 end. 43 W aend. 55 T ishez. A: or O: 58 WF fram. 64 W raq, F raq raq. A'- 67 W góo'in, N [rec. pr.], F góou'in. 69 N no. 73 WF sóou, N so. 74 N tíu. 76 N tóud. 84 N móem [more than]. 86 N óuts. 92 F nóou. 94 W nóou. A': 101 N oak. 104 róud, F róoud. 110 W nat, F nat. 121 W g'ém, F gaan.

Æ- 110 N [140-147 rec. pron.]. 142 T sneg. 144 W egí'n, F egái'n. 153 N sltudi. — T poti [pretty]. Æ: — T waps waps [wasp]. 174 T ish. 177 W det [unemphatic], dá't [emphatic]. Æ'- 183 F tiiti. 190 N key. Æ': 218 T shíp. 223 W déer, F dhéiu, N there. 224 W wíer, T wéiu. E- 231 W de [week]. 233 N speak. 235 N weare. 236 N fever. 251 N meat. 252 N ká'l. E: 261 WF sái. 262 WF wái [in pause (wái)]. 265 WF stráót. 266 W wel, F wéul. 272 T elem. 278 N [never heard]. — T iinz [ends]. — T mesh [marsh]. E'- 293 F wi. 297 W fele. E': 314 N íud.

EA- 319 N gape. EA: 323 N fought. 324 N eight. 326 W ool, N ood, F oold. 330 T óoul, N ood. 335 W aal, F AAL. 346 T géut, N gate, F gá'it. EA': 352 WF red. 355 WF def. 364 W tjep, F tjep. 371 T straa. EI: 378 N weak.

EO: 388 T melk. 394 W jander [ʔ final (r) absent], F jander. 402 W arm. EO'- 412 WF shii. — T kláiv [cleaver]. 413 N dív'l. EO': 428 WF sii. 435 W jóu, F jy. 436 W trín, F tryv. EY- 438 N die.

I- 442 N s'ivi. 446 N n'ín. — T shíinz [shires, applied to the Midland counties]. I: 452 T ói [see note to dt.], F ói. 459 WF róit, N ró'it. 462 N s'ít. 465 N sít. 466 F tjoíld tjauld. 469 wíel. 477 WF fóind, N f'índ. 479 N w'ín. 480 WF thiq. I'- 490 N b'í. 492 WF sóid. I': — T diik d'ík [ditch]. 500 W lóik. 507 N umen [old people].

O- 522 N ap'n. O: 525 F ov. 541 W wóent, F wóount. 543 W on. — T faak [fork]. — T as [horse]. 554 ekraas [across]. — T póust póustez [post posts]. O'- 556 W téu, F ty. 558 W lək, F lyk. 560 W skúel, F skyvl. 564 W síun, F svyn. O': 579 W naí, F unáf. 586 W déu, F dy. 589 N spíun. 594 N bints. 597 TN sat.

U- 603 W *kāmīn*, F *kōmīn*. 606 W *dóer*, F *dóuer*. U: 632 W *ap*, F *ap*. 634 W *thru*, F *thryy*. U'- 640 N *kéu*. 643 WF *néu*. 650 WF *béut*. U': 658 WF *déim*. 663 W *héus*, F *éus*.
 Y- 682 W *lid'l lill*, F *lit'l*. Y: 700 T *wás wáse* [worsen], N *was*. 701 TN *fast*. Y: 711 N *liis*. 712 N *miis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 T *drīn*. — preps [perhaps]. 737 T *méets*, F *má'its*. E. 749 WF *lett*. I. *and* Y. 758 W *gael*, F *gǽrl*. 760 W *sriveld*. O. 770 W *:tomes*, F *:tames* :tames. U. 804 W *dræqken*, F *dræqken*. 808 T *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 F *tjaans*. — T *kaa* [carry, or (káp) ?]. 864 T *kəz*. 866 W *púer*, F *púub*, N *póob*. E.. 867 N *tea*. 885 TWF *weri*. — T *təb'l* [terrible]. O.. 916 T *iqm*. — T *íodj* [forge]. U.. 965 T *ə'it*. 969 W *shúer*, F *shyy'er*, T *siuəló'ir* [surely]. — T *haat* [hurt].
 T *usages*, he didn't (hadn't shouldn't) ought, Miss for Mrs.—N *usage*, I are.

D 10, 11, 12 form the WS. or west Southern Group.

Boundaries. The e. b. is the w. b. of MS. and the other boundaries are formed by the Bristol and English Channels.

Area. The w. portion of Sm., all but the extreme sw. of Dv., all Co. and the Scilly Isles. This represents comparatively recent, and in w.Co. very recent, overrunning of a Celtic language (Cornish or West Welsh) by English. In D 12, w.Co. and Scilly, a true dialect has apparently never been formed.

Character. Besides the general S. character with the (r) very strongly developed in the e. but gradually weakening on going w. (till in D 12 the received *r* is perhaps quite established), there is also the striking change of O' into (yy₁), closely resembling Fr. (y), which sharply limits this group towards the e.

D 10 = n.WS. = northern West Southern.

Boundary. Taken from Mr. Elworthy's information. The n. b. is the n. coast of Sm., w. of e.Quantockshead (14 nw.Taunton). The w. and s. b. begins at Comtisbury (14 ene.Hiracombe Dv. and 2 e.Linton Dv.), and proceeds nearly s. along an affluent of the Lynn R., to Exe Head Hill, Sm., where the affluent rises (14 ese.Hiracombe). Then passing the head of the Barle R. proceeds to Span Head on the b. of Sm. (14 se.Hiracombe), then se. to North Molton Ridge (14 e.Barnstaple), and still se. over Molland Down, Anstey's Barrow and Anstey's Hill (all on the watershed at the b. of Sm.), and then turning s. along the high ground to just s. of Tiverton (where it crosses the Exe), of Collumpton (6 ese. Tiverton, and of Kentisbeare (7 ese. Tiverton), and then turning ne. to join the w. b. of D 4 about Otterford (7 s.Taunton), after which the e. b. is identical with the w. b. of D 4 from n. to the sea.

Area. The w. of Sm. with a small portion of ne.Dv.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., || systematic, ° in io.

Sm. *Bishop's Hull, °Milverton, °Taunton, *Wellington.

Dv. ||*Morebath.

Characters. A- (éu). A: (æ, a¹). A'-, A': (úv, óv). AEG. (âi). Æ' (ee) and various. EG (âi). E (e). EL (æl). I: often (ə¹). I' (á¹i). O' (yy₁, ə₁). U (a, A). U' (e'u).

Of these the most important are the diphthongs for I', U'. They are both quite different from those of D 4. Mr. Elworthy originally appeared to me to make two forms (á¹i, ə¹i) for I', but on the last examination I did not find the separation certain, and the question was which of the two I should adopt. With some hesitation I selected (á¹i), which is transitional to (ái), the Dv. form. This was, however, kept distinct from (âi), in which the first element was decidedly longer and lower than in (á¹i). The (e'u) form of U' was very marked, but did not fall into (æ'u) as in Nf. It is quite distinct from the Dv. (ə¹y₁), so that it forms another mark of separation between D 10 and D 11.

The vowels (ə¹, yy₁, ə₁) sharply distinguish the dialect from D 4. They are very difficult even to appreciate. The (ə¹) may be considered as (ə) raised towards (i), or (i) degraded towards (ə). Strangers may be content with considering it as (i). Before (l) it seems to be absorbed by the murmur, so that (mə¹lk, sə¹lk) differ little from (m'lk, s'lk). Dr. Murray (Elworthy, Gram. West Sm. p. 113) considers the last to be the exact sound. When I so pronounced the words, Mr. E. said I was wrong. Neither was the word (mælk). I had imagined that perhaps (m'lk) might be right, but Mr. E. says he uses (l) with the tip of the tongue thoroughly against the teeth. I must consider that the correct analysis of this vowel sound has not been reached. It is strangely affected by adjacent consonants. In listening in 1885 to the list of 30 words in Mr. Elworthy's Dialect of West Sm., p. 58, which I had drawn up in 1875, I found the same separation into three parts, resembling (i, ə, u), in all of which Mr. Elworthy and natives reckon only one vowel, except in *milk, silk*, where they seem to recognise no vowel at all besides the vowel *l*. The sound occurs chiefly for EO, I.

The vowels (yy₁ y₁, ə₁ ə₁) are quite as difficult to utter, but easier to recognise. They are usually both called "French *u*," but they decidedly reminded me of (y, ə) or Fr. *pu, peu*, from which, however, they were clearly distinct, and apparently 'lowered.' To say (tyy₁ bə₁ts) two boots, is a most difficult problem to a stranger, and one he is not very likely to solve.

Judging from JGĠ.'s experience at Chippenham, Wl., p. 51, I anticipated finding the whole series (r d x l r sh zh tʃ dʒ) in this region also. So far as Mr. Elworthy's pronunciation is concerned, this was not the case, as (r) was clear, even when initial, but the other sounds seem to occur only when adjacent to (r), as (ʁdʒ) ridge. When there was merely the separation of two words, as (ʁ də¹d) she did, the (r) does not seem to affect the following letter. When (d) comes before (r), the most natural thing is to say (dr-); but Mr. E. says he feels the tip of the tongue *slide* along the palate from the (d) to the (r) position. On going through the points touched by the palate for (r t d n l) in his pronunciation, (r) was fully reverted and the under part of the tip touched the

highest part of the palate, for (t, d) the contact lay between that and the gums, but nearer to the former, for (n) the contact was on the gums, and for (l) on the teeth. This makes the series (r, t d, n, l). Now Mr. E.'s pronunciation seems to be perfect, and he is really a native, but it is difficult to believe that the peasant himself makes these elaborate distinctions. The sounds uttered by Mr. E. appeared to me to be the same as I produced by using reverted (r, t d, n, l). In particular with (l) I could not in the least produce his effects, but with (L) I seemed to reach them. I have thought it prudent, however, to retain (t d, n l) with their usual coronal values, except when they were acknowledged to become (T D N L) on account of the adjacency of (R). It must be remembered that the distinction (t r, d d) is very slight, and the generation of the peculiar English (t, d) as distinct from the foreign (t, d) was probably entirely due to converting reverted (r) into retracted (r_l), a confusion even now going on. But the existence of alveolar (n) and purely dental (l) seems an entire anomaly in England. Yet it was not new at Mr. Elworthy's last interview with me on 4 Nov. 1885, for I find the same thing noted from him on 22 Nov. 1880, thus in *filth* (fɔ^llth) the (l) and (th) were noted as having precisely the same position. Another peculiarity of Mr. E.'s pronunciation was the word *potatoes*, which Mr. E. considered he pronounced (tæ^uediz), whereas Dr. Murray, Mr. Sweet, and myself heard an (r) in place of (d), to my ears the word was (tériz). As to *l*, Dr. Murray (in Mr. E.'s *Gram. of W. Sm.*, p. 112) says, "*l* is also often *guttural*, and this is the apparent peculiarity of" such words as *bull*, *pull*, *full*, *school*, *wool*, *tool*, *stool*, and written (b_ll, p_ll, v_ll, sh_ll, ə_ll, t_ll, st_ll), etc. On asking Dr. M. in 1885 what he had meant by "*guttural l*," properly (*l*), he was unable to remember, and thought that possibly *guttural* should have been *retracted*, which is more likely.

In 1875 I had drawn up the lists of vowels with examples in Mr. Elworthy's *Dial. of W. Sm.* from his dictation. Not to be swayed by these, I extracted a large number of them, and made them into the following cwl., and then Mr. E. was kind enough to pronounce every word to me afresh. My impressions were slightly different, but almost the same. This list which follows gives the full characteristics of the dial. to the best of my powers of observation. The sounds (y₁ ə₁ ə¹) were distinctly recognised, as different from (y ə ə), although I failed in imitating and cannot analyse them. The (t d n l) are left as in rs., because, as already stated, I cannot either adopt Mr. E.'s distinctions, or make them always reverted. This is followed by the es. and some examples from the grammar, while the translation of the first chap. of *Ruth* will be given with the L. and Ch. versions in the Introduction to L., as it was especially written for this contrast. All of these were revised from dict. in Nov. 1885. Mr. Elworthy's papers already cited have been supplemented by his elaborate *Glossary*, pp. 924, full of interesting matter. His power of imitating peasant speech is most remarkable. His kindness and patience in giving me information are gratefully acknowledged.

WEST SOMERSET CS.

pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, Esq., Foxdown, Wellington, Sm., revised from dict. 27 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1885, with a slavishly literal inter-linear translation.

0. *E'u t)eez in)s :d)æen aa)n v)gaa'et noo d)E'utinz lá'ík.*
 how it(is even)as John has)not got no doubtings like.
1. *wæł, faarmur :ært)æt, á'í tal)e aat t)eez. j)yy₁ en ii, búedh o)i,*
 wel, farmer Richard, I tell)thee what it)is. You and he, both of)ye,
m'íd laafi b)E'ut dhiezh)j)ir stóobr v) má'in. yy₁ d)é kíer v)er d)ha't ?
 may laugh-y about this)here story of mine. who does care for that ?
t)ed)'n no adz n)æd)her wan wee n)er t)æd)her.
 it)is)not no odds neither one way nor that)other.
2. *dh)er id)'n v)eri m)ani meen dh)et d)é dá'í v)erké'z d)he bi v)laaft o,*
 there is)not very many men that do die for-cause they be laughed of,
wii d)yy₁ noo d)ha't d)oo)n is ? waat o'z) er v)er t)é m)éuk)em d)yy₁)et ?
 we do know that do)not us ? what is)there for to make)them do it ?
t)ed)'n v)eri lá'ík o'z) o't ?
 it)is)not very like, is it ?
3. *E'usim)ð)v)er dh)æ'sh)j)er)z d)h)u d)aps o)d)h)é kíes, zoo dhii d)j)is*
 howsoever this here)is the daps [turns] of)the case, so thee just
sta'p dhii rat'l, óel f)æ)er, en bá'id st)í)el g)in á'í)v v)fo'ni)sh.
 stop thy rattle, old fellow, and abide still against I)have finished.
ne'ú ark, w)æ'l)j)i ?
 Now hark, will)thee ?
4. *á'í bi saart)in sh)ú)er á'í j)ærd) em zee—z)em v) d)h)ee dh)er v)oks*
 I be certain sure I heard)them say—some of they there folks
wat went re'it v)ó)er d)ryyy₁ it) aa'ul v)rem d)hi v)eri f)as d)h)er)oon
 what went right fore through it all, from the very first their)own
z)ælz, d)ha't á'í d)ed, saaf an)æ'f,
 selves, that I did, safe enough.
5. *E'u d)ha't d)hi j)æggis z)ó'n o'z)æ'l, v) g)ært bú)ói v)na'ín j)ur ool,*
 how that the youngest son his-self, a great boy of)nine year old,
nood d)h)é v)á'is v) d)h)é faad)her o)en t)eræ'kli v)er aa'ul t)w)ez s)u
 knowed the voice of the father of)him directly, for all it)was so
k)ó)er en sk)w)iki lá'ík, en á'í)d waarn ii v)er t)é speek t)ryy₁
 queer and squeaky like, and I)would warrant he for to speak true
o'ni) dec v)dh)é w)ik, iis, en d)ha't á'í w)æ'l.
 any day of)the week, yes, and that I would.

6. en dh)ool)d)amən ɛrɜʔl, ɛr ɛl təl ə'ni o)i dha't bii ɛlaaf'in nɛ'ʌ,
and the)old)woman herself, her will tell any of)ye that be a-laughing now.

iis, en təl)i ɾɛ'it en in, ɛdhe'ut noo bodɛrɛɛrshɛn, n)if i)'l əni
yes, and tell)ye right on end, without no bo)theration, and)if ye)will only

aks o)ɛr, oo ai, oo)n)ɛr? dha't)s AA'ɛl.
ask of)her, oh, aye, wo,n't)her? that)is all.

7. ɛr tool mi o)ɛt ə'ni)ɛ'ʌ, han ai akst)o)ɛr, tʏy₁ ɛr drii tál'imz
her told me of)it any)how, when I asked(of)her, two or three times

óvɛr, ɛr dɛd, en ɛr dɛd)'n aat vɛr tɛ bi ɛ'ʌt pən dʒə'tʃ ɛ dh'ɪq
over, her did, and her did)not ought for to be out upon such a thing

ɛz dh'ɛz)ɛr, waat)s dhii dh'ɪk o)ɛt?
as this)here, what)dost thee think of)it?

8. wəl, in)s ai wɛz ɛtəlɪn o)i, ɛr)d læt'i noo ɛ'ʌ en
well, even)as I was a-telling of)thee, her)would let)thee know how and

w'ɛr en wɛn ɛr vɛ'ʌn dh'ɪki drɛqkin túɛd waat ɛr dʏ₁
where and when her found that drunken toad what her do

kaal [kjAal] ɛr méɛn.
call her man [husband].

9. ɛr zwéɛrd ɛr zid)'n wɛ ɛr oon á'iz ɛláid AA'ɛl ɛstratʃt ɛ'ʌt
her swore'd her see'd)him with her own eyes laid all stretched out

tʏ₁ ɛz vəl lɛqkth pən tap ɛ)dhɛ gr'ɛund wɛ)ə'z gə'd zə'ndi
to his full length upon top of)the ground with)his good Sunday

káɛt ən, dʒə's ap ɛg'i n o)dhɛ dúɛr o)dhɛ ɛ'ʌz, dɛ'ʌn dhɛr
coat on, just up against the door of)the house, down there

tɛ)dhɛ kaandɛr o dh'ɪki dh'ɛr léɛn.
to)the corner of that there lane.

10. dhɛr ɛ wAAZ ɛwá'ɪnɪn ɛwɛɛ, ɛr zɛs, dʒɛ's dhɛ vɛri séɛm zɛ
there he was a-whining away, her says, just the very same)as

thAAf ɛ wɛz ɛ tʃɛl ɛtəkt bæ'ɛd, ɛr ɛ líd'l máid aza'ɛt ap
though he was a child tooked bad, or a little maid set up

in ɛ jɛt.
in a heat.

11. en dha't dhɛr apt dhɛ vɛri séɛm tál'im'z ɛr en ɛr daarterlAA
and that there happed the very same time)as her and her daughter-in-law

wɛz ɛkamin in dɾyy₁ dhɛ bak kóɛrt [kiúɛrt] aadɛr dhɛɛ)d
was a-coming in through the back court after they)had

ɛb'ɪn ɛ ɛɛqɪn dhɛ wɛt klóɛz vɛr tɛ drɛ'ʌi, pən a wAArshɪn dɛɛ.
been a-hanging the wet clothes for to dry-y, upon a washing-day.

12. séem tá'ím dhe kə't'l wəz v bŭó'lin pən dhe vá'íer ver tee,
same time the kettle was a boiling upon the fire for tea,

wan fá'ín brá'ít zəməer arðərnə'n oní v wík egan kam
one fine bright summer afternoon only a week ago come

nəks dhəzdi.
next Thursday.

13. en, də'z dhi noo ? á'i nə'vər laərn, wan mərə's'l biit məóvər)N
and, dost thee know ? I never learned one morsel bit more, than

dhísh)JƏR kənsə'rnin dha't dhéer bə'zn'is tə'l ə'z məóvərnin, zo
this)here concerning that there business till this morning, so

shúer)z má'i néem)z :dʒæn :shə'pər, en wət)s múer, á'i dáo)en
sure)as my name)is John Shepherd, and what)s more, I do)not

want tɥ₁ nəðhər, dhéer ne'u !
want to neither, there now !

14. en zo á'i bií gŭeen óem vər tɥ ə'v mi səpər [t)æ)mi)səpər].
and so I be going home for to have my supper [to,have,my)supper].

gə'd ná'ít)i, en doo)n)i bií zo kwík, má'ín, vər tɥ króo óvər
good night)to)thee, and do)not,there be so quick, mind, for to crow over

ə'ni badi egien, han eni badi də taaki o dhíez ər dhíki ər
any body again, when any body do talk-y of this or that or

t)ədher dhíq.
that)other thing.

15. ee məs bi v aavə'l fəler vər tɥ prəeti edhe'u t rá'ím ər reez'n.
he must be a half-fool fellow for to prate-y without rhyme or reason.

en dhísh)JƏR)z mə'í lās wərd. gə'd bú'á'i)t)i.
and this)here)is my last word. good bye)to)thee.

The three specimens which follow are borrowed from Mr. Elworthy's *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somersetshire*, 1877, pp. 96 and 99, where they are presented in glossic. They have been pal. by A.J.E. and, as before stated, revised with Mr. E. In the translation letters and words in *Italics* are either supplementary or explanatory, and the translation itself as before is slavishly literal.

SPECIMENS.

A genuine yarn taken down by Mr. Elworthy from a peasant's dictation.

:LA¹ERD :PAAPUM.

1. *á*i spúez jy₁)v vjærd be'ud dhe gart ook'n trüi ap te :wæ'litæn :park :æ'd, wat dhee jy₁z te zee :LA¹ERD :PAAPUM wez eka'ndjærd inty₁?

2. wel, dóo)em i zii, ap dhéer, jy₁ noo, zer, dheer z v gart dip ba'dem gæ'z de'un ze dip)s dhe táuer, máin stíer lá'ík in)s mæ'd zee, sébm)z dhe zá'id gween ap óv'r :wal'ten :íul, en dhíezh)jæ'r ook'n trüi, ii waz v tæ'ob'l gart trüi shóoer nef, i waz, en i gróed in dhe zá'id o ex, ex dhíki plées ez ekaal:wæ'lskum baadem.

3. jy₁ máin dhe púer ool :tam :aalwee, dóo)em i, zer? dhat)s dhe ool :tam :aalweez faardher, je noo, zer, ælp dróod)en, en ween dhee dróod)en, nif i ded)'n tærn reet tap)'m tâ'iel—iis shóoer, en dhe eed o ex wez reet de'un under, en dhéer i bá'id.

4. en dhee wæz aal o)'m vfiærd ver te gæ, eníes)'n, en dhee zed e'u in)s v wez eka'ndjærd noo'badi kæ'd)en nœ'væ'r drag)en e'ut; en dhéer i bá'id.

5. en te laas, á'i weent ap, kæz dhee zed dhe a'sez)ed shóoer te bi ekiæld, wee teen aaks'n, ex á'i itjt em ap ty₁ en, en dhe bálíks pæ'ld)an e'ut, en drag)en into dhe æqin klöz.

6. en á'i nœ'væ'r zid nœoert en dhee wez aal o)em vwa'ítin en vœ'íkin in)s á'i shœ'd vœ'œ'n kíæld, en kaalin o mi v f'œ'ul ver te gæ, bed á'i nœ'væ'r zid nœoert, nit-noobadi t)aal.

Lord Popham.

1. I suppose you've a-heard about the great oaken tree up to Wellington Park Wood, what they used to say Lord Popham was a-conjured into?

2. Well, don't ye see, up there, you know, sir, there's a great deep bottom = *ravin* goes down so deep as the tower, main steer = *steep* like, even (as *one* may say, *the same*) as the side going up over Wellington Hill, and this here oaken tree, he was a terrible great tree sure enough, he was, and he grewed in the side of him = *the ravin*, and this place is a-called Wilscombe bottom.

3. You mind = *remember* the poor = *deceased* old Tom Alway, don't ye, sir? that's the old Tom Alway's father, you know, sir, he helped to throw = *fell* him = *the tree*, and when they throwed-him, and-if he did'nt turn right top-on-tail = *haul over heels*—yes sure, and the head of him was right down under, and there he bided = *remained*.

4. And they was all of-them a-feared for to go a-nighest-him, and they said how e'en-as he was a-conjured nobody could'nt never drag-him out; and there he bided.

5. And to = *at last*, I went up, because they said the horses would sure to be a-killed, with ten oxen, and I hitched them up to him = *the tree*, and the bullocks pulled-him out, and dragged-him into the hanging close.

6. And I never seed = *saw* noughrt, and they was all of-them a-waiting and a-looking even as I should a-been a-killed, and calling of me a fool for to go, but I never seed = *saw* noughrt, nor-yet nobody-at-all.

7. en jy₁ nóovz :wəl-it'n :park
 e'uz, dóovn i, zər? á'i má'ín han
 á'i jyy₁z tē liv dhər, apem dhe
 gjarət, dhər wez v pléus dhéer
 dhoo lá'ík v oov'm lá'ík.

8. en á'i zid zem bə₁ks wee
 reelin in'em in en, en dhe zed
 dhət wez :lA ERD :paa'pəmz bə₁ks
 en dhe zed e'u v méen weent
 ap en zaat estra'id pen dhe rəə₁f
 wee v ba'ib'l, in's 'ii mə'd'j'n
 kaar'j'n bwée.

9. iis! en t'eez v tər'eb'l ool
 e'uz)er, bəd á'i nə'vər ded'j'n zii
 noobadi dhéer noo wə's'j'n mizəl,
 in's mə'd zee.

10. e'usəmə'vər á'i)v bjar'd
 em zee e'u dhe saa'rvən tʃəp wez
 gween vər tē læt e'ut dhe ak'ní
 aader'z mēstər'd ekəmd 'l'm
 vrem market, en dhər wez v méen
 v-tə'd in dhə gít wee, en i kəd'j'n
 oop'm'em.

11. en han dhe tək'em tē
 dy'j'n næks mə'ərmin, vər kaaz
 i æd'en epət e'ut dhe aas,
 dóo'en i zii z'ər? v zed, s'ii,
 e'u v kə'd'en pət'en e'ut, kəz
 dhər wez v méen estə'd reet in dhe
 gít wee, in's i kə'd'j'n oop'm'en,
 en dhe aav'is jyy₁z tē zee e'u dhe
 aav'is kunsə'd'vər dhət dhéer wez
 :lA'vrd :paa'pəm.

7. And you knows Wellington Park
 house, don't ye, sir? I mind when
 I used to live there, upon the
 garret, there was a place there
 then like a oven like.

8. And I seed some books with
 reading in-them in him = the oven, and
 they said that was Lord Popham's
 books, and they said how a man went
 up and sat a-stride upon the roof
 with a bible, e'en-as he = the devil
 might'nt carry-him = the roof away.

9. Yes! and it-is a terrible old
 house-sir, but I never did'nt see
 nobody there no worse-than myself,
 e'en-as one might say.

10. Howsoever I've a-heard
 them say, how the servant chap was
 going for to let out the hackney =
 hack = horse, atter-his master-had a-
 comed home from market, and there
 was a man a-stood = standing in the
 gateway, and he could'nt open-him =
 the gate.

11. And when they took-him to
 doing = took him to task next-morning
 for cause he had'nt a-put out the horse,
 don't ye see, sir? he said, said-he,
 how he could'nt put-him = the horse
 out, because there was a man a-stood
 = standing right in the gate way as
 he could'nt open him = the gate,
 and they always used to say how they
 always considered that there was
 Lord Popham.

The following was taken down by Mr. Elworthy from the dictation
 of the carpenter himself.

Dh)ool falər en dhe kaafin.

The old fellow = devil and the coffin.

1. ded jy₁ noo dh)ool :næn :skət,
 zər? maas ə'vəri baadi wez
 v'fívrd o'ər, kəz dhe nood e'u
 ər kəd əvələ'k'em nif ər wə'd.

1. Did you know the old Nan
 Scott, sir? 'tmost every body was
 a-feard of her, because they knowed
 how her = she could overlook them =
 cast an evil eye on them and-if her
 would.

2. wəl, á'i mévd dhe kaafin
 var'ər, en se tyy₁z á'i bi jər,
 t'wez d'pə'st ekəm wi æd'n aal o
 əs ebə'n ekívd.

2. Well, I made the coffin for her,
 and so true-as I be here, it-was just
 a-come = it had almost happened it
 was a mere chance we had'nt all of us
 a-been a-killed.

3. t-wez se fáin v deə'z ə'vər
 jy₁ zid, en dhe zə'n'j'd ebə'n

3. It-was so fine a day)as ever you
 seed = saw, and the sun-had a-been

vsheenin se brá'it)s ə'n'idh'iq, han
dʒə's in)s wi wɛz gween in tɛ dhə
tʃɔrtʃ dʒɛr, dhɛr kɑnd v vláɔrsh
v leet'nin fə't tɛ téer ap dhɛ vɔri
stóenz, 'æn wee dhɛ sébm dhɛ
thándɛr bæst e'ut lá'ik v kiən'en.

4. wəl, hAN wi kAM tɛ pət
ɛr in dhɛ kiɛv nif dh)ool méɛn
wəd'n ɛtɔrnd reet reu'n. á'i noo
v waz, vɛr á'i əlp pətʃ'n in.

5. oo! wi nood wat t)waz vɛ
vɔɪd ɛt. wi nood vɔri wəl
dh)ool falar)d ɛbə'n dhéer lAAɔ
wee ɛn. tɹɪz ʒɪ bi stænin
dhéer!

a-shining so bright)as anything, when
just e'en)as we was going in to the
church door, there comed a flash
of lightning fit to tear up the very
stones, and emphatic with the same the
thunder burst out like a cannon.

4. Well, when we come = came to put
her in the cave = vault, and, if the-old
man = her husband long since dead
was 'nt a-turned right round. I know
he was, for I helped put him in.

6. Oh! we knowed what it)was had
a-doned it. We knowed very wel
the old fellow-had = the devil had
a-been there along with him. It's as
true-as you be standing there!

The reason that a respectable washer-woman gave the "parson" for having married a disreputable husband.

doo)n i zii, zɛr, á'i)d vɔa't se
mɛtʃ wá'ɔrshɪn, ɛn á'i wɛz ɛfʒɛs
tɛ zɛen ɛt AM, ɛn if á'i æd)ɪn v ʒɛd
'ii, á'i mɛs v bóɔt a dɛɔk.

Don't ye see, sir, I'd a-got so
much warshing and I was a-forced
to send it home, and if I had 'nt a-had
He, I must have bought a donkey.

WEST SOMERSET cwl.

Made up from the lists in Mr. F. T. Elworthy's Dialect of West Somerset, which had been made by him and A.J.E. jointly in 1875, revised so far as these especial words are concerned and pal. from dict. of Mr. Elworthy in 1885 by A.J.E.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 5 méek, mek. 6 méed. 8 aav, æ'v [see Mr. E.'s W. Sm. Grammar, p. 57]. 12 zaa. 18 kíek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 22 téem. 23 séem. 24 shíem. 32 béedh [intrans.], baadh [trans.]. 35 NAAL [an-awl. n from the art.] 36 dhaa [intrans.], AANDHAA [trans.]. 37 klAA. A: 41 dhæqk. 43 æn, éem [emph.] 44 læn. 46 kiən'l. 49 æq, ɛə'qɔ, ɛə'qɔ [to hang, hanged, hung]. 56 WAARshi [intrans.].

A: ɔr O: 58 vɹAM. 59 lá'm. — ɔ'm [womb]. 60 laq. 61 mɛq ɛmæqst. 64 vɹAQ, vɹæq. 65 zAQ. 66 dhaq. A'- 67 ɔɹ, gween [going]. 69 NAA noo. 74 tɹɪ, 76 túed tóed. 77 lA'ɛRD. — ɹoo [foe]. 81 léem. — zɹɪp, zɹɪp [sweep]. 84 mɔɛR móɛR. 85 zæR. 86 wɛts wɛ'ts. 87 klóez klɔz. 89 báedh bɔ'dh. 90 blAA. 92 nóɔe [(snoo) dost know?]. 93 snooi, znoo. 95 droo. — ɔɔERT [aught], nóɔERT [naught]. A: 102 a'ks. 104 rháed. 105 rhad. 109 lAA. 111 AAF [+t before vowels], AAT. 113 wɔl. 115 a'm. 117 WAN wæn wɔɹn uun [acc. to circumstances]. 118 bóen. 120 ɛɔa'n. 124 stáen stóen stoo. 125 AM [emph. (anli) singular]. — rháep, rhɔp [rope]. 126 ɔɛR. 127 óvz. 129 ɔábs [+t before a vowel] ɔost. 130 báet bout. 131 ɔóut. 132 a't. — rhyɹ [row of hay]. 136 AR [or].

Æ- 138 faadhɛr. 140 háel. 141 náel. 143 táel. 146 máin [adv. = very]. 147 bráin. 148 févɹ. — jamet [emmet, ant]. 149 bléez. — sɛt [a seat]. 153 zedɛrdi. Æ: 154 ba'k. 155 dha'tɹ. 158 aader aater

[occ. (ardər)]. 160 eeg. 161 dee. 166 mād. — alth [health]. 169 han [but ween emph.]. 170 arɔs. 174 arsh. — vrɔdli [to wreath], vrɛth [a wreath]. E': — reeti [to reach]. — leeti [leech]. 184 leed. 185 rheed. 187 lef hef [both inf.], elɛ:f [lett]. 189 wɑ'i. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 klɪm [adj.], kleen [adv.]. 194 ə'ni. 200 weet. — jeth [health]. 202 jɛt jɛt jə't. 203 speeti. — mɪd [mead], mɪdɔ [meadow]. 205 dræd. 207 niel. 208 ə'vɛr. 210 klai. 213 ədher. 214 nɛdher. 217 eeti. 218 ship. 219 sleep zliep. 223 dhɛvɛr. 225 vlarsh. 226 mias [mɔs mɔs] almost. — vræs'l [to wrestle]. 227 wə't. 228 zɔet. 229 bræth.

E- 233 speak. 235 weev. 236 feevɛr. 238 ædi. 239 sâil. 241 rhâin. 243 plâi. 244 wəl. — wə'le [willow]. 248 mɛvɛr. 250 zɔvɛr. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. 252 kə't'l. 253 nə't'l. — vedher vədher [feather]. 255 wədher. — bədher [better]. E: 256 stræ'ti. 257 ædi. — beed [bed]. 262 wee. 264 â'el. 265 strâ'it. 266 wəl. — vîel [field]. 269 zai. — twelv [twelve]. 271 tal. 272 alem. 273 meen [but (mɛvɛn) man]. 278 wanti. — in [end]. 280 hɛb'm. — een [hen]. — peen [a writing pen, (pâ'in a cattle pen)]. — dræsh'l dræks'l [threshold]. 285 krâs [pl. krîstɛz]. 286 arb. — bæz [best]. E'- 290 i [emph.] — sɪk zɪk [seek]. 295 bərd. 296 bleev. 297 fə'vɛr. 300 kip [colloquially kɪp]. 301 jɛr. E': 305 â'i. 306 â'ith. 309 spid. 312 jɛr. — giz [geese]. 316 næks.

EA- — shiəp [to shape]. 319 griəp gap gɔp. EA: 324 âit. 333 kaav kjaav. 324 aav aaf [(əf mət] half and half]. 335 âel ə'el. 336 vaal vaal. 337 waal waal. 338 kjal. — aavis [always]. — biərd [beard]. — ard [hard]. 343 wərm. 345 dɛvɛr. 346 giət. EA'- 347 eed. 348 â'i. 349 vɔvɔ. EA': 350 deed. 351 lə'd. 352 rhe'ld. ɛrd. ɛrnɪs [redness]. 353 bræd bərd. 354 shit shiv. 355 div. 356 liv. 357 thaat, aat. — kreein [cream]. 361 biin. 363 tɪp. — ip [a heap]. — jɛr [year]. 366 gərt. 367 dræet. 368 deth. 370 rhæa. 371 stroo. EI- 376 bə'it. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zəb'm. 386 joo. 387 vɔvɔ. EO: 388 mæ'lk. — səl'k [silk]. 389 jək. 390 shə'ld [emph.] shə'ld [unemph.]. 392 jə'n. 393 biə'n. 397 zəvɛr. — fərmɛr. 402 lərn. 403 var. 405 jeth. 406 æth. — zə'stɛr [sister]. — fərd'n vərd'n. EO'- — lyɔ [lee, shelter]. — dri. — vli [to fly]. 415 kâ'i. krɔp [to creep]. — vriz [to freeze]. 419 jəvɛr [emph.]. 420 vāvɛr [(fəvɛr emph.]. 421 fərti. EO': 422 zɪk. — rhid [a reed]. 423 dhâ'i. 425 leet. 426 teet. 428 zì. 430 ireen. — dip [deep]. 435 jɔvɔ. EY- 438 dâ'i. EY: 439 trə's.

I- 440 wək. 441 ziv. — liv [to live]. 443 vrâ'idi. 446 neen. — iis ees [emph.], jæs [fine but common]. 448 dhees. 449 gə't. 450 tɔvɔzdi. I: — dhərd [third]. 456 it nif. 458 neet. 460 wə'it. 462 sɛt [large number] zeet [vision]. 465 dɛ'itɪ dɛ's dɛ'sh. 466 tɪ'el. 469 wəl [will], wə't [wilt thou]. — shin [shin]. 472 shri'qk zhrî'qk. 473 bleen blâ'in. 475 win. 476 bā'iv. 477 vā'iv. 479 wā'iv. 480 dhîq. — skin [skin]. — shə'p [ship]. — ɛrn [to run]. 482 id'n ə'd'n [is not. common]. Ed'n [is not. emph.]. 483 ə'z [iz] emph. — fish vish [fish]. 488 it. — vrit rit [a writ]. zə'nz [since]. — spə't [to spit]. I'- 490 bā'i. 493 drev. — shin [to shine]. 496 â'vɛr [subs.] â'vɛrx [adj.] 498 vrâ'it. 499 bā'l. I': — ditɪ [ditch], dɪk [dyke]. 500 kâ'k. 502 vev vā'iv. 503 lā'iv. 504 neev nā'iv. — stə'f [stiff]. 505 wā'iv. 506 ɛmen. 507 wə'min. — âi [hay]. 508 māl'eld. 509 wā'el. — wî't [white adj.], wā'it [pigment subs.].

O- — smook [smoke]. 523 hɔp. 524 wərd'l. O: — vrag [a frog]. 525 ɔf [off]. 526 kaal. 527 bəet. 528 dhæ'et. 529 braat. 531 darter. 532 kool kaal. 533 del. 535 vɔks. 536 gə'el gool. 544 'n [than]. dheen [emph. in that case]. dhoo [at that time]. — shəvɛr [ashore]. 546 var. — vark [a fork]. 547 bəvɛr. 548 vɔvɛr. 549 wɔvɛr [but in composition as 'to hoard apples, that is, to store up, (wərd)]. 550 wərd. — vā'eth [forth]. — mornin [morning]. — aas [horse]. 554 kraas. — paas [gate post]. — pəst [letter post]. — mɔt [mote]. O'- 555 shɔvɔ. 556 tɔvɔ [emph.]. 557 tɔvɔ [in addition], tɛ [even when emph. meaning to an excessive degree]. 558 lək. 560 skəl. 561 blə'm. 562 mɔ'n. 563 mändi. 564 zə'n [but (zə'ndɛr, zə'ndist) sooner, soonest]. O': 569 bək. 570 tək [tɛkt] taken. 575 stə'd. 576 weenzdi. — rhæv rhyf [roof]. — bā'u. 578 plɛ'u [in com-

position as plough-horse (plE'u)AAS), but the common word for plough is (zúel)]. — ak [hough]. 583 təl. 584 stəl. 586 dyɪ. 589 spəɪn. — gəɪz [goose]. — bəzəm [bosom]. 593 məs. 595 vət. 596 rət. 597 sət. U- 599 vət. — əɪd [wood]. 601 v'áuel. 602 z'á'u. 603 kam [emph.] — krum [crumb]. 607 bader. U: 608 əgli. — zúel [Ws. sulh, a plough, see 578]. 610 əl. — pəl [to pull]. 611 bəlɪk. 612 satɪ [something]. 614 E'un. 615 pE'und. 616 grE'und. 617 zE'un. 619 vE'u'n. — ənder [hundred]. 627 zəndi. 631 dhəzdi. 632 ap. 634 dryɪ. — thasti [thirsty]. 635 weth [(wethlis) worthless]. 636 vader. 639 d'á'íst'á'uz [dusthouse, chaffhouse, but only in this sense, dust is otherwise called (pə'lem)]. U'- 640 kE'u. 641 E'u [however is (wə'ver)]. 647 E'ud. 648 áver. 649 dh'á'uzən. 650 bE'at [but (bE'ud) before a vowel]. 652 kəɪd. 653 bəd [before a vowel]. U': 654 shRE'ud. 655 fá'uel. 656 rhəɪm. — dham [thumb]. 657 bRE'un. 658 dE'un. 663 E'uz [(E'uz'l) household]. 665 má'uz. 666 əzben. 667 E'at. 668 pRE'ud. 670 bəɪdh. 671 má'adh. 672 zE'adh. Y- 674 dəd dyɪd. 676 lá'i. 681 bə'znis. 682 h'd'l [but (n't'l) is commonly said to children]. — ev'l [evil]. Y: 685 ərdɪ. 689 biel [(bə'lt) built]. — vali [follow]. 690 ká'in [+d before a vowel]. 691 má'u [+d before a vowel]. 692 əqɪs. 697 bəri. 699 vr'á'it. — arnet [hornet]. 700 wes [used also for worst before a consonant, +t before a vowel]. 701 tas [+t before a vowel]. 703 pət. Y- 706 wá'i. — drem [to dream]. — deev [to dive]. — kit [a kite, (vəzkit) furze-kite or falcon]. Y: — fá'lth [filth]. 709 v'á'ər. — vliz [fleece].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 béd. 718 tréd. 738 prét. — tédi [potato, heard by AJE. and others as (téri), p. 147]. E. — wəlt [wealth]. 750 bá'ig. I. and Y. 754 pegg. 756 shR'əmp zhr'əmp. — wə'p wəp [whip]. 758 gərd'l. O. — dæg [dog]. 791 bə'oi. U. — kəid [cud]. 796 blyɪ. — antɪ [unto]. 805 krɪdz [this form always used]. — kərd'l [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fées. 811 pléus. — tréus [trace]. 812 lées. 813 bék'u'n. 820 gài. 822 mòi. — áid [aid v. and s.]. — epá'íd [paid]. 827 eeger. — fáiel [to fail]. 830 tráin. — sáint [saint]. 833 péer. 835 reez'n. 836 sez'u. 841 tɹ'əns. 845 ənshənt. 847 dændʒən. 848 tɹəndɪ. 849 strændɹər. 850 d'á'ns. 852 əpɹən. — kar [to care]. — káf'ndər [carpenter]. — saaksi [saucy]. 862 saaf [adj.] séef [sb. a meat safe]. E.. 867 tee. — spartik'lz [spectacles]. — dh'á'tɹez [vetches]. 874 rháin. 876 dāinti. 878 sələri. — meen [amend, mend]. 881 seens. — arb [herb] — məsi [mercy]. — féur [a fair]. 888 sartin. — sar [to serve, deserve, earn]. — neet [neat]. 890 bíus [pl. bíustez]. 891 fees fús [pl. (fústez)]. 893 fláuer [flour = meal is (vláuer)]. 894 reesev.

I.. and Y.. — sá'íer. 901 fá'in. — pá'ínt [a pine]. — v'á'ilent [violent]. 904 v'á'ilent [violet]. — zER [sir]. — spərit [spirit]. 910 djá'ís [both in sing. and pl.]

O.. 920 p'wá'ínt. — djá'ínt [of a man], djá'ínt [of meat]. — stúer stóer [story]. 924 t'á'ís. 925 v'á'ís. 926 sp'wá'íl. 929 kE'əkemər. — RE'un [round]. — fáus [force, and +t before a vowel forced]. — séurt. 939 klóes. 947 b'wá'iel. 950 sáper. — táuer [tower]. — pə'əsh [push]. — bád'l [a bottle] — mav [move]. 959 kəv'ə'. U.. — dɹɪ [due]. — dyɪk [duke]. 960 kee. — fú'ənt [fluent, said of a river only]. — djə'dɪ [judge]. — wá'it [wait]. — ry'ín [ruin]. 965 á'iel. 969 shóer. — duureb'l [durable]. — nuuzik [music]. 970 djəs [+t before a vowel]. — fá'asti [fusty].

D 11 = s.WS. = southern West Southern.

Boundary. On the n. the n. coast of Co. and Dv. to the b. of D 10, which forms the n. and e. b. till it joins the w. b. of D 4. The rest of the e. b. is the s. part of the w. b. of D 4 = down to Axmouth. The s. b. is the s. coast of Dv. and Co. There was much difficulty in determining the w. b., concerning which I collected several opinions, and finally follow the information of Rev. W. H. Hodge, which I believe to be most accurate. Begin at the Black Rock in the middle of the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, and go through the centre of the water-way to Truro. Then proceed by land e. of Kenwyn (1 n.w. Truro) and w. of St. Erme (4 n.e. Truro), e. of St. Allen (4 n. Truro) and w. of Newlyn (8 n. Truro), and also west of Cubert (9 n.w. Truro), but e. of Perran Zabulo (8 n.w. Truro) to the sea in Ligger or Perran Bay. This border was determined by noting the change of speech. Mr. Rawlings, speaking only from general impressions, said the b. was probably a straight line from St. Anthony, on the e. horn of Falmouth Harbour to St. Agnes Head (9 n.w. Truro). This line, beginning practically at the same point as the other, and ending only 5 m. to the sw., must be considered as practically identical with it. Mr. Sowell, who wrote the Cornish-English version of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, inclines to a line from St. Austell to Padstow. According to Mr. Hodge, Mr. Herman Merivale in his "Historical Studies" lays down the border between Celt and Saxon, no doubt at a much earlier date, from Down Derry (8 s.e. Liskeard) to St. Germans (7 s.e. Liskeard), thence to St. Ive (4 n.e. Liskeard), South Hill (7 n.e. Liskeard), North Hill (7 n. Liskeard), Altarnun (7 w.s.w. Launceston), Minster (13 w.w. Launceston), and to the sea by Forrabury (14 n.w. Launceston). This line is just a few miles w. of the e. b. of Co. itself.

Area. Most of Dv. and e.Co. The w. b. of D 11 is properly the w. limit of dialect in England.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || systematic, ° in io.

Co. *Camelford, °Cardynham, °Laudrake, °Lanivet, °Lanreath, *|| Millbrook, °Padstow, °Poundstock, °St. Blazey, °St. Columb Major, °St. Goran's, °St. Ive, °St. Stephens, °Tintagel.

Dv. *Barnstaple, || Bigbury, °Burrington, *Challacombe, °Colyton, *|| Devonport, °|| Exeter, *Harberton, *Iddesleigh, °Instow, °Modbury, *° North Molton, °North Petherwin, °Parracomb, || Plymouth, °Stoke, °St. Marychurch, °Warkleigh, °Werrington, † General.

Characters. The character of the pronunciation is essentially the same as that of D 10, with a few distinguishing particulars.

ÆG, EG are rarely if ever (a'i). They become regularly (ee, EE), with more or less of an (i) following.

I' is regularly (áí), that is, the (æ'í) of D 4 after passing through (á'í) mixed with (æ'í) of D 10, now assumes the regular German (ái) sound. It was a matter of course, then, that the (âí, áai) for ÆG, EG should also be changed. U', which was mainly (e'u) in D 10, becomes (æ'y⁵) as well as I can analyse it, see the note on *doubt*, p. 158 below. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard it as French *œu* in *cœur*, followed by French *u*, that is (æ'y), which it certainly resembles. How far does this extend? It is certainly in n.Dv. Mr. Baird (Nathan Hogg) acknowledges it in e.Dv., Mr. Shelley (Plymouth) in s.Dv. In Co. I have not been able to trace it, with certainty, further than Millbrook, just on the e. b. of Co., not even in the vv. specimen from Camelford. But I suspect that it really

pervades Co. as well as Dv. The diphthong is not unlike the Dutch *ui* in *huis*, or the French *œi* in *œil*.

I have thrown the whole of this large district together because my information is necessarily very deficient upon such delicate points as those last mentioned, and the great features seem to be the same. There is said to be considerable difference between n.Dv. and s.Dv., and between e.Dv. and w.Dv., but this difference probably concerns the vocabulary and grammar more than the pronunciation. Mr. Shelley's Dartmoor es. shews, however, considerable difference from the Idedesleigh es. Hence it will be convenient to consider as Var. i. n.Dv., and as Var. ii. s.Dv. including Co., to Mr. Merivale's line, for both. Then Var. iii. will be e.Co., which may be associated with St. Columb Major, extending from Mr. Merivale's line to Mr. Hodge's by Truro, that forms the boundary of D 11. The w.Co. region D 12 is entirely different.

VAR. i. NORTH DEVON.

I naturally rely on my *vivâ voce* from Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, a native of North Molton (11 e.-by-s.Barnstaple), which is close to the b. of D 10, and from Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe's servant from Idedesleigh (15 s.Barnstaple), which comes to nearly the s. b. of n.Dv. They were both taken some years ago, North Molton in Oct. 1877, and Mar. 1879, and Idedesleigh in Nov. 1877. I begin with the last, because having been taken from an uneducated native almost fresh from the place and studied closely, it is probably more correct.

IDDESLEIGH ES.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of a native, Mary Anstey, housemaid to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe. For convenience (æ'y₁⁵) has the ⁵ omitted, see first note.

0. wái :dʒæk'i hæth nɛ dæw'y₁t ebæw'y₁t it.

1. WEL :dʒAARDʒ JY₁ me boodh laaf et dhɪs nyY₁Z əv máin, íf i wí₁L, yy₁ kéerth fɛr dhæt? dhæt)s nædher jíber nɛr dhéar.

2. vY₁ men dáí kooz dhɛ)m laaft æt, æs nAA, dóent)əs? ət shud méek)'m? T)í₁D)'X VERi láikl'i, iz)ət?

3. æ'y₁EVER dhɪs iz dhə TRY₁th o)t, zo dʒES oold dhi nA'iz, :dʒAARDʒ, ən bi kwáí'ət vɔr áiv dy₁n)ət. aark!

4. áí bi zærtən áí jíberd əm zee ít—zəm o dhceez vɔks y₁ went dRY₁ dhɛ ool o)t dherzeLVZ—dhæt áí did sérv unæf.

5. dhut dhɛ Jæq'ges zə'X izsɛL, ə gært bóí v náin, nAAd)z faadhɛrZ vA'is ət wæns, dhoo t)wæz so kwæer ɛm skæce'kín, ɛn áí)d trɔ's)n v'R speek dhɛ TRY₁th æn'i dee'í, is, áí wed.

6. ɛn dh-ool wæmɛn ɛRZEL wɛd TEL)i dhɛ zéerm, æn'i ə i dhut bi laafín næw'y₁, ɛn TEL)i ráit əf, tæy₁': wídhæw'y₁t æn'i fæs ebæw'y₁t ət, ɛf JY₁)L ɔn'li æks ɛr, oo'u, waant-ɛr?

7. æn'i)æw'y₁ ɛR tool mií, wɛn áí ækst ɛr, ty₁ ɛr drií fáimz əvɛr, díd)N)ɛr? ɛn ɛR AAt'n tɛ bi Ræq, ən dʒES v thíq ɛz dhæt, wat dy₁ i dhíqk?

8. WEL ɛz áí wɛz zee'ín ɛR wɛd TEL)i, æw'y₁ ɛR væw'y₁nd ɛn, wèn

ER VƏ'Y₁ND EN, EN WÉEBER ER VƏ'Y₁ND EN,—dhu DRƏK'N PEG ER KAALTH ER MƏN.

9. ER SWÉEBRD ER ZID)EN WEE ER ƏN ÁIZ, LÁI'IN STREJT Ə'Y₁T ƏN DHE GRƏ'Y₁N WEE IZ BEST KƏT ƏN, KLOOS TƏ DHE DÚER, DƏ'Y₁N IN DHE KAARND'R Ə DHE LÉEN.

10. I WƏZ MEEK'IN ƏP DʒƏ'S V NA'IZ LÁIK V TʒIL KRÁI'IN EN TEE DʒƏS.

11. EN DHƏT ƏP'ND ƏZ ƏR EN ER DAA'TER LEE KƏM DRY'Y₁ DHE BƏK KÓBERTLEDʒ FRƏM ƏQIN Ə'Y₁T DHE WET FLOODHZ ƏN DHO WƏSH'IN DEE,

12. WÁILST DHƏ TEE'KÍTŁ WƏZ BÓIL'IN VUR TEE, WƏN VÁIN ZƏMBR ARTURNY'IN, ƏN'LI V WIK GUN KƏM NƏKS DHƏZDE.

13. EN DY'Y₁ I NAA? ÁI NEV'R JƏRD NAART MÓORR EBƏ'Y₁T IT BIVÓOR TƏDEE, ZHÓORZ ÁI BI KAALD :DʒƏK :ZH'PƏRD, EN ÁI DÓONT WƏNT TƏY'₁. ƏDH'R, DHƏR NƏ'Y₁!

14. EN ZOO ÁI BI GWEE'IN ƏM TƏ ƏƏ V BÍT V SƏPƏR. GUD NÉEBRT EN DÓONT)I BI SƏ K'WIK TƏ KRAA ƏVER ƏN'IBƏDĪ EGÉEN, WEN I SPECKS V WƏN DHEQ ER DHE TƏDHUR.

15. "STY'Y₁PĪD FELBR TEL'IN ƏP THIS ÓOLD STAF, ƏS DÓONT WƏNT TÓIJER)T." DHIS IZ DHE KƏEST A'I SHUL ZEE EBƏ'Y₁T IT. GUD BAI.

Notes.

0. *doubt*. The last element of the diphthong in this word is precisely the same as for (ty₁) = two. The lips are pouted, the upper lip is especially projected, but there was very little closure of the lips, not nearly as much as when I pronounce (ty) = Fr. *tu*, in fact the corners of the mouth are hardly brought together at all, so that an acute angle is left, but the upper lip was very much pouted, giving (y₁^β). Both lips are projected, but the upper lip far the most. For the first element in (ə'y₁^β) the lips are wide open, and then they suddenly dart forward to form the (y₁^β). This action is very curious to study on the native lip. The openness of the lips for the first element, excludes (ə) for the first element, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte appreciates saying (preface to H. Baird's *St. Matthew*), that "the sound is best defined as the French 'əu' in 'cœur,' (ə) followed by *u*, the Scottish 'oo' in 'moon,' that is, the French 'u' (y) with a slight tendency towards the 'eu' in 'peu' (ə) in the same language." The speaker rejected (ə'y₁) when pronounced to her. What the precise vowel in the first element may be I was not able to determine, but it did not seem to be either (ə) or (ɛ), and I was not satisfied with (e). For the word *too* the sudden rise in pitch on the second element was most remarkable, (tə-y₁^β), the stress also falling upon it, which quite distinguished the

diphthongs, as in (:dʒək gĭd iz ty₁ maər'v'z tə ty₁ bóiz. ən :təm giv hĭz ty₁. tə-y₁^β. tə ty₁. tə-y₁^β) 'Jack gave his two marbles to two boys [with distinct (o) and distinct (i), thus (bóiz) not (ba'iz)], and Tom gave his two, too, to two, too. This change of stress from (ə'y₁...) with if anything a falling pitch on the last element, to (ə-y₁^β...) with a rising pitch, and without perceptible glide of the first element on to the second, distinguished the two sounds so completely, that it was difficult to discover that they were made up of the same elements. I had them pronounced to me frequently during two visits, and the distinctions were steadily maintained, though the speaker was quite unaware of any peculiarity.

1. *neighbour*. This word is not used as a term of address. Mr. Faunthorpe (who had first written the version from his servant's dictation, in his own spelling, which I altered to palaeotype from dictation) had written 'Jarge,' meaning (:dʒaardʒ), and though the speaker insisted on (:dʒaardʒ), the other seems more correct.—*will*. Mr. F. wrote 'wĭl,' I heard (wĭL, wə'Ł). I carefully studied the sounds of *milk* and *themselves*, and concluded that there was a true (L), and that the preceding vowel was greatly affected by it. But (mĭLk) seemed best, and not (m'Łk) without a vowel, nor (mə'Łk), but of course (i, ə¹) have considerable re-

semblances.—*careth*. The transition (ɾth) is easy, as the tongue when uncurling slides down directly to the teeth, but (thɾ-) or (dthɾ-) is difficult, because the tongue has to be curved back during the transition, unless we begin with the under part instead of the upper part, of the tip of the tongue against the teeth making (th, dh). This leads at once to the substitution of (ɾ, ɖ) for (th, dh) as (ɾɾɪm ɖɾɪyɪɪ).—*for*. I have constantly written (ɐɾ) in these weak words, though I seemed to hear only (v), but this I attributed to the faintness and shortness of the sound.

2. *they am*, for *they are*, contracted to (dhem), and the (e) used for (ɛ) because the sound is weak.—*what*. (ɔt) or (wɔt).—*it is* not. I seemed to hear every consonant reverted, and the (i₁) position was consequently not properly formed, destroying its precise character.—*very*. Mr. F. wrote 'vürry,' but I seemed to hear (ɛ) modified by (ɾ). I did not hear (verɪ) with the usual trilled (r). But in this case I consider the (ɾ) to be trilled, and there is no difficulty in so speaking.

4. *safe enough*. (əɳɔt) not (əɳyɪ); they make no distinction between (əɳɔf, əɳyɪ), and use the first generally.

5. *trust* him. Mr. F. had written both *trūs* and *tris*, and I at first appreciated (tres). This shews the difficulty of the vowel (ɔ¹) to an outsider.—*day*. (dɛɛ'ɪ, sɾɛɛ'ɪl, tɛɛ'ɪl), almost (dɛə'ɪ) etc., and clearly one of the transitional forms from (dái) to (dɛə). *Fair*, a market, is (feer): the fire is (váir). The long I' having become (ái) in place of (ə'ɪ), it was to be expected that the EG, ÆG, should pass from (ái) to (ɛə) or some intermediate form. These changes shew the original diversity of the sounds, which obliged both to be modified, if one was.—*yes*, *I would*. I did not feel certain of the vowel in (wed). Mr. F. wrote *wɛd* and *wüd*? could it have been (wɔ'dɪ)?

6. *woman*. Mr. F.'s cook, from Challacombe, said (əm'wɛn). Mr. Baird always writes *human* = (həm'wɛn).—*tell ye*. This is how the word sounded to me, Mr. Baird always writes *tul*, like Mr. Elworthy's (tɔl) in D 10 (p. 148, par. 1). This reverted (ɾ) produces strange effects.—*too*. See *too* in note on *doubt*, par. 0.

7. *did not her*.—*such*. *just* is pronounced in the same way. Mr. F. wrote *jüs*, *jis*, *jes*.

8. *pig*, for *beast* (beest) is too noble a word. *cattle* is always used in place of the plural of *beast*.—*calleth*. Similarly (ɐɾ waaketh). A wife says (wɛn mi mæn kɛmth ðm) = when my husband comes home.—*man*. This word is regularly used for *husband*.

9. The omitted word *length* = (lɛɔkth) as usual. The plural of the omitted word *house* is (ə'yɪsez) not (ə'yɪz'n).—*corner*. Observe inserted (ɖ). They say (tjɪmblikaarsɖɛɾ) = chimney corner: (kɪɾɖ'lz ɔɔl ɔvɛɾ ɐɾ cɛd) = curls all over her head.

10. *child*, applied to either sex, but (mɛɛ'ɪd) is the regular word, see note on *day*, par. 5. The question, is it a boy or a girl, becomes (bói ɐɾ mɛɛ'ɪd); *wench* is not used.—*tedious* is used especially of fretful children that weary the mother by crying, when the (tjɪl z tɛɾ'ɔb'l). To be sick is to be (bad, full (a) not (v)).

11. *daughter-in-law*. (dɔə'tɛɾlɔɔ) is commoner, but *son's wife* (zɔ'ɪnz wáiv) is most common.—*wet*. Nearly (wɛɾt), very broad.—*clothes*. Clearly initial (ɾɾ-) is easier and more natural than initial (kl-). The (dh) is used at Iddesleigh, but not at Challacombe.—*washing day*. The speaker had never heard the phrase "Quarter Sessions" for washing day, as given by Mr. Rock from Barnstaple, and Mr. Pulman from Axminster.

12. *tea-kettle*. The two last syllables pronounced very shortly indeed, with no secondary accent like in *capital*.—*boiling*. Without prefixed *a-*, they say (wɔz bói'lɪn, ít bói'lth).

13. *sure*, *shepherd*. Having neglected to note the sounds of the words *sure*, *shepherd*, I follow the usages of Mr. Baird.

14. *Good night*, a parting *good night*, but when the *night* is spoken of it is called (náit). Observe that (ɾ) was distinctly heard in (néɛɾɾt).—*again*, (ɛə) is very short.

15. *Stupid fellow*, *telling up this old stuff*; *us don't want to hear-it*. This was inserted by Mr. F. as a remark of one of the persons spoken to. He also proposed: (wɔt ə ɔɔɾt fi'yɪɪl dhi ɔɔɾt). The sound of (fi'yɪɪl) is like the Norfolk (íy), or the Lancashire (ə'u), a mere lip glide, as I seemed to hear it.—*this*, the speaker recognised the distinction of Mr. Barnes's Dorset "shaped thicky" in (dhɪk'i ə'yɪs) and "shapeless thát" in (dhaet wɔt ɾ, dhaet ɾɔə'yɪnd).

NORTH MOLTON (12 esc. Barnstaple) dt.

pal. by AJE. from the dict. of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq., New College, Southsea, native. The (°) means "with projected lips."

1. zoo ái zee, meets, JY₁ zii nœY₁⁵ ái bi rá'it v̄bœ'Y₁⁵t dha't dhær lit'l mé'vid kãm'in v̄rēm dha't dhær skíYY₁l œv̄v̄ær dhær.

2. æR)z gween dœY₁⁵n dhæ rood dhær, drY₁ dhæ æRD g'it [Jet] on dhæ lift a'n záid.

3. zhu'r næf dhæ t̄pil)z gòn strá'it æp t̄v̄ dhæ dyY₁ær v̄ dhæ ra'q œ'Y₁⁵z.

4. weer pra'ps shi)l vá'ind dha't dhær dh'in dræqk'n t̄ja'p :tomæs v̄Y₁)z aard v̄ i'ær'in.

5. wi à'l noo)n [nooz)en] v̄er'i w̄el.

6. wont dhæ œœl t̄ja'p zy'n laærN æR not t̄v̄ dyY₁ it v̄gen, puur dhiq!

7. læk! beent it TRY₁?

Notes.

1. So would not be used; *mates* long *i* generally is rendered as (á'i), as would rather be *lads*, *chaps*.—*I* and *iu* D 10, but it may be (ái).

North Molton phrases, pal. by AJE. from the dictation of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq.

The (°) means "with projected lips."

1. (gœ en a'ks)en), go and ask him.
2. (wi bi gœ'in). we are going.
3. (dROO ut in dhi a'shez dhær), throw it in the ashes there.
4. (ær za'q drii æR vœ'Y₁⁵R zaqz), he (or she) sang three or four songs.
5. (len)z v̄ a'n), lend-us a hand.
6. (la'n)z pr'it'i gy'd), land is pretty good.
7. (i wœ'Y₁⁵n en rœ'Y₁⁵n iz a'n drii æR vœ'Y₁⁵R táimz), he wound him=*it* round his hand three or four times.
8. (dhæ draad dhæ vil wær dhæ wets wæz), they drawed the field where the oats was.
9. (oni wœn v̄ dhem 'l dyY₁), any one of them will do.
10. (dhæ baar'li mœ'Y⁵), the barley mow.
11. (œ'Y₁⁵ œold iz æR ?), how old is he?
12. (œ)z dha't? v̄ skœlæRD), who's that? a scholar.
13. (dhæ bói rá'its v̄ gy'd rœ'Y₁⁵nd a'nd), the boy writes a good round hand.
14. (a'v'i gœt emi nyy₁ bry:mz, mis'iz? á'i`v̄ gœt v̄ v̄Y₁Y₁, œbœ'Y₁⁵t drii æR vœ'Y₁⁵R), have you any new brooms, Mistress? I've got a few, about three or four.
15. (g'it dhi æp dhær in dhik dhær ad̄, en pik mi dhik dhær stick, wilt?), get thee up there in that there hedge, and pick me that there stick, wilt *thou*?

16. (kəm ín, tʃil, dʏ₁)i, ɛn ræki dəʔy₁⁵n ɛn jɛt jɜrzel¹), come in, child, do ye, and sit down and heat = *warm* yourself.
 17. (a¹loo, dhen, yy₁)z ii[?]), Hulloh, then, who's he?
 18. (á¹i bii, dhəʔy₁⁵ ɛrt ɛ vvy₁l, ii[?]z, wii m, jyy₁)m ɛn dheem gò¹ín), I be, thou art a fool, he's, we're, you're and they're going.

NORTH DEVON cwl.

I words from the es. from Iddesleigh.

M words from Mr. Jarman's wl. from North Molton.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 M beek. 4 M teek. 5 I méek, M meek meekin. 7 M zeek. 8 tɛ ɛə [to have]. 12 M zaa. 13 M naa. 14 M draa. 17 I lee, M laa. 20 M leem. 21 M neem. 23 I zéem, M zeem. 24 sheem. 33 M reedhur. A: 43 M a¹n. 46 M ka¹n¹l. 48 M za¹q. 42 I aq. 54 I wənt. 55 M a¹sh. 56 I wəsh. A: or O: 60 M loq. 64 I rəq.

A'- I gwée¹ín [going]. 72 I yy₁, M ɔ₁ [probably (yy₁)]. 73 I zo. 74 I tyy₁, M tɔ₁. 75 M straa. 76 M tood. 79 I ɔn, M aən. 81 I léen. 82 I wəns. 84 I móóer. 85 M zoor. 86 M wets. 87 I tloodhz, M tlooz. 89 I boodh. 92 I naa. 94 I kraa. 95 M draa. 97 M zaal. A': 101 M ook. 102 I æks, M a¹ks. 104 M raad. 105 M raad. 106 M braad. 107 M loof. 108 M daa. 109 M laa. 110 I naart. 111 I aat. 113 I ool. 115 I ɔm, M ɔm. 117 I wən. 118 M boon. 120 I gun. 123 [naat used]. 125 I anl¹. M ɔni. 130 M boot. 131 M goot. 133 M rət. 136 IM ɛdher. 137 I nēdher, nēr.

Æ- 138 I faadher, M vaadher. 140 M évil. 141 M névil. 142 M znévil. 144 I egéen, M egēn. 152 M waater. Æ: 154 I bek. 155 M dha¹tɪ. 158 I arter. 161 I deē¹i, M déei. 163 M léei. 164 M méei. 166 M méeid. 169 I wən. 170 aarəst. 172 M g'rs. 181 M pa¹th. Æ'- 182 N zee. 183 M tɛtɪ. 187 M leev. 190 M kéei. 191 M eel. 193 M kleen. 194 I aeni, M eni. 195 M meni. 197 M tɪiz. 200 M wéet. 202 M jɛt. Æ': 203 M spɛtɪ. 205 M dɛd. 207 M nid¹l. 209 I never. 217 M ɛtɪ. 218 M shiip. 219 M sleep. 220 I zhíppɛd. 223 I dhéer. 225 M vləsh. 227 I wɛt. 228 M zwet. — M jɛth [heath]. 229 M bredh. 230 M va¹t.

E- 232 M breek. 233 I speek, M speek. 235 M woov. 236 M feever. 237 M tɪɪblinz. 238 M a¹dɪ. 241 M réein. 243 M pléi. 247 M wɛen. 251 M moet. 252 IM kít¹l, tee-kít¹l [tea-kettle]. 253 M nid¹l. E: 256 I stretɪ. 257 M a¹dɪ. 258 M za¹dɪ. 259 M wa¹dɪ. 261 I zee, M zéei. 262 wéei. 265 M stréet. 271 I tel. 276 IM dhəqk. 281 M leqkth. 284 M dra¹sh. 287 M bezem [generally (bram)]. E'- 297 I felur. 298 M vil. 299 M grūn. 301 M iier. 302 M mit. E': 306 M áit. 312 I jiier, M jær. 314 I jiierd, IM jærd. 315 M vit. 316 I neks.

EA- 319 M gaalp. 320 I kéer. EA: 322 IM laaf. 323 M vaat. 324 M áit. 325 M waalk. 326 I ool, M oold. 327 M boold. 330 I oold. 332 I tool, M toold. 333 M kjaaf. 336 M vaa¹l. 337 M waa¹l. 338 I kaal. 343 M waa¹rm. 346 M gít jɛt [the last more frequent]. EA'- 347 M ed. 348 I ái. 349 I vvy₁, M vi¹. EA': 350 M ded. 352 M ɛrd. 353 M bred. 354 M sheef. 355 M def. 356 M leei. 357 IM dhoo. 360 M tiim. 361 M been. 363 M tɛep. 366 I gart, M gret. 367 M dret. 370 M ree. 371 M straa. EI- 372 M ái ái [is zhaer, never (ái), simply]. 373 M dheei. EI: 377 M steek. 378 M week.

EO- M ev'n. 386 M jaa. 387 I nvy₁, M ni¹. EO: 388 M mɛlk [so it sounded to me]. 389 M jook. 397 M soord. 398 M starv. 402 M lɛrn. 403 M vaar. 404 M staar. 405 M jeth. 406 M ɛrth. 407 M vard'n. EO'- 411 IM drii. 414 M vlái. 417 M tɪaa. 420 M v'oor. 421 M vart¹. EO': 423 M dhái. 425 M láit. 426 M fáit. 428 M zii. 430 M vren.

434 M *beet*. 435 I *ɟy*₁, M *ɟiə'*. 436 M *triə'*. 437 I *tryy*₁th, M *triə'*th. EY- 438 IM *dai*. EY: 439 IM *trə's*.
 I- 440 IM *wik*. 441 M *zeev*. 442 M *áivi*. 446 IM *náin*. 448 IM *dheez*. 449 M *git*. I: 458 M *náit*, I *néceert* [in the phrase, good-night, only]. 459 IM *ráit*. 460 M *wect*. 466 IM *tjil*. 468 M *tjibrin*. 475 M *wín*. 477 M *váin*. 478 M *gráin*. 479 M *wáin*. 480 I *thiə* *dheq*. 481 M *vígger*. 482 I *iz*et? [is it], *ɾ(i)ɟ*'N [it]is)not]. 485 M *driz'l*. 488 M *ɟit*. I'- 494 IM *táim*. 499 M *bid'l*. I: 500 IM *káik*. 506 I *wámen*, M *ool* *dámen*. 507 M *wáiniq*. 509 I *wáilst*. 510 I *máin*.
 O- 519 I *əvər*. 520 M *bAA*. 521 M *vool*. 522 M *əp'n*. O: 525, ii. I *əf*. 526 M *kAAf*. 531 I *daatər*. 533 M *dəl*. 534 M *AAL*. 535 I *voK*. 536 M *goold*. 538 I *wed*. 539 M *bə'y*₁el. 541 I *waant* [emph.]. 542 M *boolt*. 548 M *vóerd*. 552 M *kARN*. 554 M *krás*. O'- 555 M *shəə* *shyy*₁. 556 I *tə'y*₁. 557 I *tə'y*₁. 559 M *módhər*. 562 M *mi'y*₁n. 564 M *zy*₁n. O': 569 M *bək*. 570 M *tək*. 571 I *gud*. 572 M *bləd*. 573 M *fləd*. 574 M *bry*₁d. 575 M *sty*₁d. 577 M *bə'y*₁⁵. 578 M *pləy*₁⁵. 579 IM *vnaf*. 583 M *tý*₁l. 586 I *dy*₁. 587 I *dy*₁n. 588 I *nyy*₁n. 589 M *spy*₁n. 590 M *vlóer*. 594 M *by*₁t. 595 M *vy*₁t. 596 M *ry*₁t. 597 M *sy*₁t.
 U- 601 M *tə'y*₁⁵l. 602 M *zə'y*₁⁵. 604 I *zəmer*. 605 I *zə*₁n, M *zən*. 606 I *dúer*, M *dóer*. U: 609 M *vəl*. 610 M *wəl*. 611 M *bələk*. 612 M *zəm*. 613 M *drəqk*. 616 I *grə'y*₁n. 619 I *və'y*₁nd. 625 M *toq*. 629 M *zən*. 631 I *dhəzde*. 632 IM *əp*. 633 M *kəp*. 634 I *dryy*₁, M *drə*. 625 M *weth*. 639 M *díst*. U'- 641 IM *ə'y*₁. 643 IM *nə'y*₁. 646 M *bə'y*₁⁵. 647 M *ə'y*₁⁵l. 650 I *ləbə'y*₁t. 651 I *widhə'y*₁t. 652 M *kud*. U': 658 IM *də'y*₁⁵n. 659 M *tə'y*₁⁵n. 663 M *ə'y*₁⁵s. 664 M *lə'y*₁⁵s. 667 IM *ə'y*₁t.
 Y- 680 M *bizi*. 682 M *lit'l*. Y: 684 M *bərdj*. 685 M *ridj*. 688 M *szytj*. 691 M *máin* [(máin) was given as n.Dv. by Mr. Shelly, see p. 165]. Y- 706 IM *wái*. Y': 711 M *lə'y*₁⁵zuz. 712 M *máis* [(máis) was given by Mr. Shelly, see sw.Dv. p. 165].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 732 I *əp'nd*. E. 744 M *meez'lz*. 750 M *ba'g*. I. and Y. 754 IM *peɟ*. 758 M *gə'l* [little used, (tjil)]. O. 761 M *lood*. 767 IM *nə'is*. 773 M *dəqk*. 790 M *gə'y*₁⁵n. 791 I *bói*. U. 797 I *skəeekin*. 798 I *kəeər*. 804 I *drəqk'n*. 806 I *fəs*, M *vəs*. 807 M *py*₁s. 808 M *pət*.

III. ROMANCE.

A .. — *teedjəs* [tedious]. 824 M *tjir*. 830 M *trécin*. 835 M *reez'n*. 836 M *seez'n*. 840 M *tjemer*. 862 I *séef*. 864 I *kooz*. 865 M *vAAlt*.
 E.. 867 I *tee*, M *tee*. 878 M *səlleri*. 885 I *verì*. 888 I *zarten*, M *zartin*. 890 M *beest* [pl. (bees)]. 894 M *deseev*. 895 M *reseev*.
 I.. and Y.. — *krái* [cry]. 901 IM *váin*. 904 M *və'ilet*. O.. 916 M *iqinz*. 922 M *bushel*. 923* M *mə'ist*. 925 I *və'is*. 929 M *kə'y*₁⁵kəmer. 933 M *frant*. 938 I *kAARNdər*. 939 I *kloos*. 940 I *kót*. 941 M *vy*₁l. 947 I *bóil*. 950 I *səper*. 955 I *də'y*₁t. U.. 963 *kə'á*-et. 965 M *ə'il*. 969 I *zhóer*, M *zhy*₁er. 870 I *djes*, M *djist*. 971 M *vly*₁t.

VAR. ii. SOUTH DEVON CS.

Dartmoor, north of a line from Plymouth to Kingsbridge (17 ese.Plymouth), pal. by A.J.E. from the glossic of Mr. John Shelly, 8, Woodside, Plymouth, a resident for thirty years, who has especially occupied himself with the glossary of the dialect, but is a native of Norfolk. Full explanatory notes have been given of every point of difficulty, and Mr. S.'s indications are strictly followed.

0. *wəə'i* :djan hez noo *də'y*₁t.

1. *wel*, *soos*, *ɟy* *en* *ii* *mə* *booth* *griz'l* *et* (his)jə *nəz* *v* *məə'in*.
həə *məə'inz* *dhet?* *dhet-s* *needhə* *ɟə* *ne* *dhi*er.

2. fə vook də'i bəkyʷz dhEE)m laaft æt, es naa dhæt; doont)es? wæt shid mee'k)n? t)EZ)n zə láaik'li, ez et?

3. eedhemaAABR dhEEZ-JE BR dhe fæks v-dhe kees, so djis hool ju baal, soos, en bi kwəə'i'et tel ə'i-v v-din. luk)JAR.

4. ə'i em zhúER [zhóER] ə'i JARD)n zee—zAM v dhEE vook et went dhrəə dhə hool dheq vrəm dhə vørst dhezel'vz—dhat del ə'i, zhúuBaf.

5. et dhe JEQ'gest zin hízself, ə gært bə'i ev nə'in, naad əz vaadhez vəə'is tə wæns, dhaf et wez zə kwéER en skwée'kín, en ə'i)d tríst hii tə speek dhe trəəth æn'i dee, is fEE, ə'i wíd.

6. ən dh)ool hæn'ən Bself' əl tel æn'i əv Jy, ət stan gríz'lín dhiER, en tel)i stráat af ty, ədhæ'yt mitj bədh'ER, if ju)l on'i æks)v ty, AA, waant-ER?

7. eedhemaAABR HER toold et mi wæn ə'i ækst)v, ty v dhree təə'inz, AA'VEB, HER ded, en h'əER Aaft nət tə bi ræq ən zítj v dheq)z dhis, wæt dy)i zin?

8. wEL, ez ə'i wez vze'e'in, h'əER wíd tel)i hœ'y, wiER, en wææn v fœ'yn dhe dræk'n b'ést, v kaalth v mee'Estə.

9. hE zwAABR v zAA)n wi ER AAN əə'iz, bəə'i'in spreed vbraad on dhe eeth, in ez gœd zin'di kóort, hoom tə dun' ə dhə hœ'yz, dœ'yn tə dhə kAAN'dur v dhæk'i leen.

10. ə wez krəəz'lín, hE zeed, fER aal dhe wœrl láaik v tjiil dhæt)s bæd, ə ə v'ined gœrl.

11. en dhæt wez, ez hE keem thruu dhə bæ'klet wídh v daa'tER)n)laa, vrəm heq'in œ'yt dhe wet klooz tə drəə'i ən v wesh'in dee,

12. wə'il dhe ket'l wez bəə'ilín fe tee, wæn vəə'in bríet zin'ER aat'ənən, on'i v WEEK egoo, kEM nEks dhəERz'di.

13. en dy)i) naa? ə'i n'v'a laarnd æn'i mAA)n dhis v dhæk'i biz'nis hoom tə dhes maan'in, zə zhúu)v)z mə'i neem)z :djaan :zhep'ed en ə'i doont wæant ty, nee'dhə—g'u'nœ'y.

14. ən zoo ə'i)m gáan om tə zəp'ER. :gœed niit, en doont)i bi zə kwEK tə kRAA AA'VE min əgen, wæn ə telth v dhis en dhæt en dh)adhER.

15. t)ez ə toot'lín vyl, ət telth vdhœ'yt meen'in. en dhæt)s mə'i láaus wæd. :gœd bə'i tœ)i.

Notes.

0. *why*. Mr. S. has given various analyses of this diphthong (ə'i, əə'i, ái, áai). I follow the one chosen in any particular case. He found a variety in actual use, but is inclined most to (áí). See also the following Devonport and Millbrook.—*doubts*. This diphthong is also variously indicated, but Mr. S. generally gives (œ'y), following Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and finds a rounding of the lips in the first element.

1. *socē*. Rarely used in S. Dv., supposed to be a N. Dv. word; it is plural.—*grizzle* or *grin*; the *r* before

vowels Mr. S. takes as common: finally when fully pronounced he acknowledges (r), but the words are often much clipped, and then he hears the same effect as in London, a simple (r), but it is probably (ɛr) or (er) with the tongue turned up, the difference is very slight, and Mr. S.'s (ɛ) is here left.

2. *news*. When final and emphatic the sound seems to become (y) and (ə), between which Mr. S. hesitates; (y) recalls both. Mr. S. being a Nf. man, finds the sound less clear in Dv. than in Nf., and thinks (ə) or something

between (z) and (y) more common.—*because they am* for *they are*. The form (biky'z) seems rather to be *by course*, for (ny ky'z) is used for *of course*.

3. *either-more*, that is, *however*.—*hawl* or *noise*.—*look*. Mr. S. also writes 'lo'k.

4. *through*. The (dr-) initial seems almost lost here, but (dryv) occurs at times, also dreks'l threshold.

5. *though*, the (tj) is common.—*yes faith I would*.

7. *three*. This is said to be the ordinary form. Mr. S. has, however, heard 'drii' once or twice.—*ought*. Compare *though* in par. 5.—*what do you seem* = *think*, a common Dv. word.

8. *drunken*. Observe the northern form (drak'n).—*her* (she) *calleth her*

master (husband). Observe the use of the form *calleth* in *eth*; common in Dv.

9. *lying spread abroad on the earth*.—*home* = close or fully up to.—*corner of thackey* (that, yonder) *lane*.

10. *crewsling* = complaining, the word is not in the glossaries.—*bad* = unwell, sick would mean vomiting.—*vinned*, mouldy as applied to cheese; cross or peevish, as applied to children.

13. *good now* (last word). Mr. S. says that he never actually heard this phrase in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, but that it is common in N. and E. Devon.

14. *night*, no (n) in s.Dv., but see p. 159, note to par. 14.—*to crow over any one* (m'n) is a common word.

15. *tolling*, dottering.

SOUTH-WEST DEVON cwl.

written in Glossie by Mr. J. Shelly, and pal. from that and other indications by A.J.E.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 4 téek. 5 méek. 6 méed. 7 séek. 19 teel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 zéem. 24 zhéem. 25 meen. 32 baath [as the rec. subst.]. 33 rædher. 34 los.

A: 41 dhæqk. 43 hæen. 44 hen. 46 kan'l. 51 mæn. 54 waant. 55 eshez. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 vrim vræm. 59 læem. 60 loq. 62 straq. 64 raq. 65 zoq.

A'- 69 nu. 72 ə. 73 zoə [emph., (zə) unemph.]. 74 tɔ ty [emphatic]. 76 twúed. 78 aa. 79 aar. 81 léen. 84 múer móer. 87 klóoz. 92 naa. 94 kraa. 95 dhraa.

A': 102 eks, eeks. 104 rúed róed. 105 raad. 110 nat. 111 aatt. 115 hóm [h generally sounded]. 117 wan [e.Dv. wæn]. 121 gaan. 122 naan. 123 nath'n. 124 ston. 125 o'nì. 127 hoos, hoos. 129 goo'wst. 130 boot. 133 raat. — roov [a row or rank].

Æ- 138 vaadhur. 140 heel. 144 uge'n. 150 leest. 152 wa'ter. Æ: 160 eeg. 165 zed. 166 méed. 169 wen wan. 173 wez. 175 fas íaz. 179 wa't. Æ'- 182 zee. 183 teetj. 184 leed. 185 reed. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 kleen. 194 enì. 195 menì. 199 bleet. 200 weat. 202 jet. Æ': 203 spectj. 213 eedher [only in eithermore = however]. 215 taat. 216 deel. 217 eetj. 218 zhpj, zhép. 219 zleep. 223 dhíer. 224 wíer. 226 maast.

E- 232 briik. 233 speek. 238 ædj. 241 reen. — brim'l [bramble]. 248 múer. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. E: 257 ædj. 261 zee. — beed [a bed]. — twelv [twelve]. 272 el'm. 280 leb'n. 281 lee'kth. 284 dresh. E'- 290 hii [emph., gen. (v) unemph.]. 292 mii. 293 we [emph. (as)]. 300 keep. 301 jar. 302 meet. 303 zweet. E': 305 ai. 306 eet, éet. 311 ten [usually half a score]. 312 jar. 314 jærd. 316 múest.

EA: 322 la'f. 324 áit e'ít. 325 waak. 328 kaald. 335 aol. 336 vaal. 337 waul. 343 warm. 346 grét. EA': 347 heed. 348 ái e'í. 349 vœ. EA': 350 deed. 352 ærd. 355 diif diiv. — tá [verb]. tá [subs. in bed-tie, the local name for feather-bed]. 361 bern. 363 tjeep. 371 stree straa.

EI- 373 dhee. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zæb'n zeb'n. 385 binæth, binædh. 387 nœ. EO: 388 milk. 390 shid. 402 larn. 406 éeeth. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 dhree. 412 shii [emph. obj. (ær told 'shii te du et)].

414 vlái. vl'í. 417 tš'á. 420 vaaer. EO': 425 lə'it [rarely (liet)].
 430 vrind. 434 beet. 435 ʝ [gen., unemph. (i) meaning *ye*?]. EY- 438
 dáai [very much drawled]. EY: 439 tríst.

I- 440 weck. 446 náin [drawled]. — peez peez'n [pea peas]. 449 gít.
 I: 452 ə'i. ái. 455 láí le'í. 458 nə'ít [rarely (níit) as in e.Dv.]. 459 rə'ít
 [correct, but (ərt) straight]. 460 we'jt. 462 zə'ít. 465 sítʃ zítʃ. 466 tʃiel.
 — gíld [a guild]. 473 blə'in bláind. 475 wínd. 476 bwáind, [occ.] báind.
 477 və'in. 479 wáind. 485 dæsh'l. 488 ʝít. — zeks [occ. ziks]. — het
 [hít]. I'- 490 báí be'í. 491 sə'ít. 493 dræv. 499 bít'l. I': 500
 lə'ík [rarely (lek)]. 502 váiv. 503 lə'iv. 505 wə'iv [rarely used]. 506
 hómén.

O- 522 AAP'n. 523 haap. — barn [horn]. 524 wərd'l. O: 528
 thóit [subst.] thóft [yb.]. 531 daatər [rarely (dátur)]. 534 haal. 538 wól,
 id. 552 karn. 554 kraas. O'- 555 shə. 560 skəl. 562 mən [perhaps
 more gen. (myn)]. 564 zyn [very short, or (zin)]. 565 naaz. O': 569
 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 575 stəd. 576 wenzdi. 582 kəl.
 584 stəl. 585 brym brəm [more gen. (y)]. 586 dyv, də. 587 dín. 588
 nən. 589 spən. 590 [splenshin] that is, planking, is used for floor]. — bəzəm
 [bosom]. 594 bət. 595 vət.

U- 599 əbyv. 606 dōvər. U: 608 ugli. 615 pə'yn. 618 wə'ynd.
 619 və'yn. 620 grə'yn. 629 zin. 636 vədher. U'- 640 kə'y. 641 ə'y.
 643 nə'y. — pləm [plum]. 652 kíd, kyd. 653 bít. U': 656 rəm.
 659 tə'yn. 663 hə'ys.

Y- 674 dád. 677 drái. Y: 684 bərd. 685 ərd. 686 báí. 689
 bíld. — kíndí [kindly]. 691 máin [(miind) in e. and n.Dv.]. Y'- 706
 wə'í [occ. (wé)]. 712 [(miis) at Totness and in n.Dv.].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 tréed tréed. 737 méet. I and Y. 754 peg. U. — pud'n
 [pudding]. — bish [bush].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 faks. 842 plensh. 852 eepən. — martjənt [merchant]. 854
 báat. 864 bikəz. E.. 867 tce. — zavv [serve]. I.. and Y.. 910
 djə'íst. O.. — rəb [rob]. 916 i'qien. — dʒə'in [join]. 922 bish'l.
 938 kaander. — zart [sort]. 941 vyvl. 952, i. kyv's, ii. kəs [hence probably
 (bikəs) by course, in or of course, used for because, see 864]. 956 kiver.
 U.. 960 kee. — dʒidʒ [judge]. — papit [pulpit]. 969 zhəvər. 970
 djíst djēs.

CONSONANTS.

B is not omitted after *m*, except in (brim'l) bramble, and when final.

Ch remains except occasionally in (kist) chest.

D remains after *n*, but is omitted after *ol* in (ool kool) old cold, it is inserted
 in (kaander) corner, *dd* does not become (dh) when medial as in *ladder*.

F initial is often (v).

H is seldom dropped, according to Mr. Shelly, but sometimes prefixed in emphatic
 words, and replaced by (ʝ) in (ʝet, ʝætər, ʝæfel, ʝə'v) heat, heater, handful,
 howl.

L is never dropped, and *-lm* final becomes often two syllables as (eləm filəm)
 elm film especially in e.Dv.

N becomes *l* in (ii'vln jii'vln) evening.

R is (r) only when dwelled upon. Mr. Shelly not feeling sure that it is really
 pronounced, he says he heard 200 children singing "send her victorious,
 happy and glorious" and could detect no *r* at all. It seems probable that he
 had not separated (ə, ə, v) simply, from these sounds as modified by turning
 up the tongue, which alters their character. I have consequently, as the
 result of much correspondence, introduced (r) frequently in the preceding list
 and es. although in his first writing he omitted it. As I was a considerable

time myself before I could recognise this very peculiar modification, I can well appreciate his difficulty. My own impression is that it is always reverted or retracted, even before vowels, and when preceding *t, d, n, l* reverts or retracts these also. But these cases I have left unmarked. The following cases, where Mr. S. marks the absence of *r*, may therefore be marked, as in other S. cases, as having a transposed *r*, (kærzimus gært gærts æpærn ærtj bærd bærtjæn) Christmas great groats apron rich bread breeches.

S of the plural becomes (-en) in (hæ'yzæn bət'l'n pæzæn) houses bottles peas.

T is lost in (wis'l, kaas'l, dæsh'l, ræs'l, ʌʌf'n; æk fæk) whistle, castle, thistle, wrestle, often; act, fact.

Th, there is "a general tendency to substitute (dh) for (th), as (dhiq) for (thiq)."

V is lost in (gii) give, and becomes (b) in (zeb'n) seven, it never becomes (w).

W is omitted before *r* and in (had, hæmmen) wood woman; would is (wid); *wh* is always (w).

My especial thanks are due to Mr. Shelly for the great assistance which he has given me and the work he has done for me in sw.Dv., from 1868 to 1886, continually attending to every point of difficulty which arose. It will be perceived that he is mainly corroborated from Devonport and Millbrook, the differences being simply those of appreciation, and that the real differences in n. and s., e. and w. Dv. and e. Co. are not sufficient to form districts for, but are mere varieties of substantially the same dialect.

DEVONPORT BY PLYMOUTH dt.

Town pron., pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. John Tenney, Chancery Audit Office, native, compared with that of Mr. J. B. Rundell, native, see Millbrook.

1. soo' æ'i séei, MEETS, jíy⁵ sii næ'y⁵, dhæt æ'i bi r,ə'it ebə'y⁵t dha't l'i'l mee'id kæm'in fr'em dhæ skúil [skyy⁵] ovÉR dhéer.

2. shii'z [æ'z] gúeen dæ'y⁵n dhæ r,oo'⁵d [r,ə'⁵bd] dhéer, thr,yy⁵ dhæ r,í'd gært on dhæ líft a'nd sæ'id by dhæ weei.

3. shoó⁵er, næf dhæ tjil'z gææn str,ə'it op ty⁵ dhæ doo⁵er, ev dhæ r,oo' æ'y⁵s.

4. wéer, pr,ə'ps shii'l [æ',l] fæ'nd dha't dræqk'in diif dræ'id op fr'le kAald :toməs.

5. wi [ɹs] nòz)'n ver,i we'l.

6. wo'nt dhi oo'⁵l tjə'p sy⁵n tectj)er, not ty⁵ dy⁵ it vgeen, p,oo'⁵er, thi'q.

7. lyy⁵k! EE)nt et tr,yy⁵?

Notes.

Observe that (o¹⁵, y⁵) mean (o¹, y) with projected lips. The letters o, r, q are called (oo¹⁵, pii, kyy⁵), but coal is called (ka). Mr. T. himself noted that in *so you* it was necessary to project the lips considerably to bring out the sound.

1. *I*. The analysis of long *i* is not perfect. I write as I seemed to observe. Mr. T.'s varied between (æ'i) and (ə'i). Mr. Rundell seemed generally to use the latter. Perhaps both meant (á'i) at all times.—*you*. This seemed to be diphthongal in Mr. T.'s speech. I did not observe this

character in Mr. R.'s.—*now*. This diphthong was precisely the same as at Iddesleigh, both for Mr. T. and Mr. R., though perhaps less forcible in the s. than in the n.—*right*. The *r* in Mr. T.'s pron. was treated very much like the London *r* as I at first appreciated. But after attentively examining Mr. R.'s, I concluded that his was retracted (r₁) and not reverted (r), and this agreed with Mr. R.'s own appreciation, see Millbrook. As both Messrs. T. and R. were natives of Devonport, I concluded that Mr. T.'s had been more reduced to the London level.—

school. I appreciated (skúel), and Mr. T. wrote *skooil*. But Mr. R. decidedly had (skyyi), which would be the regular form.

2. *she is* and *her is* are quite interchangeable. Mr. T. wrote *shee-z*, and Mr. R. *ur-z*.—*through*. Both Mr. T. and Mr. R. gave (thr,-) and not (dr,-) in this word. Rev. H. S. Wilcocks of Stoke, which adjoins Devonport, gave *dr-*, which is certainly the purer form, though Mr. T. said he had heard (thr-) five miles away in the country.

3. *enough*. Mr. T. had never heard

enow.—*child*. Mr. T. says (tjiil) is used for either sex.

4. *dried up*, because *shrivelled* is not used, but (shr) is used, as (shr,imps, shr,ab).—*called*. This word would be used, *name* = (neem).

6. *chap* is not often used, (ma¹n) is more common; a woman will speak of her husband as (ma¹i tja¹p); the man generally speaks of his wife as (ma¹i mi¹es), but (oo¹l d¹æmən) may also be heard.—*thing*, with (th-) in town and (dh-) in country.

FROM MILLBROOK Co.

2 sw.Plymouth, on the other side of the Hamoaze. Specimen written in glossic by Mr. J. B. Rundell, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, who lived there as a boy from 4 to 10, and has had frequent opportunities of refreshing his memory. Pal. by A.JE. from xv. instruction in 1885. The specimen is supposed to be a dialogue between two persons A and B, and is constructed so as to bring in the principal peculiarities. The pron. is thorough s.Dv., and Mr. Rundell states that having had occasion to visit Padstow in Co., he was surprised to find the speech practically the same.

1 A. g₁d mar₁n̄n t₁i, neeber, j₁m əp brəv₁en)ər₁li dh̄s mar₁n̄n. wébr, bī egween t₁ zo zy₁n?

2 B. AA! g₁d mar₁n̄n t₁i j₁y₁, m̄o'i d̄iur, w̄o'i, j₁ zii var₁mer, əbz ez tjiil'z ət₁k bæd w̄idh dh̄e mee'lz, en ə'i)m gween d̄o'y₁n t̄o'y₁n t₁i d̄okter'z ə'y₁s t₁i vet₁'n var₁)'n.

3 A. AA! ər₁z egot dh̄e mee'lz ev)ər₁? [æth ər₁). ər₁z ly₁kt kry₁l w̄isht var₁, dh̄is var₁tn̄o'it p̄æst. ər₁ m̄odher, t̄o'ul mi ər₁ ky₁d'n ḡit ər₁, t₁i eet n̄oth̄n en ər₁, w̄az ez week)s, v rēb̄n.

4 B. is, ə'i zid var₁mer, əbz h̄izself i'stərde, æz ə'i wez in dh̄e viil dr̄ee'n̄ t̄ər₁mets, en)i)zid i th̄oft i m̄as k̄æl in dh̄e d̄okter, əz ə'i wez ək̄əm̄n əp dh̄e leen d̄r̄is n̄ə'y₁ ə'i met₁'n ege'n, en i æk₁st mi t₁i ḡo var₁)'n t₁i w̄ənst.

5 A. j₁d betər, mek eest dh'n. sh̄il ə'i zii)i b̄ə'i)m' b̄ə'i in dh̄e eevn̄n ət dh̄e t̄i'dliwi'qk? en wii)l ev v p̄ə'nt ev sw̄ə'ips teḡidher,

Notes.

1. *good*. The sound was decidedly a deeper (y), approaching (ə), in some cases almost (ə).—*morning*, the (r) was decidedly retracted and not reverted, it was very faintly marked, not nearly so strong as at Iddesleigh.—*neighbour*, the (ee) did not seem to approach (e), and there was no suspicion of a following (j).—*you'm*, you am, the regular conversational form.—*up*, this form (əp, ap, AAP) seems to run through this group, D 10 and 11, and indeed occurs also in D 4.

2. *my*, this (ə'i) was the nearest approach I could make to this diphthong, which was certainly not (ai), and not even (a'i), before mutes, but became so before sonants, as *white*, *wide* (wə'it, waid).—*down town house*, at first hearing this diphthong sounded to me as (ə'u) and it was not till after close examination and continual repetition that I was convinced the sound was (ə'y⁵). See the remarks on Iddesleigh (p. 158); the action of the mouth was identical with that there described, wide open for the

first element, with the lips closed nearly and projected for the second.—*house* with final (s) not (z), *to doctor's house to fetch him for him*.

3. *her*, used either for *he* or *she*. Mr. R. did not know of the distinction (v, ɛr) *he, she*.—*wisht*, wished, poorly, haggard.—*told*, here I think the diph-

thong was (ə'u) or (ou), it was certainly not (a'y₁).—*robin*, the bird.

4. *drawing*, i.e. pulling up, *turnips*.—*thought*, the form (thəft with (f) is very common.—*at once*, the sound seemed more like (wənst) than anything else.

5. *by and bye*, *tiddiwink* small public-house or beershop.

VAR. iii. e.Co.

CAMELFORD (14 W. LAUNCESTON) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of Miss Ada Hill, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. zoo ái *zee*, méuts, ju zii nə'u dhət ái bi ráit ɛbə'ut dhat lit'l gərl kəm'in frəm dhek'i sku^{yl}.

2. ɛr)z v gu'in də'um dhɛ róed dhɛr θruu dhɛ rɛd gést ɔn dhɛ lɛft hən sáid v dhɛ *wee*.

3. shoʊr ɛnoʊu dhɛ tʃiild)z gòn street ɛp tɛ dhɛ dóer v dhɛ roq ə'uz.

4. wɛr ɛr)l bi láik tɛ fáind dhek'i drɛk'ɔn diif wiz'nd fɛlɛ v dhɛ névɔn v :təmɔs.

5. ɛs aal noʊ)ɔn vɛri wɛl.

6. wɛnt dhɛ ɔʊl tʃɛp zun tɛtʃ [lɛrn] ɛr nɔt tɛ du)it ɛg'in [ɛgen], puur dhɛiq !

7. luk ɛz)'nt [id)'nt] it truʊ ?

Notes.

1. *mates*, (sɛni), not (zini), is commonly used in place of 'mate,' even to old people.—*now*, I wrote (ə'u) from dictation, but do not feel at all certain, because of my initial mistake for Millbrook (p. 167 note on *down*), that it was not (a'y₁), here and at St. Colomb Major notwithstanding the different analysis.—*I be*, so generally, Miss H. never heard *I's* (see Cardynham) nor *I are*, but she knew *wɛ'm you'm* for *we are, you are*.—*girl*, Miss H. had heard (gɛr'l), (meed)maid, is common enough for a young girl under twelve, (tʃiild) is only used for children before they can speak properly, and she did not know of its exclusive confinement to girls. She, however, uses it generally

in par. 3.—*that*, (dhek'i) a very common word.—*school*, not (skyy:l, there was a tendency towards 'u' shewn by (uɛ). I got *schuile sheur* from Padstow.

2. *through*, Miss H. was confident that it did not become (ɔruu ɔry₁), although (ɔrii) takes the place of (θrii), see also Millbrook. I got *drew* from Padstow.

3. *enough*, “(ɛnɛ:t) is also heard, not (ɛnɛ:f).”

4. *wizened, shrivelled* not known, but (shr-) initial is used.

6. *chap* is properly a young fellow who works in the quarries, called also a “quarry nipper.”—*thing, think*, both have initial (dh).

The two following dt. are given with much hesitation, but they are the best I could obtain, and the writers had taken so much trouble that I thought it best to insert them.

CARDY'NHAM (3½ enc. Bodmin).

dt. from a very careful translation in io. with long aq. by Mr. Thos. H. Cross, national schoolmaster, not a native, but much of my interpretation remains conjectural. The pronunciation was obtained by Mr. Cross from an old labourer whose family had been 150 years in the parish.

1. zoo ə'i zee, bóiz, jéy₁ zii ne'u, et ə'i)m ráit béut dhiki lét'l meed kāmən frəm dhe skuul jándər.

2. ær)z egáin de'un dhiki róed dhíer thru dhe rəd gírt ən dhe líft hæn sáid ev dhe wee.

3. shóer ení'f dhe tʃil ez gá'un street əp tɜ dóur ev dhe raq e'us.

4. wíer er wil tʃæns tɜ vend dhiki drəʃkən dif wizend feber ev dhe néəm ev :tæms.

5. æs ool nooz ən wɛrɪ wɛl.

6. went dhiki óald sáni séum teetʃ shi nat tɜ déy₁)et gen, puur thi'q!

7. læk si! ɛd)'n)it truú?

Notes.

1. *so, say.* The initial (z) was written in these two words only, not in *soon* and *side*. This may have been an oversight.—*boys*, written *bo-oyz*, which, judging from other spellings, may mean (bóiz), but (bóiz) seemed the more probable sound.—*you* written *ya-ev* and explained “*a* as in *hater*, *u* as French *u*, *ya-u* quickly.”—*now*, explained “*same* sound *a*, *ow* as in *cow*, pronounced quickly, the *a* very distinct.”—*that*, the abridged form (ət), said to be “*very* common.”—*I am* written *oi um* with the variant *I*'s, which is also stated to be “*very* common, more so than *oi um*.” In 1865 TH. heard (ái)z)ə'd) I have had, from a miner from Gwennap (3 se. Redruth), but that is in D 12. I conjecture that *oi*, which was used in *right side*, meant (ə'i).—*school* written *skole*, altogether doubtful.—*yonder*, Mr. C. says he never heard *yínder* till he came here, but has often noticed it.

3. “*cheel* is the term for *girl*.”

4. *find*, the form *vend* was unexpected.—*drunken* written *dro-un-ken* and said to be so pronounced, which is so unlikely that I have not ventured to give it. Mr. C. may have meant that *o* was substituted for *u*, as in the next note, see also (əp) written *op* for *up*.

5. *all*, “*there* is a remarkable presence of the letter *o* which gives the word the sound of (h)ole,” but he writes *o-all*, so his *dro-un-ken* may indicate a substitution.—*very*, Mr. C. has never heard (w) for (v) in any other word, “*and* in this case it is only in slight use,” it is probably an error.

6. *sonny*, commonly used as an address, but said to have been obtained from a labourer in this phrase.

The *r* I have left unmarked before a vowel, from pure uncertainty.

ST. COLUMB MAJOR (11 wsw. Bodmin)

and about ten miles round: dt. written by Mr. T. Rogers of the St. Wenn National School, Bodmin, with the help of the members of the Reading Room, in which each portion of the dt. was discussed. The original io. was difficult to understand, and although Mr. R. kindly furnished very full explanations, I cannot be quite sure that I have always interpreted them rightly in the following pal. translation.

1. s[zoo ái s[zee, kəmree'dz, d) i s[zii nəóó dhət ái)m ráit bəóót dhiki lét'l meed kāmən frəm dhe sk[óúul jAANDər.

2. shii)z geen dóón dhe rood dhíer druu dhe rəd geet ən dhe líft hæn s[záid əv dhe wee.

3. s_lziúr næf dhæ tpiild)z gən stráit ap tæ dhæ dúbr əv dhæ ræq hooós,

4. wíer sh)il tjeens tæ váin dhikí draqkin díef skrúnod fæb əv dhæ néean əv :təms.

5. wi aal na en wæl)æ) fáin.

6. wənt dh)ool tjeap s_lzunn teetj ər net tæ duu)ət ɛgen, púvər kreerə!

7. lək! ɛd)nt)et triú!

Notes.

1. *so say see.* These were said to begin with (s) followed by a faint sound of (z), in that case they would form the transitional sound from (z) to (s).—*I right.* The phonographic sign for (ái) was given, but the actual analysis of the diphthong is conjectural.—*comrades,* with the accent on the second syllable, the usual word for ‘mates.’—*now about,* etc. The diphthong, written *nōōw*, was explained as “*o* in *not* or *innovate*, but rather short, *ow* as *sparrow*.” This gives the transcription (nəōō). For *hout, down, house,* Mr. R. used these spellings, and said of *house* “*ou* as in *sparrow*, with the *o* prolonged slightly.” It seems to me that the analysis is certainly wrong, and that (ə’ú), heard from Camelford, is more correct. But the explanation was so explicit I felt bound to adopt it.—*I’m* “is used in such sentences as ‘I’m gain tã town,’ *I be* in answering questions, as: ‘are you one? eēs I be,’ not ‘I am.’”—*right.* “The *r* is trilled in many cases, *droo* for instance. A big boy in school once said to me, ‘how many dree hapenees in dreppens,’ with a trill on each *r*, the point of the tongue touching the gums of the front teeth of the upper jaw and then vibrating. But when *r* occurs at the end of a word, it is not trilled, as far as I am aware, but the

tongue is withdrawn back to the throat in pronouncing it. In *droo* there is a trill, in *drunken* not, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth [for *d?*] and then withdrawing. In *strite* and *trew* there is a slight trill in the first word, and a strong one in the second.—*strite.* The front part of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth in front; the tip, the top of the gums in the lower jaw, and the tongue is drawn backwards, and the tip lifted upwards at the same time.

2. *trew.* The tongue (tip) touches the gums in front in the upper jaw, and is then quickly withdrawn back to the throat past its normal position in the mouth.” This would generally indicate (r, ɾ) with occasional (r, ɾ). Under these circumstances I have retained (r) before a vowel, but used (ɾ) final.—*from* or (vrəm, f_lvrəm).—*school.* This was written *skōōl*, and explained to be *o*, as in *not*, but *very* short, followed by *ō*, as in *hoot*.’ This I have endeavoured to render by (sk_ləúul), but I think that this is probably wrong. Perhaps he meant (skə’uul), a generating sound of (skyy_l), but everything is uncertain. I generally got *schule*, *skewl* in io. from Co.

3. *enough,* ‘the *f* strongly accented.’

6. *her,* ‘*she* is but rarely used for *her*.’

Although these examples of e.Co. leave much to be desired, they evidently shew a dying out of Dv. forms, and the characteristic (ɾ, y_l) are more or less implied.

D 12 = w.WS. = western West Southern.

Boundary. On the e. the w. b. of D 11 from Falmouth Harbour to Pirran Bay (p. 156) b. are made up of the sw. coast of Co.

Area. The w. of Co., to the w. of Truro, together with the Scilly Islands (24 wsw. Land's End).

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.

Co. ° † Gwennap, * Marazion, * Penzance, ° St. Just, ° St. Stithians.

Character. None can be given. The mode of speech is said to vary much from place to place, not more than ten or twelve miles apart, and most of the WS. characters seem to have disappeared. Down to 200 years ago some Cornish was still spoken in these regions. How the change to English came about, I do not know, but it was clearly not imported from the e., because we find scarcely a vestige of Dv. phraseology or pronunciation. The miners, who abound, are a mixed race. Many words of Cornish origin remain. The phrases used are picturesque, and the spelling which the dialect-writers of west Cornish have adopted is also rather picturesque than phonetic. It would be necessary to study the pronunciation of each neighbourhood on the spot from the mouths of natives, and for such a haphazard speech as appears to prevail, this would be hardly worth while. At the same time, any tolerably complete view would demand too much space.

Tregellas, as quoted by Mr. T. Q. Couch ("East Cornish Words"), remarks on the peculiar sing-song of the West Cornwall speakers, and its lessening and alteration in character on proceeding eastward, through Trevednack (? Towednack, 2 sw. St. Ives), St. Ives (7 ssw. Penzance), Hayle (4 se. St. Ives), and Camborne (4 wsw. Redruth), and says that, "e. of Camborne, even at Redruth, the natural accent has died away, nor is it again heard from the more guttural speakers of Redruth, Gwennap (3 se. R.), and St. Agnes (6 n-by-e.R.). But . . . the miner of Perranzabuloe (7 nw. Truro) expresses himself uniformly in a full note higher than his adjoining parish of St. Agnes, and no sooner have you passed Cranstock (8 wsw. St. Columb Major) and Cubert (2 s. Cr.), and entered into St. Colomb's," than you begin to hear (z-) for (s-), in first to a small and then to a large extent. This agrees precisely with Mr. Hodge's b. of e. and w. Cornwall passing between Cranstock and Cubert, and here adopted (p. 156).

Mr. William Noye kindly wrote me a version of the es. for Penzance, and I took it down from his dictation in 1873. In 1876 I went over it with Mr. Rawlings, of Hayle, who was exceedingly well acquainted with the speech of his neighbourhood. He differed from Mr. Noye in a great number of particulars, and found the es. so ill adapted for exhibiting the west Cornish peculiarities, that he re-wrote a portion of it, which I pal. from his dict. in Feb. 1876. It seems, therefore, advisable to limit any examples to this particular specimen, which, as will be seen, is founded on the es. He locates his yarn in Marazion (3 e. Penzance), and entitles it

JACKY TRESISE, A MARAZION SPECIMEN.

1. :djæk'i :tuzaiz sɛd: oo! 'hii læaf! hi did'nt læaf wen v rand wɛe læst krez'məs frəm thə giiz-débnsez, en sɛd tu ən :mæl'i :pɔlgre:n, dhet hii d siid v pɛs'ki. 'hii ed'nt wath v snaf!

2. sid'n, did'shi? dræqk ái spooz? kráí-ín tu? zæk'li láik'n!! náu, áil tel'i :djéumz, ái nev'v láik'n — aa'lez kráid ín dhe rɔq ples!

3. ái wɛz dáun tu :midhien mít'n lést sænde, en æk'l :tɔm :ves'nt priitjt ebaút dhe páuv :samarítun—wi hæd v klæb fiist dhe dee vfoo', en 'səm)ɛv)ez iit enaf fe djent'lmen — en dhe wɔz'nt a drái ái en dhe mít'n, sept 'hiiz.

4. soo ái sɛd tu: en: "háu ær'i soo ankensaa'nd?"

5. en sez hii: "djæk'i, v do'nt kensaa'n mií, kAAZ ái do'nt liv ín jo' pær'ish. ái oo'nli steed af tɛ dhe klæb fiist, kAAZ ái wɛz a lit'l fud'ld wi bíiv."

6. æz tɛ siiren əb)'m, hi wɔd'n kəm ín tɛ mái háus en nɔt bi siid! áu' :mɛəri táuld mi oo'nli :mæn'de iib'mín, hii'rín ebaút dhe tæntremz v kikt ep dáun tɛ :tjættj :táun;

7. "ez'nt hæaf v mæn," sez shii, "hii-l gæz'l aal dhe lík v hi kən hɛttj en skreep, en v dɛ pee noo'budí. sɛm dɛ see hi ed'nt paatik'le ebaút tee'kín wɔt ed'nt ez oon. dhe klooz v hæd ən v nev'ə peed dha pækmen fa. en ái wɔd'nt," sez shii, "træs'n ín áur eel tjeem'be báí usel'f.

8. "ái bliiv íf hii-d nɔth'ín iit'ín a drɛk'ín, hii-d teek v læmp v shug'v áut ə dhə níeriz keedj. ái nev'ə siid ə fel'ə láik'n fɛ[r iit'ín, sept drɛk'ín, ái bliiv hii-z láik v kloom'en kæt, hii-z hɔl'v dáun tɛ hiz tooz."

1. John Tresise said: Oh! *he* laugh! he didn't laugh when he ran away last Christmas from the guise-dancers, and said to aunt Molly Polgrain, that he'd seen a piskey. *He* isn't worth a snuff!

2. Saw-him, did-she? drunk, I suppose? Crying too? Exactly like-him! Now, I'll tell you, James, I never liked him—always cried in the wrong place!

3. I was down at Mithian meeting, last Sunday, and uncle Tom Vincent preached about the poor Samaritan—we had a club feast the day before, and *some* of us ate enough for gentlemen—and there wasn't a dry eye in the meeting, except he's.

4. So I said to-him: "How are-you so unconcerned?"

5. And says he: "Jacky, he doesn't concern *me*, because I don't live in your parish. I only stayed after the club-feast, because I was a little fuddled with beer."

6. As to seeing of him, he wouldn't come into *my* house and not be seen! Our Mary told me only Monday evening, hearing about the tantrums he kicked up down to Church Town;

7. "Isn't half a man," says she, "he'll guzzle all the liquor he can hitch and scrape, and he do pay nobody. Some do say he isn't particular about taking what isn't his own. The clothes he had on he never paid the packman for. And I wouldn't," says she, "trust-him in our hall chamber by himself.

8. "I believe if he'd nothing eating or drinking, he'd take a lump of sugar out of the canary's cage. I never saw a fellow like-him for eating, except drinking, I believe he's like an earthenware cat, he's hollow down to his toes."

Notes.

1. *guise dancers*. Christmas mummers, dancers in fancy guise.—*aunt*. This "aunt" is said to have been the usual mark of respect for the Virgin Mary. It reminds one of the American negro Uncle and Aunt.—*piskey*, metathesis for (pik'si) *pixy* or fairy, as (waps for *wasp*, etc.—*snuff*, namely, a candle-snuff, the most worthless thing he could think of.

3. *Mithian* is a small curacy 6 mw. Truro.—*meeting*, that is, a Non-conformist chapel or preaching house.—*uncle*, a title of respect, see *aunt*, par. 1.—*poor*, a little confusion between the "good" Samaritan and the unfortunate man he relieved.—*he's* apparently for *his*, but it may have been only (hiz) for (hiz); the common *hissen* is not used here.

5. *He*, the (v) is *her*, less the aspirate

and the trill of *r*, and *her* is used for *he*, a southern importation. Of course the joke is a very ancient one, Cornwallised for the occasion.

6. *Church Town*, the name always given to the place where the church is.

7. *parkman*, the pedlar who carries round a pack of cloth for sale.—*hall-chamber*, the chief room of the house is so called, however small it may be.—*himself*, but written "herself." See *her* for *he* in par. 5.

8. *if he'd nothing*, etc., that is, if he was not engaged in eating or drinking something.—*earthenware*. (kloom) is a common Cornish word for earthenware. A common red earthen pitcher with two handles is called (v kloom bas'e), where the (v) is peculiar, perhaps a (u), and I occasionally heard it like an (a).

As this was a vv. specimen of pronunciation, I have extracted some of the principal words, and I have also taken those given by Miss Courtney in the introduction to her "West Cornwall Glossary." But I am quite unable from both, and also from looking over many books of West Cornish tales and rhymes, to make out any satisfactory characteristics. There appear, however, to be some traces of D 11 from e.Co. and Dv., as 1) the metathesis of s and consonant in (pisk'i, klaeps, haeps) *pixy*, *clasp*, *hasp*; 2) the use of ('n) for acc. him, it; 3) (tjil) for a girl; 4) the neutral infinitive in (-i) as (digi, hæki, peenti, waaki) to dig, hack, paint, walk. Miss Courtney also adduces the use of (bii, beent, ai bi, bii-i?) for am, is-not, I am, are you?; but they do not seem to occur in the literature, and the disuse of *be* was one of the marks by which Mr. Hodge was enabled to draw the line between e. and w.Co.

WEST CORNISH COWL.

Unmarked generally or marked R, words from Mr. Rawlings's example.

C words for the Land's End and adjacent districts from introduction to Miss Courtney's Glossary, conjecturally palaeotyped.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 C hærv. 30 C kir. 34 kébst. A: or O: 61 C eməq. 64 raq.
 A'- 92 C naa. A': 123 noth'n. Æ- 141 C néel. 143 C téel.
 Æ: — C haeps [hasp]. Æ'- 182 C see. 193 C kleen. Æ': —
 iibm'n [evening]. 249 C wite [according to Westlake]. — iit [eat]. 251 C
meat. E: 263 ewee. E'- 290 hii [strong], v [weak]. 296 C bleep.
 302 C māt, R mī't'n [meeting]. E': 314 hīad. EA: 322 hæef. 334
 hæef & C. 338 C kæel. EA'- 348 C ai. — jīe [ear]. EA': 366 C
 geet. EO: — jæle [yellow]. 406 C jæath [Westlake, also iærth]. EY: 439
 trēs)'n [trust him]. I: 466 C tjil. 482 ed'nt [is'nt]. — krips [crisp].

I': 500 laik. O: 525 əb'm [of him]. 533 C dəl. 541 C went. 546
 fA. O'- — C grAA [grow]. O': — C huuk [hook]. — C huud [hood].
 U- 603 C kuun. U: 635 wath. U- 641 hau. U': 658 dāun.
 Y-' — kiit [a kite].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — niri [canary]. — C kleps [clasp]. E. — C biit [peat]. — C
 skiin [skain]. I. and Y. — piski [pixy]. — shev [shiver]. U. —
 fud'ld [fuddled]. 804 draqk. — puz'l [to puzzle].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 ples. — pee [pay]. — C mææstə [master]. — C ænjəl [angel,
 possibly (ænjəl)]. 849 C strænʒə [possibly (streenʒə)]. 850 déens. 851 an.
 — sk'iv [square]. 866 páuv. E.. 867 C tee. — C seekrut [secret]. —
 — siin [a seine, net]. — releev [relieve]. — bream [bream, fish]. —
 ænkensaa'nd [unconcerned]. 891 fiist. 895 C riseev. I.. and Y.. — revv
 [river]. O.. — C kələm [column]. 933 C frant. U.. — shuger
 [sugar]. — giiz [guise].

THE SCILLY ISLES.

Miss Courtney in her West Cornish Glossary makes the Scillonian dialect different from that of Co., instancing *tread tree* for 'thread, three,' (ɔ'i) for (a'i) in (pɔ'int ɔ'ilz) pint, isles, and conversely (páint báil) for point, boil. She also draws a distinction between the speech of St. Mary's island containing the capital Hugh Town and the speech of the "Off-oislanders," as she writes them, who inhabit the smaller isles. This was in 1880. Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, vicar of Newlyn St. Peter, Penzance, kindly wrote to Mr. Dorrien Smith (proprietor, and familiarly known as "the King of Scilly"), who, in reply, dated Tresco Abbey, Isles of Scilly, 7 Aug. 1883, says, "I know of no place in the British Isles where the Queen's English is less massacred by the lower classes than it is in these islands. There is no dialect or any peculiarities of speech worth mentioning, and I can find no record of any having been spoken." Mr. Lach-Szyrma says compulsory education has prevailed for forty years and stamped out dialect, and that the people are mostly Cornish, some are said to be descended from the Cavaliers of Charles II. who settled there, and others from sailors from all parts (Scillonia once was a pirate station). The population is quite hybrid in all points, in appearance, physique, ideas, and language; a sort of gathering from the coast population generally, but with a strong Cornu-British element. Under these circumstances no dialectal value can be attached to any pronunciations there heard. I am indebted to Miss Toulmin Smith for the means of obtaining the above information.

II.

WESTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT
DISTRICTS.

Boundaries. The w. b. is the CB (p. 9) from the Bristol Channel to the point where the n. *sum* line 1 breaks from it. The n. and part of the e. b. are the n. *sum* line 1 (p. 15), from the point of its deflection from the CB to the point where the reverted *ur* line 3 (p. 17) joins the n. *sum* line 1 on the w. The rest of the e. b. is formed by the reverted *ur* line 3, from its w. junction with the n. *sum* line 1 to the Bristol Channel. The s. b. is the Bristol Channel between the CB and the reverted *ur* line 1.

Area. Portions of Mo., He., Sh. in England, and of Br., Rd., Mg. in Wales. This district represents on the e. comparatively late, and on the w. very modern invasions of the English language on the Welsh.

D 13 = SW. = South Western.

Boundaries. On account of the absence of detailed information, the n. b. is rather arbitrarily assumed to be first the b. of Rd. and Mg., and then of Mg. and Sh. as far as a little w. of Bishop's Castle (8 se. Montgomery); next, turning to the s. between Clun (13 w.-by-n. Ludlow) and Craven Arms (7 nw. Ludlow), nearly in an e. direction to just n. of Bewdley (3 wsw. Kidderminster, Wo.). This is merely meant to imply that at least a few miles n. and s. of this line the speech is sensibly different. The other b. are the w. e. and s. parts of those of the W. div.

Area. The e. part of Mo., almost all He., the greater part of Rd., the e. of Br., and a narrow slip to the s. of Sh.

Authorities. See the County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

He. ° Almerley, † Dinmore, ‖ Docklow, ‖ Hereford, † Leintwardine, † Leominster, ‖† Lower Bach Farm, ° Lucton, † Stockton, † Waeton, ° Weobley.

Sh. † Clun, † Ludlow.

Mo. ° Caerleon, ° Chepstow, * Llanover, ° Pontypool.

WALES.—*Br.* ° Brecon, * e.Br., ° Builth, ° Crickhowel.

Rd. ° Boughrood, ° Llanddewi Ystradenny, ° New Radnor.

Character. S. English spoken by Welshmen or their descendants, the e. side being more English and the w. side more Welsh, in fact, on the w. the speech is most like book Eng. spoken by foreigners, with occ. dialectal influence. The whole is very imperfect dialect, even in m. and e. He. marks of Welsh influence abound. In D 13 the groundwork is S. English, which has been altered by Celts in

a different way from D 10, 11. The initial (z, v) for (s, f) is almost extinct, and the initial employment of (dr) for (thr) is lost. The reverted (r) exists, but is generally inconspicuous and often uncertain, so that it would not be possible to correct line 3. The use of (ái) for AG, EG is uncertain. Some of the fractures A-(é), A' (ú) remain. The fine (ə) rather than (a) has developed itself for O' as well as U. The form (əth) for *with* is striking. The diphthongs for Y, U', are mildly (ɔ'i, ɔ'u).

For examples I am mainly indebted to specimens obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which he passed over to me, from Docklow, Hereford, Lower Bach Farm and Weobley in He., and Llanover in Mo. TH. also went over most of the ground, and brought me valuable information: he visited the sons of Mrs. Burgiss, of Lower Bach Farm, who were very polite in communicating their knowledge, which enabled me to understand better the information of Mr. Woodhouse, of Docklow. As these give the best idea of the dialect, I place them first, and then give a mixed cwl., which shews the n.He. habits of speech. Mr. Woodhouse's examples are full of local colouring. For Hereford itself, the speech had become too much like 'received' for me to cite two es. obtained for me by the Prince, and that from Weobley could only be conjecturally interpreted. It must be remembered that all s.He. belongs to D 4, in which it is treated (pp. 68-75). The w. of He. becomes more like Welsh English, and is treated afterwards. Of Rd. I know too little, but it is probably very like Mo., which will be noticed further on.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR n.He. and s.Sh.

LOWER BACHE (:beetj) FARM (3½ ene.Leominster) dt.

pal. by TH. from diet. of sons of Mrs. Burgiss.

1. nə'u ə'i)sâi, méuts, ju si nə'u ə'i bi rə'it ebə'ut dhat lit'l wensh kəm̄n frum dhe skuul jander.
2. ɛr)z egwâin də'un dhe rood dhéur thrə'u dhe red giət o)dhe)lift and sə'id o)dhe)wâi (wâ'i).
3. bə'i gəm̄ ! [shúer ɛnəf] ɛr)z gɔ'n stráit tɔ dhe roq ə'us.
4. wéer, lə'ik ɛnəf ɛr)l fə'ind dhat drəqk'n dəni áuld :təm̄.
5. wì aal nòu ìn wel ɛnəf.
6. ə'i)l bak i)l lærs ɛr betɛr)'n du)it egjə'n púer wentj !
7. luk ! jənt)it truu ?

Notes.

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. mates (ladz, tʃaps), if one person (sə'rɪ) sirrah. | 4. (dəni) deaf. |
|---|-----------------|

DOCKLOW (5 ese. Leominster).

Examples written "as near as possible how one of his farm-labourers would speak" by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, Leominster, Hereford, acquainted with the dialect 30 years in 1875; pal. by A.J.E. from his indications, and the information obtained at Lower Bache farm, about 2 miles off, by T.H.

ORIGINAL.

1. pliiz, mîsîs, dhe mîster told mi tɛ a'ks ju tɛ send :tɔmɛs ɛn :dʒiɛmz dɔ'ɔn tɛ ɪn ɪn dhe ʔai fîld, ɛz suun ɛz dhái ɛv dɔn ma'gɪtɪn dhe shíp, tɛ ɛlp ɪn tɛ tɛrn dhe ʔai, ɛn ɪn sed ɛz dhái wɛz tɛ brɪq sɛm pɔ'ɪks ɔth ɛm, ɛz sɔmbɔde ɛv ɪd tuu ɛz wɛz left dheer last nɔ'ɪt fɛ ga'lusnes, ɛr stool ɛm.

2. ɛn :bɪl ɪz tɛ teek ɛ ɔkshɛt ɛv wɛɛtɛr, ɪntɛ dhe sɪdz fɛr dhe kaavz, ɛn fɪl dheer traa fɛr ɛm, ɛn dhɛn brɪq dhe wa'gɪn tɛ dhe ʔai fîld. ɪi mɔst pɔt dhe fɪlɛr ɔs, ɛz :daarbi ɛd biɪ tuu restɪv fɛ dhe bwáai tɛ drɔ'ɪv ɔp dhe aartɪt, ɛz pra'ps ɪ ʔd rɔn ɛwáai ɛn spwɔ'ɪl ɪzself, ɛr sɔmɔt. ɛn ɪf jɛ wa'nts ɛni teetɛrz fɛr dɪnɛr, mîster told mi tɛ dɪq sɔm. ɪi sed ɛz sɔm ɔn jɛ ʔd pɔ'ɪnt ɔ'ut dhe framɛst tɛ miɪ, ɛn tel mi ɔ'u mɛni jɔ'u'd wa'nt.

3. jɛ mɛst pliiz tɛ ɔ'v dhe pɪgz pɛnd ɔp, fɛr dhái wɛz ɪn dhe wiit fîld ɛz ɔ'i kɔm ɔp, ɛn dhái ɛv wa'z'ld ɪt dɔ'ɔn veri ba'ld, dʒɛst thrɔ'u, dhe gɪt, ɛn fɔ'ɪn wɛrk ɔ'i ɔ'd tɛ get ɛm ɔ'ut ɛgáin, spɛsɛli dhe nɪsgɔl, ɪ rɔ'u mi ɔal ɔvɛr dhe fîld ɛfóvɛr ɔ'i kɔd get ɪm ɔ'ut.

4. mɔ'ɪ ɔald ʔmɛn told mi tɛ tel jɛ ɛz ɛr ɪz gwáain tɛ :lɛmstɛr tɛmɔrɔ, ɪf jɛ wa'nts tɛ send, ɛr ɛ gɔt sɔm fɔ'ɔlz tɛ sɪt. ɛr ɛd ɪntɛndɛd ɛm fɔ spa'regras tʒɪkɪnz. bɔt dhái waarnt frɛm ɛnɔf, sɔɔ ɛr ɛ ɔ'd tɛ kɪp ɛm tɪl nɔ'u. mîster ɪz gwáain tɛ send ɪn dhe bíbnz ɪ tɪld last wɪk, ɛn ɛr thɪqks ɛ getɪn ɛ rɔ'ɪd ba'k ɪn dhe wa'gɪn,

TRANSLATION.

1. Please, Mistress, the Master told me to ask you to send Thomas and James down to him in the hay field, as soon as they have done maggotting the sheep, to help him to turn the hay, and he said that they were to bring some pitchforks with them, as somebody has hid two that were left there last night for mischief, or stolen them.

2. And Bill is to take a hogshead of water, into the seeds = *clover* for the calves, and fill their trough for them, and then bring the waggon to the hay field. He must put the thiller (shait) horse, as Darby would be too restive for the boy to drive up the orchard, as perhaps he would run away and spoil himself, or something. And if you want any potatoes for dinner, master told me to dig some. He said that some of you would point out the ripest to me, and tell me how many you'd want.

3. You must please to have the pigs penned up, for they were in the wheat field as I came up, and they have wasselled it down very badly, just through the gate, and fine work I had to get them out again, specially the youngest, he ran me all over the field before I could get him out.

4. My old woman told me to tell you that she is going to Leominster to-morrow, if you want to send, or have got some fowls to sit. She had intended them for asparagus chickens, but they were not forward enough, so she has had to keep them till now. Master is going to send in the beans he tilled last week, and she thinks of getting a ride back in the waggon,

en if er f'owlz s'ilz wel, er miinz
brîq'ân v bit v bîf, ez wii bi gwáain
te a'v dhv jəq)en krîs'nd v
səndi, en gra'ni en gra'ndshər bi
kəm'ân te dîner eth wii. ə'i miinz
te beg v bət'l v sə'idər v mîester,
en a'v v bît v ba'kə fər dhv Aald
tʃa'p, ez ə'i shəd lə'ik te meek em
dʒəli en kəmfortəb'l.

and if her fowls sell well, she means
bringing a bit of beef, as we be going
to have the young one christened on
Sunday, and granny and grand-sire be
coming to dinner with us. I mean
to beg a bottle of cyder of master,
and have a bit of tobacco for the old
chap, as I should like to make them
jolly and comfortable.

Note, par. 2. (frām) is much used for early and ripe in He. Note, par. 3. (nîsgəl, called (nîzgəl) in Miss Jackson's glossary, is the youngest of a brood of fowls or litter of pigs. Mr. Woodhouse thinks it comes from *nest gosling* (nist gəl) in He.

w.He. and e.Br. Mr. Stead (p. 142), who lived for 6 or 7 years at Christ's College, Brecon, has kindly furnished me vv. with some of the principal peculiarities of the pronunciation of the e.Br. and w.He., which chiefly affect the following classes of words.

1. (ɛ̃) verging on (ɛ̃v, iv), but with both the vowels extremely short and difficult to catch, evidently the fracture which appears as (é̃v é̃v, í̃v í̃v) in D 4, but peculiar from the great shortness of the first element; found in A- bake take make sake cake tale lame name tame same shame mane late bathe, A'- lane, Æ- dray hail nail snail tail again slain brain, where in He. generally (áai, ái) is heard, and in blaze, Æ: egg day, he lay, may dale, Æ': clay, EG- sail rain play, EG: to lay say way, where the S. practice wavers between (ee, ái). E': high nigh. EA- gape. EA: gate, EA'- eye, EA': slay great, EI- they nay, EI- their; English A. trade drain sale frame mate wave, É. scream cheat: French A .. face place lace mason fade age rage gain train danger change stranger dance case brace chase paste taste, E .. faint. All of these words (except *dance*) have (ee, é'j) or (ee) in received speech, shewing the extremely modern form of the usage.

2. (ú₁v, úhv, ú₂v, ó₂v), the extreme shortness of the first element rendering appreciation very difficult: the first element sometimes sounded as (u) and sometimes as (o), but (u₂) seemed to be the nearest; found in the words A: comb, A'- go no toe so toad more clothes clothe road rode loaf whole bone stone those ghost boat goat, Æ: most, O: coal: O'- nose; English O. load; French O .. coach rogue coat. All of these words have (oo, oo'v) in received speech; another mark of modern development, though the fracture itself represents the S. (úv, úv) common in D 4.

3. (ə'i, ə'i) it seemed to me that (ə'i) was the nearest sound as in the Forest of Dean (p. 60), and it seemed to have been developed from Welsh *yi*—found in the words EO'- a fly, EO': light fight, EY- to die, I- ivy Friday stile nine, I: I, to lie down, night right sight child wild blind, the wind bind find grind to wind, I'- by sigh drive time iron arise write, I': like wide five life knife wife mile while mine wine ice wise, Y: to buy, a kind, mind, Y- sky why hire, Y': fire lice mice: French I .. and Y .. nice fine dine violet advice, U .. quiet. Here every word, except the wind, and even that practically, has (ə'i) in rs., another proof of a very modern form, even the existent He. and Sh. (iv) ivy not being used.

4. (ə'u, ə'u) evidently the same first element as in the last case, similar to that in D 4, Forest of Dean, and, as in the last case, probably derived from Welsh *y* in *yw*: found in the words U: pound sound (=healthy) found, U'- cow now our thousand, U': brown down town shower house louse mouse out proud mouth south; English O. bounce; French EU .. flower, OU .. allow doubt, that is, precisely those words which have (ə'u) in rs.

Although, then, these fractures are highly dialectal in character,

they are merely the representatives of the received (*ee, oo, a'i, a'u*), and hence shew that the pronunciation is merely book-English with a slight dialectal tendency. In Br. the people speak English with each other, especially towards the east, and as the He. border is reached the English is more and more dialectal. Going farther w. the English is more and more bookish, clearly a foreign language. From Carmarthen Mr. Spurrell has sent me very interesting specimens of this English, which is of an old-fashioned type, and probably sounds very pleasant when spoken with a Welsh lilt, but is certainly not an English dialect, and hence has no place here.

Rd. From Rd. I have no specimens, but the Rev. Henry de Winton, vicar of Boughrood (19 sw.Presteign), says, "The English spoken being an acquired language is more free from provincialisms and purer than that of the neighbouring English counties." It is therefore a foreigner's English, and embraces nearly the whole county.

Mo., though long a part of England by law, is essentially Welsh in feeling. By Chepstow, on the borders of Gl., the pronunciation, to judge from the wl. sent me by Dr. J. Yeats, approaches very near to that of adjoining Gl., D 4. The use of auxiliary *do* and *did* is the rule, as it seems to be among Welsh speakers. The main characteristic is the intonation, which, as described by Dr. Yeats's correspondent, is strongly Welsh in character. The same was very marked in the es. which, at the request of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Lady Llanover, of Llanover (12 w.-by-s.Mommouth), wrote for and dictated to me, representing the Welsh English of Mo. and Gm.

Lady Llanover spoke with much emphasis and apparently exaggerated distinctness in order to assist me. I noticed that the utterance was rapid and jerked, with frequently a compound pitch accent; that is, in (*lók-li*) for the first syllable the voice fell in a glide, and then rose suddenly on the second syllable, as in Norwegian. The pure (*i*) was occasionally used finally as in this word, but when followed on the long final (*ii*) often fell into (*j, jh*) as (*siijh*) see. The (*ee*) was medial, without any vanish, but (*e*) became occasionally (*ɛ*). The *a* was usually (*a^l*), but at times reached (*æ*). The *h* and *wh* were distinct. The *r* before a vowel was trilled, but otherwise fell into (*v*), which may have been an English habit on Lady Ll.'s part, as she also used (*ɔ, oo*), whereas in Welsh (*o, oo*) are employed. She used (*s*) not (*z*) in (*bisnis*), but kept (*z*) in (*bizi*). She used (*w*) in (*wad*), but said (*amən*). Generally her pronunciation was simply a foreigner's English and not a dialect. A few *Š.* sounds occurred as (*tee, máid, tea, maid,* and (*ka'vən-el*) corner. On the other hand a Welsh word *heol* (*hee-ol*), a road, occurred, as also a nondescript word written *cliffer*, and pronounced to me as (*klí'be*) or (*klí'pə*) meaning 'noise, row,' for which she said (*pə'takh*), another unknown word, was often used. According to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte he was informed by Mr. Meredith that other *S.* constructions and pronunciations were used, such as *him, us* for *he, we, un* for *one, be* for *is*, and the pronunciations (*dhái, dáai, sáai, wáai*) *they, day, say, way*, in place of Lady Ll.'s (*dhee, dee, see, wee*). The use of the periphrastic forms, as 'did tell' for 'told,' was regular. All these were probably the 'vulgarisms' which Lady Ll. purposely omitted.

The whole of *Mo.*, like e.Br. and all *Rd.*, belongs, therefore, to a predominating Welsh form of English, with very little of true dialectal English left in it, and in this respect they are totally unlike D 2, 3, which are merely worn-out English forms without any Welsh influence.

NORTH HEREFORDSHIRE cwl.

B words obtained by TH. from the Burgiss family, and B† words from lists furnished by Mr. G. Burgiss, of Lower Bache Farm (3 ene. Leominster).

D words from Mr. R. Woodhouse, of Docklow (5 ese. Leominster).

H words from Hereford, collected by TH.

L words from Leominster, collected by TH.

Lu words from Ludlow, collected by TH.

Several of these letters before the same word show that it was found in all the places. In such groups medial are not distinguished from short vowels.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 B bêek. 4 DL tœk. 18 B kiek. 21 B nœem, L nœem. A: 43 B œnd. — B gœnder [gander]. 54 D wa'nt. 56 DL wesh. A: œr O: 58 Lu thrœm. 60 B loq. †lœq. 64 D rœq. BLu roq. 65 D sœq. 66 D thœq. A'- 67 B gwâin, B gûe. 82 D wœn-st. 86 B œuts, †wœts. 92 BLu nôu. 95 B thrœu. A': 104 B rood. 110 B nœ'in, kœne, mœne, unœ, shœne, dœne, [but] bjœnt [can't, mustn't, won't, shan't, don't, be not]. 114 D pœal [pole]. 115 B wœm, L wœ'm. 117 Lu wœn.

Æ- 138 B fœdher. — B siit [seat]. 152 BLu wœter, D wœœter. Æ: 154 B bak. — D œder [adder]. 161 B dœ'î, H dœ, LLu. dâi. 164 H mâi. — B œp'l. Æ'- 183 B tiitj. 190 B ke'î. 192 D miin. 193 Lu kliin. 200 B wit, B† wîut. Æ': — D sîd [seed]. 216 B† dœl, B dîel, Lu dîl. 218 DLu shîp. 222 B† jœer. 223 B dhœur, H dhœr, L dhœ'œr, Lu dhîer. 224 B wœer.

E- 233 B spiik. 241 Lu râin. 251 B miit. E: — B œ œn-st, BD vœœnt [aunt, opposite to]. 262 B wâi, L wâ'î, L wœ'î. 263 D bwâai. 265 B strâit, DH strœ'it. — BLu fâld [field]. E'- 300 D kîp, H kiip. E': 312 Lu iœr. 314 B iœrd. 315 B fît.

EA- 320 B kîer. EA: 323 B† fœut. 326 B âidd, D aald. 332 L tœ'idd [t: tœidd]. 333 BD kœœv. 338 Lu kœal. 346 BD giut. EA'- 347 B jœ'd. EA': 350 B djœd, Lu dœ'd. 352 B rœd. 354 D skœf. 361 B† D biœn. — B† jœp [heap]. 366 L grœt, Lu grîit. — B† djœœ [dew]. EÏ- 373 D dhâi. EO- 386 jœ'u. EO: 393 D biœœnd. 394 D jœnder. 402 B lœrn. 405 B† jœrth. EO': 431 L biœr. 436 B truœ.

I- 440 D wîk. 442 B ivi. 446 H nœ'in. I: 452 LLu âi, Lu œ'î. 458 D nœ'it. 459 BH rœ'it. 466 B tœ'ild. — D fîlas [thill or shatt horse]. 469 B† ut, wut [wilt]. — Lu wînde [window]. 477 B fœ'ind. 482 B† jœnt tœnt bjœnt [is not, Mr. G. B said these were the most difficult words to utter]. I'- 492 B sœ'id. I': — B dœ'itj [dyke]. 500 B lœ'ik. 506 BLu umœn. — D œai, L âi [hay].

O: — D trœœ [trough]. 541 BD wœnt, D œnt. — B† D kœut [colt]. 550 Lu wœrd. — D thœrn [thorn]. — D œs [horse]. O'- 558 B luk, Lu [between luk] and [lœk]. O': — B† brœk [brook]. — B† D œk [hook]. 579 B unœf. 587 B dœ'n. 595 B fœt. — tœth [pl. tœth, tooth, teeth].

U- — B wœd [wood], BLu îd. 603 Lu kœm. 606 B dœœr. U: 612 DH sœm. 616 L grœœnd [œr between that and [grœœnd]]. 632 DLu œp. 634 BD thrœ'u. U'- 643 DLu nœ'u, H nœ'u. U': 658 BDH Lu dœ'œn. 663 L œ'œs, [pl.] œ'œz'n. 665 H mœ'œs. 667 D œ'œt. 671 L mœ'œth. Y: 691 B mœ'œnd. 702 D œth. Y': — flis [fleece].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 B mœet. E. 749 B lif. 751 D píurt. O. — D pœ'œœr [to pour]. 791 D bwâai. U. — B† œ'œdjî [huge]. 804 B drœqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — B klœœr [clear]. — D plîiz [please]. — B† miœster [master]. 850 B dœns. — B plœnt [plate]. 866 B pœœr. E.. — B thœtjiz, D fœ'tjiz [vetches]. — B priitj [preach]. 890 B bjœst. 895 D risœt. O.. — D bîf [beef]. — djo'in [join]. 920 D pœ'œnt. 926 D spœ'œil. — Lu œqk'l [uncle]. 930 B† lœqk. 941 D fœl. — H push [push].

D 14 = NW. = North Western.

Boundaries. The s. b. is the same as the n. b. of D 13, p. 175, and the other b. are the ne. and nw. parts of those of the W. div.

Area. The greater part of Sh. and a small part of Mg.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Sh. † Baschurch, † Bridgnorth, ‖ Church Pulverbach, † Clee Hills, † Corve Dale, † Craven Arms, ‖ Ford, † Hadnall, ° Llanymynech, † Longville, † Much Wenlock, † Oswestry, † Shrewsbury, ° Whittington.

Mg. ° Berriew, ° Buttington, ° Fordon, ° Guilsfield, ° Kerry, ° Llandrinio, ° Montgomery, ° Snead, ° Welshpool.

Character. Observe that Sh. is much cut up by different b. D 14 contains m.Sh. The n. belongs to two separate districts, the nw. to D 28, and the ne. to D 29, and these are bounded on the s. and w. by the n. *sum* line 1. On the w. there is the CB, with a small part of Mg., which speaks English, but more book-English than Sh., because it has been much more recently overcome. On the e., beyond the n. *sum* line 1, lies D 29, from which in Sh. the information obtained is insufficient. On the s., in Bishop's Castle, Chm Forest, Ludlow, and Cleobury Mortimer, the dialect assumes the He. character, the verbal pl. in *en* being almost or quite lost, but the line of demarcation cannot be exactly traced. In this restricted area Miss Jackson, assisted phonetically by TH., has produced her admirable Glossary, about the best that we possess of any dialect. To this work, to personal communication and much correspondence with her, to TH.'s personal work with her, and travels over much of the region, I am mainly indebted for the view here taken, which, however, had not been formed or laid down by them, but has been merely deduced from their collections. In the introduction to the Glossary, pp. xxiii to xlii, is TH.'s minute account of the pronunciation drawn up in Glossic with the greatest care, for both Vowels and Consonants, under the personal supervision of Miss Jackson, and from her indications. It is perhaps the most searching investigation of the sounds of a dialect that has been made. But as it is arranged in reference to the ordinary spelling, and as the whole of the county was considered, much work was required to reduce it to a shape that could here be used. Miss Jackson divided the county into 14 districts and 4 sub-districts for the purpose of examination, and not with an intention of distinguishing 14 phases of dialect. On the next page is their distribution among the four districts here used, D 13, 14, 28, 29. I give the names of the principal places only in each district, to which she constantly refers, to shew that the word so pronounced was heard in that district, without implying that it exists *only* there. The letters n, s, e, w, refer to the extreme places in those districts. Would that other glossarists had hit upon such an admirable arrangement! When Miss Jackson knows the word and its pron. to be generally distributed, she puts "common" after it, with a "Qy." prefixed, if she merely suspects it to be so.

D 13. Bishop's Castle and Clun, Ludlow, placed in D 13 with some hesitation.

D 14. Shrewsbury, Pulverbach (ːpʊ'ʊdərbætʃ, ːpʊ'ʊdħərbætʃ) or (-bātʃ) [Miss Jackson's native place], Worthen, Craven Arms, Church Stretton (subdistrict), Corve Dale and Clee Hills, Bridgnorth s. and w. (on the line of separation of D 14 and D 29, the n. and e. belong to D 29), Much Wenlock, Oswestry s.

D 28. Wem n. and w., Whitechurch (subdistrict), Ellesmere, Oswestry n. and e.

D 29. Wellington, Colliery regions, Newport n. and w., Wem s. and e., Bridgnorth n. and e., Newport s. (Shiffnal). In this place only D 14 will be attended to, other places are noticed in the proper order.

The whole of D 14 presents a remarkable mixture of S. and M. The S. forms are much used. U=(ə) is carried considerably further than in received speech, as in (fəl, fəler, pənd, bənd, bələk), full, a fuller, a pound, was bound, a bullock. Also more frequent O'=(ə), as (brək, stəd, rəf, təth, fət, sət), brook, stood, roof, tooth, foot, soot, but of course neither forms are carried out consistently.

S forms are (ái) in (dái, lái, láin, ráin, plái) day lay has lain, rain, to play, the use of 'thee bist' (dhii bist) for 'thou art,' and *be* in the pl. But here comes in the strongly M. forms of I am, he is, we you they bin, where bin (bin) represents *be* with the verbal plural in *-en*. This v. pl. in *-en* is used throughout D 14 with all verbs, as (wi wən) we weren, (we shæn) we shall-*en*, (wi dən) we do-*en*, (wiin) we have-*n*, (wi hæd'n) we hadd-*en*. The S. forms (jooj'm wiin)m you am, we am, may also be heard, as well as 'er (ər) for 'she.' But the S. (r) is quite absent, the regular trilled Welsh *r* (r) prevailing over the whole district, even when final or before consonants, and the trill in that case is always more distinct than in the adjacent M. regions. This peculiar Welsh (r) with the sharp, crisp, highpitched, rising Welsh intonation which prevails, marks the region still as having been carved out of the Celtic settlements with a joint and alternate action of the S. [Wessex] and the M. [Mercian] folk. According to Green's Maps in his *Making of England*, while He. was under the Mercian rule of Penda in 634, Sh. remained Welsh till included under the Mercian supremacy of Offa in 792, and in 828 Egbert the West Saxon conquered Mercia. It must have been in this early period that the M. peculiarities were introduced with M. English, but they never eradicated the Welsh (r). The West Saxon (r) did not reach beyond He., and is now not very strong or marked even there. TH. believes his Midland *r*, used in Db., Ch. and St., to be "the common English *r*" (on which see Introduction to the M. Div.), then he hears the Welsh *r* "with stronger vibration and retracted" in n.Sh., "verging in m. and s.Sh. with still stronger vibration to reverted *r*," which it reaches at Bewdley. The (ə) for U, O', is of course modern, but the fine (a¹), "still very general but gradually passing away," and becoming quite (æ) in Miss Jackson's speech, may have been either Welsh or Ws.

TH. in his elaborate investigation has often distinguished (a, a¹) and (e, e), and also (ə, ɛ), and sometimes in accented syllables (*y, i*), where I write (*i₁, i*), writing (*i*) always in unaccented syllables. He also gives three sounds of *i*, (áhi), which I now write (á'i) by preference, in m.Sh., (ái) in s.Sh., and (ái) in ne. and e.Sh. In my notes of Miss Jackson's pronunciation I used (ái), though I remarked that it varied with (ə'i, e'i), and I now prefer to use the unanalysed form (a'i). TH., who has been over much of the ground and heard native speakers, considers (áhi=á¹i) the true fine Sh. *i*, but as he heard U' as (ə'u) in (kə'u, hə'us) cow, house, it would seem that (ə'i) would be the correct older form of I, whence the other forms easily flow. In fact, the difference between (á'i, ə'i) is often difficult to seize. These forms (ə'i, ə'u) would then be strictly S.

The formation of the negatives (amne, binu, wənu, a¹ne) am-not, be-*en*-not, were-*n*-not, have-*n*-not, is remarkable, but the real forms have a (d) final, the (ne) being a contraction for (nud) when final or before consonants, as shewn by the reappearance of the (d) before vowels, as (ænnəd a¹i? wənnəd-ɛ? unəd-ɛ bi?) am not I? were-*n* not-they? will-not-they be? and the fact that 'not, what,' when emphatic, are called (nəd, wəd).

The consonants otherwise as a rule present nothing peculiar except in using (dʒ) for *d* in deal dead death darn dew (dʒeɪ dʒed dʒeθ dʒaɪn dʒiə'u, which must have arisen from inserted (ʒ), as in (ʒed ʒep ʒaɪ ʒə'u), head heap hair howl, with a similar change in (tʃem tʃu:n tʃu:zdi) team tune Tuesday, and (ʃhuit ʃhuit kənʃu:n) suit suet consume, with the obsolete forms (ʃh-u:n ʃh-em) for seam. But (ʃh) presents a difficulty before (r) as (sri:k sɾəb) shrink shrub, while the county-town Shrewsbury is (:shroozbri) only "in classical and educated," (:sroozbri) "in semi-refined," but (:soozbri) in the common pronunciation of "country-folk," for which (:suzbri) is a "vulgarism."

Names of places always fare ill. Here are a few given by Miss Jackson, pp. 515-519, the usual spelling being added in italics (:eɪ'brɪ'n *Albrighton*, :kɪə'redek *Caradoc*, :kændər *Condover*, :di'dlɪk *Diddlewick*, :jə:ɾn *Eardington*, :a:ɾkel *Ercall*, :eemən *Haughmond*, :mæmfɪt *Montford*, :wək'njɛts *Oaken-gates*, :əqket *Offcorey*, :trəsben :trəspən *Osbaston*, :ɔ:zestri :ɔ:dʒestri *Oswestry*, :ʃhri:ed'n *Shrawcardine*, :stəðhɜ:t'n *Stottesden*, u:sɛs'n *Woolstaston*, :viu :edʒ *Yew Edge*).

Illustrations. I select two of the examples written analytically by Mr. Hallam in Miss Jackson's Glossary, and one which I wrote from her dictation myself in 1873. To these I have added a cwl. containing almost all the words in D 14 cited in Mr. Hallam's treatise on Shropshire pronunciation in Miss Jackson's Glossary, all made under her own superintendence, and also most from a long list of words which she read to me on 11 July, 1873, and of which she subsequently revised the Glossic writing. These will, I think, sufficiently illustrate the character of this very interesting dialect. Illustrations in Miss Jackson's orthography abound in her Glossary, which also contains the pronunciation of each single word in Glossic.

Of the strictly Welsh parts of D 14, comprehending a slip of Mg., I am not able to give any specimen, but it may be regarded as book English with Sh. tendencies and a Welsh intonation, just as in Mo. we have book English with Welsh intonation and He. or Gl. tendencies.

EXAMPLES, PULVERBACH (7 sw.Shrewsbury).

I. Betty Andrews relates how her little boy fell into a brook, 1873. The words are run all together, no stops, no pause, "but," says Miss Jackson, "no written characters of any kind—no 'want of stops'—can convey an idea of the story as poured forth by Betty's voluble tongue—it took away one's breath to listen to it." From Mr. Hallam's 'analytical' Glossic in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook, I. xev.

á'i ɦerd v skrá'ɪk mɛm ɦn á'i
 rən ɦn dhɦer á'i sɪ'ɪd :fra'ɪqk ɦd
 pekt i dhɦ brək ɦn də'ʌkt ɦnder
 ɦn wɛz drə'ʌndɦn ɦn á'i dʒəmpt
 a'ɦter ɦn ɦn gət ə'ʌt ə'n ɦn ɦn
 ləgd ɦn ɦn tɛ dhɦ bə'qk a'l sledʒ
 ɦn á'i gət ɦn wɛm ɦfóer ə'wɛr :sá'm
 kəməɦn ɦn—v gùd dʒəb ɦt wɛz fɛr
 :sá'm ɦz ɦ wəɦ dhɦer ɦn ɦz :fra'ɪqk
 wəɦn drə'ʌndɦd fɛr ɦf i a'ɪd bɦn,
 á'i ɦhed v tóer ə'wɛr :sá'm a'l tɛ

I heard a shriek, ma'am, and I ran, and there I saw Frank had pitched in the brook and ducked under, and was drowning, and I jumped after him and got hold of him, and lugged him on to the bank all sludge, and I got him home afore our Sam came in—a good job it was for Sam as he wasn't there, and as Frank wasn't drowned. For if he had been, I should have torn our Sam all to

winder ra¹gz, en dhen i)d v bín
 dpe'd en :fra¹qk dró'undid, en á'i
 shed v bín a'qd. á'i tó'ud :sa'm
 wen i tuk dhe ó'us ez á'i dídne
 lá'ik it. 'bles dhe wensh,' i sed,
 'wə)dn)i want?—dhierz v tá'idi
 ó'us en v gùd gárdin en v rən
 fer dhe pig.' 'á'i,' á'i sed, 'en v
 gùd brək fer dhe tpe'dern te pek
 in.' sò if :fra¹qk a'd bín dró'undid
 á'i shed v bín dhe dpe'th v ó'uer
 :sa'm. á'i wez 'dha't frit'nd mem
 dhut á'i dídne speek fer v nó'uer
 a'fter á'i gət wəem en :sa'm sed ez
 i a'dne síd mi kə'á'iet sò lə'q
 sens wi wən ma'rid en dha't wez
 'á'it'tiin ier.

window-rags, and then he)d have been
 dead and Frank drowned, and I
 should have been hang'd. I told Sam
 when he took the house as I did not
 like it. 'Bless the wench,' he said,
 'what do ye want?—there's a tidy
 house, and a good garden and a run
 for the pig.' 'Aye,' I said, 'and a
 good brook for the children to pitch
 in.' So if Frank had been drowned,
 I should have been the death of our
 Sam. I was that [so much] frightened,
 ma'am, I did not speak for an hour
 after I got home, and Sam said as [that]
 he had not seen me quiet so long,
 since we were [were-en] married, and
 that was eighteen year.

II. Betty Andrews, talking fast as usual in a railway train, was thus addressed
 by a passenger and made the following reply.

'wi misis, á'i shed thi'qk ez
 jó mən v a'd jóbr tə'qg á'ild
 dhis marn'n efóer jó stártid.'

'nó' indiid ser,' sed Beti, 'á'i
 a'ne, fer if it a'd v bín á'ild, it
 ud never v stəpt. nó 'da'indyer!'

'Why, missis, I should think as
 you must have had your tongue oiled
 this morning afore you started.'

'No indeed, sir,' said Betty, 'I
 haven't; for if it had have been oiled,
 it would never have stopped. No
 danger!'

III. 'Adam's Apple,' or Larynx, here called 'Eve's Core.' See Eve's Scork in the
 Glossary. This example was pal. by AJE. from Miss Jackson's dictation.

'dædi, wə)z dhis læmp i JAR
 nek?'

'wi, it)s :iivz skaark, tpe'ild,
 áud mædher :iiv iit dhe æp'l ɛrsel,
 bət ɛr gíd dhe skaark te feedher
 :ædem, æn it stək in iz thrúet,
 æn aal men)z æd'n dhis læmp
 ævɛr sens.'

'Daddy, what's this lump in your
 neck?'

'Why, it)s Eve's core, child.
 Old mother Eve ate the apple herself,
 but she gave the core to father
 Adam, and it stuck in his throat,
 and all men)have had this lump
 ever since.'

MID SHROPSHIRE CWL.

Unmarked, rearranged from Mr. T. Hallam's Glossic in Miss Jackson's Glossary,
 Vowels, pp. xxiii to xxxv.

Marked *, rearranged from a list of words dictated to AJE. by Miss Jackson,
 11 July, 1873, the pronunciation having been subsequently revised by her.
 In these words the unanalysed form (á'i) of the diphthong has been used
 throughout, see p. 182, l. 14 from bottom.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bek. 4 ta'k. 5 ma'k. — *kreed'l [cradle]. 13 na'. 19 tel. 21
 nem. 25 *mæn. 34 *les. 37 klAA, kleez [claws]. A: 43 *ənd. 44 *lænd.
 45 unt, *unt. — kən [can]. 51 *mən. 54 want. 55 es. 56 wesh [common],

wash [Clee Hills]. — kæt [cat]. A: or O: 60 lætq. 62 strætq. 63 *thraq. 64 rætq, rætq. 65 sætq. 66 *thæq [Mr. Hallam finds the (q) very weak in this group].

A'- 67 *gûg, gwæn [gone], gwî, 'in [going]. — *slo, [pl.] *slôn [sloe, sloes]. 69 nò, *nAA. 70 *toov. 79 *u [(uuz'n) whose]. 73 sò, *sûv. 74 *tuu. 76 tûed. 82 wænst. 84 máuer, *moover. 86 úets, wæts. 91 moo. 92 *noo. 93 *snoo. 95 *throo. A': 101 wæk. 102 *æks, *æst [both for present and past]. 104 rød *rûd. 105 *rid. 106 *brAAD. 107 lof. — *drov [drove], droovar [drover]. 108 *doo. 109 *loo. 110 nôt, nòd. 111 *AAt. 115 wœm wôm *woom. 117 *wœn. 118 bwœn, *bœn. 122 *nœn. 124 stœn [common], ? stœn stœn [a weight]. — rœp [a rope]. — wær [hoar, white]. 134 wœth, *ûneth. 135 *klooth.

Æ- — *ætj [an ache]. 138 fœdher [com.], fâdher [Clee Hills]. — ladher [ladder]. 139 drâ'î [dray, a squirrel's nest]. 148 faar. — *staarz [stairs, in Sh. people go up the *stairs* to see the *stairs*, see No. 404]. — *ænt [am not]. 149 *blecz. 150 *leest. — leze [leasow, pasture]. — set [a seat]. — rack'l [rattle]. 152 wæter.

Æ: 154 bæc. 155 thetj. — æd [had]. — gjeðher [gather]. 160 *eg. 161 dá'î, *da'î [common], dâi [Craven Arms]. 163 la'i. 165 sed. 169 *wæn. — *wîq [wing]. 170 *ærst. 171 *baarlî. 172 *græs. 173 woz, wœne. — *glæs [glass]. — *hecz'l [hazle]. — *læs [less]. — *kaart [cart]. — æp'l [apple, common], æp'l [at Craven Arms]. 177 dhæc. 178 næc. 179 wòd.

Æ'- 181 *leed. 185 *riid, *red [past tense]. — spræd [spread], *spræd [past]. 187 *leev. 189 *wæi. 190 kee. 192 *mœn. 200 wæt [common], wæc [occ.]. 201 *evdh'n. — jæt [to heat], æt [heated]. Æ': — mæde [meadow]. — *spræd [to spread]. — *iivnîn [evening]. 213 a'îdher. 214 na'îdher. 216 dæ'l. — *mœc [repast]. 218 shîp. 222 jaar. 223 dhîer. 224 wîer. 227 *wæt. — j'æth [heath]. 229 bræth.

E- 232 *bræc. 233 *speek. 234 *næd, *næd [kneaded]. — *træd [tread]. — *wædher [weather]. 235 *wæev. 236 fœvur. — evi [heavy]. 240 lîn [Shrewsbury], lâin [Craven Arms]. 241 râin [Shrewsbury], râin [Craven Arms]. 245 *mæc. 247 *wœn. — *baar [to bear]. — *taar [to tear], *tîer [a tear, rent]. 248 maar. — *berî [berry]. — *iit [to eat], jæt [ate]. — *fâdher [a feather]. 254 ledher. 255 *wædher. — *wæb [web]. — *œv [heave]. — fætj [fetch]. — *rætj [wretch].

E: 259 *wædj. 261 *sa'î. — *bed [bed]. — wæd [to wed]. 266 *wîil. — fîld [field]. 267 îd. — sîldem [seldom]. — *twelvj [twelve]. 270. ii. bæli. — sæl [to sell]. 276 theqk. 278 wensh, *wæntj. — sæud [to send]. — *pîn [a pen]. 284 thròsh. — *nist, *niist [nest], niiz'n [nests].

E'- 290 i. 292 mi. 293 wi. 296 bî'lî,îf [belief]. 301 *îer. E': *a'î. 306 âit. — *bra'îer [briar]. — bles [bless].

EA- — *AAK [hawk]. — *al [ale], jæl, jæl. — *shoo [to shew].

EA: 322 laf, *læf. 324 â'îttiin [eighteen], *cît. 326 s'ad. 327 *bò'nd. 328 kòœld, k'ò'nd. 329 t'ò'nd, f'ò'nd. 330 s'at. 331 s'at. 332 *t'ò'nd. 333 *kaaf. 335 a'l. 336 fa'l. 337 *wAal. 338 ka'l. — *mAAt [malt]. — *sAAat [salt]. — shaar [share]. — *bjaard [beard]. 340 *Jord [court], jaard mizer [measure]. 342 *aarm. — *aarm [harm]. 343 wârû. — *shaarp [sharp]. — *JJaarm [fern]. — *JAARN [yarn]. 345 *daar.

EA'- 347 *jEd. 348 *a'î, *a'îm [eyes]. — *da'î [to dye]. — îer [ear]. — bet [beat]. 349 fja'u, *fiú. EA': 350 dje'd. 351 led. 352 red. 355 *dJef. 356 hef, hef [Shrewsbury]. 359 nâdher. — b'îem [beam]. — kreem [cream]. 360 tjem. 361 ben [Pulverbach], bîen [com.]. 363 tjep. — *jep, jep [heap]. — îir [year]. — tjoz [chosc]. 366 greet. 368 dje'th. — dja'u [dew], jia'u [obsolete]. 371 stra', stræbriz [strawberries, obsolete].

EI- 372 æi, *âi. 373 dhæc. 376 bet. EI: 378 wæk, *wæc. 382 *dheer. EO- — *wîk [a wick]. 386 jə'u. 387 *nîú.

EO: 389 *Jook. — *em [unemph. 'em, hem=them]. 394 janter. 395 *Jœq. — *daark [dark]. — *kaarv [carve]. 398 *staarv. — *faarm [farm]. 402 laarn. 403 *feer. 404 *steer. — *shart [short]. 406 *jaarth. EO'- 409 *bii. — *nii [knee]. — *trii, *triiin [wooden]. — *krə'ud [to crowd]. 416 *dier. 418 bruu. EO': 422 *sik. — thiif [thief]. 423 *tha'î. 424

*raf. 426 *fa'it. — wil [wheel]. 427 bin [pl.]. 428 sin [seen], *sii. 430 *frend. 433 *brest [breast]. 435 *Joo. 436 truu.

I- 440 wi'k. 441 siv. 442 i'vi. — senæ [sinew]. — i's [generally], JES [Newport], Jaas, áis [Church Stretton, yes]. — *peez [pease]. 449 get. 450 tuuzdi t'uuzdi. 451 *soo. I: — thærd [third]. 457 *ma'it. 458 *na'it. 460 wáit, *wéit. 463 tel. 469 ul [will]. 473 *bla'ind. — wínde, *wínder [(r) distinctly trilled]. 476 *ba'ind. 478 *gra'ind. — *tjærn [a churn]. — *ræn [run]. — *ræsh [a rush, plant]. 485 *this'l *fis'l. 488 *it. — *dært [dirt]. — *wít [wit]. — sens [since]. I'- 491 *sa'ik. — *ei'gid *gid'n [give, gave, given]. — *pa'ip [pipe]. 498 *ra'it. I': — *da'itj [a dyke]. 500 lá'ik. 502 *fa'iv. 503 *fa'ii. 505 *wa'ii. 506 amen, *æmen. 508 *ma'íl. 511 *wa'ind [with (d) added].

O- 520 ba'u. 523 *oop. — *smædher. 524 *wærd. — *thruet [throat]. O: — tráf [trough], tráf [occ.], troo [for kneading]. 527 bat. 528 that. 531 da'ter. 532 *kool. 533 *dæl. 536 guuld [obsolete], *gæ'ud. 538 ud. 539 bool, bæ'ul [for bowling, a hoop, to trundle]. — *kæ'ut [a colt]. 544 *dhen. 546 fæ. 547 báerd, bæa'rd. 549 urd. 550 wærd. — thærn [thorn]. — mærnin [morning]. — *broodh [broth].

O'- 555 shuu. 556 *tu. — *uu [to woo]. 562 mun, *muun. 564 *sæn. — *groo [to grow]. 566 ædher. 568 *brædher. O': 569 *bræk. — bræk [brook]. — shøk [shook]. 570 tuk, *tuk. 571 gæd *gud. 573 *flæd. 575 *stæd. — raf [roof]. 577 *bæ'u. 578 *plæ'u, *plæa [to plough]. 580 tæf, *tæf. 584 *stuul. 589 spun. 590 flar. — boozem [bosom]. — tæth. 595 fæt. 597 sæt.

U- — ud [wood]. 600 la'v *læv. 602 *sæ'u. — *hæl [hull or shell]. 603 *kæm. — *pæn [to pound, thrash]. 605 *sæn. 606 dær, *door. U: — shuudher [shoulder] shuuder [Church Stretton], shooder, shæ'uder [Shrewsbury], shæ'uder [occ.]. 609 fæl. 610 ul. — puul [pull]. — *fæler [a fuller]. 612 *sæm. — æn- [un-]. 615 pænd. 617 *sæ'und. — *bænd [was bound]. 619 fænd. 620 grænd. 621 *wond. 625 tæq. — tærf [turf]. — fæ. [a fir]. 634 thra'u, *thruu. — dhæs.

U'- 640 kæ'u. 643 næ'u. — *sæk [to suck]. — *mæ'u [a mow]. 646 *bæ'u. 648 æ'uer. 650 *æbæ'ut. 652 *kud. 653 bæt. U': 656 rum, *ræm. — *sæ'uer [sour]. 663 æ'us, *æ'uz'n [houses]. 665 mæ'us. 667 æ'ut. 668 præ'nd.

Y- 673 *mætj. 677 *dra'i. 679 tjærtj. Y: 686 bá'i. 689 bí'ld. — gi'lti [guilty]. — shælf [shelf]. 694 *wartj [work = throb]. 697 bærin [a burving]. — fræt'nd [frightened]. 701 *færst. — shet [shut]. 702 æth. Y- 705 *ska'i. Y': 712 má'is. — *wísh [to wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 tá'k. — bæqk [bank]. 733 *skaar. 734 djaarn *daarn. E. — *peet [peat]. — maar [mere, accented; unacc. (mæ)], 751 *piært. — kliver [clever]. — srood [shrewd]. I. and Y. — *skra'ik [a shriek]. 754 pig. — *wíp [whip]. 758 gærd. — serep [syrup]. — pek [to pitch or fall]. O. 761 *lógd. 769 *mæ'udiwaarp. 773 dæqki. — ursti'd [worsted]. — lóz [to lose]. — dræ'und [to drown]. 791 bwa'i [obs.]. U. — *puðin [pudding, called (pæðin) in Glossary]. — dæk [a duck, bird], dá'uk [to duck]. — *æ'udpe [huge, compare after 791 p. 180]. 796 bluu. — bæl [bull]. — bældj [to bulge]. — tjuum [a tume]. — tæp [a ram, tup]. — *kærl [cur]. 807 *pus. 808 pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 810 feez [gen.]. — *ketj [catch], *ketjt [caught]. 813 *bæk'n. 814 mes'n. 822 má'i, *mee. — *pá'i, pee [pay]. 824 tjúer. — klie'ur [clear]. — *aar [air]. 833 paar. — *pleez [please]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. — mee'ster [master, com.]. — feetjær [feature]. 847 dá'indjær. 850 dá'ns. 851 *ent, æent. — *dænt [daunt]. — raar [rare]. 855 gærit. — skæ's, skaars [scarce]. 856 *part. — *kaard [card]. — *saas [sauce, Corve Dale]. 862 *seef. 865 *faat. — *stee [to stay].

E.. 867 *tee*. — *krætur* [creature]. — **réal* [real]. 869 *veel*. — *seckrît* [secret]. — *kunsee't* [conceit]. — *skcem* [scheme]. — **jaarb* [herb]. — **klaark* [clerk]. — **saartj* [search]. — **faar* [a fair]. — **kensaarn* [concern]. — *saarpint* [serpent]. 888 *saartin*. — **saarv* [serve]. — *kemplet* [complete]. — *mizher*, **mizer* [measure]. 890 *bíest*. 891 **teest*. 894 **disceev*, *disceet* [deceit]. 895 **risceev*, *risceet* [receipt]. I.. *and* Y.. — **krá'li* [ery]. — *sínub'l* [syllable]. — **ma'izerd* [miser, with added (d)].

O.. — *bi'f* [beef]. — **dræg* [drug]. 916 *á'ínien*. — *ná'ínt* [anoint]. — *djá'ín* [join]. 926 *spá'íl*. — *plám* [plumb]. 928 **é'ams*. 929 *kə'akemer* [Shrewsbury], *kə'akember* [com.]. 930 *lá'ín*. 933 **frónt*. — *ká'erd*, *ké'ard* [cord]. — *farín* [foreign]. — **fúest* [forced]. 940 **kóbt*. 942 *bə'tjər*. 943 **tə'tj*. 946 **ma'íl*. 951 **kəp'l*. — *suup'l* [supple, to make supple]. 953 **kəz'n*. — **pəsh* [push].

U.. — *tjüb* [tube]. — **wa'ít* [to wait]. 965 *á'íl*. 966 *früt*. — *píl'pít* [pulpit]. — **pó'atís* [poultice]. — *ʒá'íd* [howl]. — *neetər* [nature]. — *kí'úuríyz* [curious]. 970 *djəst*.

III.

EASTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

Boundaries. Begin on the e. coast, where s. b. of Li. falls into the sea about 3 e. Sutton Bridge. Go w. along the Li. b. to Rt.—the peninsula containing Stamford Li. must be practically considered as part of Rutland. Pass by the b. round Rt. to Rockingham, and continue on the b. of Np. to the b. of Wa., and then continue along b. of Np. to opposite Crick Np. (4 se. Rugby, Wa.). Then pass through Np. e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, turning more se. near Pattishall. Then pass s. of Blisworth and e. of Towcester, and continue to the b. of Np. near Hartwell, Np. Then go by the w. b. of Bu. to the Thames. Go down the Thames to the coast and round Es., Sf. and Nf. to the starting-point.

The w. b. of Bu. is, perhaps, not the absolute b. of the District, but it is the best that could be determined.

Area. The whole or greater part of the eleven counties, Bd. Bu. Cb. Es. Ht. Hu. Mi. Nf. Np. Rt. Sf.

Character. A closer resemblance to received speech than in any other div. It is the region from which rec. sp. was taken, and contains the greater part of London. The pron. is, however, not quite uniform, but the differences are so slight that it has been found extremely difficult to obtain satisfactory information, and many years elapsed before materials could be collected for even the approximative account here subjoined, which, drawn up from actual observation by my informants and founded only on existing usages, differs materially from what has been hitherto given. The northern part of this district, as already mentioned, is intersected by the n. *sum* line 1, which passes through the length of Np. and n. of Hu. and Cb., while the s. *sööm* line 2 lies to the s. of all the s. part of Np., the n. part of Hu. and Cb. and the nw. part of Nf., so that a considerable part of the E. div. is in the mixed *sum sööm* or *som* region, and a smaller part in Np. and Rt. is in the pure *sööm* region. This materially modifies the pron. in respect of U in those places, as will be seen. But the change, as already observed in Wl. and Gl., seems to be without influence on the remainder of the dialect, and in respect to the rest of the pron. it was found impossible to relegate n.Np. and Rt. to the M. div. In fact, as has been already said (p. 16), the (u, u) sound of U was the elder. It is the (ə, ə) sound which is aggressive, and the mixed regions merely shew the process of change which has gone on independently of the other changes and almost unnoticed, even by dialect speakers themselves.

D 15 = WE. = West Eastern.

Boundaries. Begin where the Chiltern Hills cut the w. b. of Bu., about Radnage (10 ssw. Aylesbury). Go w. across Bu. s. of Prince's Risborough and n. of Chesham to Whelpley Hill (12 se. Aylesbury). Cross the w. horn of Ht. to Great Gaddesden, Ht., and then by the b. of Bu. all round the n. and s. to the starting-point.

Area. The little projection of Ht. into Bu. by Tring and all of Bu., except the extreme s. part, which belongs to D 17, and has no dialect proper.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

Bu. *Mr. Wyatt, *† Aylesbury, † Buckingham, ° Cheddington, † Chackmore, ° Edlesborough, ° Great Kimble, * Hanslope, ° Marsh Gibbon, ° Marsworth, † Stowe, ° Swanbourne, ° Tyringham with Filgrove, *† Wendover, † Winslow.

Ht. ° Berkhamstead, ° Little Gaddesden, ° Long Marston, ° Tring.

Character. The main point which distinguishes Bu. from Ox. or D 15 from D 6, 7, is the entire absence of reverted (r) or retracted (r_o). In the whole E div. the r when not preceding a vowel is purely vocalised. After (aa, AA) it disappears. A native who can read thinks that he "pronounces r" in part short, because it is to him a symbol that the vowels become (aa AA) as in (paat shaat), and if he wrote *pat shot* without the r, he would say (pa't shot) with quite different vowels. To hear (part shōrt) with real short vowels and a truly trilled r would be shocking to him. He may occasionally 'drawl' the words (as local authorities term the change) into (pārt shō'ut), but that is not usual. After (o, a) the r is merely a symbol of lengthening: *culled*, *curled*, are really (kəld, kəəld), or (kæld, kæəld), and the speaker again thinks he 'pronounces r' in the second word because it causes him to differentiate it from the first. After other vowels, or finally, he uses (v), as (iv, kēv, butv), here, care, butter. But before a vowel the case is different. Then he may trill r slightly, but the general practice seems to be to use the imperfect (r_o), that is, the point of the tongue rises as if to trill it, but it does not effect its purpose, and merely produces a maimed effect. Both (v, r_o) in this connection arise from (ʳ), of which they are simple degenerations. They are not imperfect trills. But a gentle trill may always be used, and hence I have introduced (ɹ) as a 'permissive trill' in writing received speech. Here I generally abandon it, and write (r) for (r_o) as a matter of convenience before vowels, writing (r_o) or using (v) in other cases. Throughout the whole E. div. this treatment of the r is general, not merely among peasants (where there are any), but among the most educated and refined townsmen. As (R) is the mark of the S. div., this (r_o, v) is the mark of the E. div. When final r has been lost after (aa, AA, ɛɛ, v), or degraded to (v), and a word commencing with a vowel follows, the r reappears as (r_o), to avoid the hiatus. This is 'euphonic r,' just as we have 'euphonic v' in Greek, and just as in French a lost final consonant reappears under

similar circumstances, as 'il fai(t) froid, fait-il froid ? il a(), a-t-il ?' (il fe frūa, fet-il frūa ? il a, at)il ?). But peasants, and even educated people, are apt to introduce this 'euphonic r' after final (aa, aa, æa, v), even when no r had originally existed, as (dhe lāa+r_o v)dhe land, dhi a'idiiv+r_o əv it, v :tʃa'ine+r_o ərinɔʃ), the law of the land, the idea of it, a China orange. This is a truer case of euphonic (r_o) than before, and quite organic, but is much resented by those who have painfully learned not to use (+r_o) under such circumstances.

In giving the pron. noted by TH., who used final (r), but states that he considers it a "weak r" ([r]), I retain his writing, but do not agree with his appreciation, for so far as I can hear there is no semblance of a trilled (r). See introduction to the M. div.

A- remains (éɐ), as in most of the S., as (léɐm, séɐm), lame, same, and A'-remains (úɐ), as (túɐd), toad, with the usual variants.

ÆG may also be (éɐ), or be recognised as (ɛɛ'i), as (snéɐl sneɛ'i), snail.

I seems to have abandoned the (ɛ'i) and rarely even reaches the (ə'i) form, it is usually (ái, ái), the last of which differs but slightly from (ɛ'i) on the one hand, and (ɔ'i, A'i) on the other. My informants usually select (ɔ'i, A'i), that is, as they write it, *oy*, to express this sound. But my observations on Bu. peasants, as well as TH.'s, are against this change, though it may possibly occur in D 16, where A- degenerates to (éi, E'i, ái), so that a distinction is required.

U. Although this was avowedly (a, ɛ) at Aylesbury, the following exceptions occurred, which I conceive as (u), because of the local separation from the M. (u_o): (lʌv, kʌm, bʌtɐ ; uglɪ, drʌŋk, ʌndɐ, tɔŋ, əŋgɐ, ʌp, θʌrɐ : dʌv, ɛbʌv : mʌtɪ), love, come, butter : ugly, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, up, thorough [but (ɛp θʌrɐ) also occurred] ; dove, above [which had U'] and mʌtɪ [which had Y']. At Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) I did not find these. From Buckingham n.-wards, (u_o) was the rule, or some mixture of (u_o, ə), or of (o, u), and past the n. sam line 1, as at Watford and Weedon only (u_o).

U' is rather uncertain from want of sufficient instances, but (E'u) seems the rule, although (ə'u, ɛ'u) also occur. This diphthong is specially variable in D 18. Of course (ə'u) is a survival of S.

The consonants are treated generally as in received speech. The initial (z, v) have been replaced by (s, f), the aspirate is very uncertain, and (wh) always becomes (w), as in polite London conversation.

Particulars are furnished in the following word lists, where, as shewn, large portions were heard by me or TH. from natives, and in the two annexed short examples, which indicate at least two if not three varieties of existing pronunciation.

AYLESBURY EXAMPLE.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. R. R. Fowler in 1881.

1. A'i bi [A'i ɛr] v'gʊ:ɪn tɐ sii
ɪm sʊn, A'i telɪ [tel]jɐ.

2. bʌt, A'i see, fædʰɐ [fɪdʰɐ]
ʌnd mædʰɐ v bʌθ æn ɛm tɛrɐb'l
léɐm wɪ dhɐ ru:mɛtɪz tʊdeɐ.

3. A'ibi(A'i ɛr)əlmʊst [əlmʊ:st
ɛmʊ:st] ɛfɪəd (dhe wɛnt bi v)gɛtɪn
vɛɛ'u:t ɛt ɔl fɛr)v lɔŋwɔ'ɪlst tɛ kʌm.

1. I be [I are] a'going to see
him soon, I tell/ye [you].

2. But, I say, father and mother
are both on them terrible lame with
the rheumatism to-day.

3. I be (I are) almost afear'd they
won't be a'getting about at all for a
long while to come.

4. en dúent jə noo? dhe)ul bi
AAF egí'n efúe wínter, en leev
mí elóovn í)dhe ool E'us.

5. wíer el dhe guu tē?

6. A'í d'óovnt hegzæ·kli [tæzæ·kli]
noo; sām wéevz dE'un í)dhe sE'ut,
A'í bleev.

7. dhe)l bi hevə sɛ ləq vweéi.

8. ʌs úed v dhæt jɪ'studee.

9. díd)jɛ nE'u? u tæ'uld jɛ?

10. matɪ gud me it duu)em.

11. jɛ shel ív drekli ʌs noo
dheə bi v)kəmín oo'm [wām] egí'n.

12. soo gud nA'it.

4. And don't you know? they'll
be off again before winter, and leave
me alone in the old house.

5. Where will they go to?

6. I don't exactly know: some
ways down in)the south, I believe.

7. They'll be ever so long away.

8. Us [we] heard of that yesterday.

9. Did you now? who told you?

10. Much good may it do)them.

11. You shall hear directly us know
they be a)coming home again.

12. So good night.

Notes.

1. *I*. Mr. RRF. said distinctly (A'í),
but I generally heard (ái, ái) from the
labourers. *I are* is more frequent than
I be. The (r) is euphonic before a
following vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *father*, though Mr. RRF. used
(æ), I heard rather (a) from the labourers.

4. *know* was distinct (oo), not (noo).

The negative (no) is quite short. *house*
(E'us) was inclined to (aus).

6. *exactly*. (hegzæ·kli) is emphatic,
(tæzæ·kli) is the common form.

7. *ever*, the (h) is prefixed for em-
phasis only.

9. *told*. This (æ'u) diphthong is kept
quite distinct from (E'u).

CHACKMORE (1½ WNW. Buckingham) dt.

pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. of G. Cave, 71, gatekeeper to Stowe Park, native.

1. ə'í séi, méits, ju sɪ nə'u, ə'í)m rə'ít əbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl gʃal kəmín
frəm dhe skuul jənder.

2. shi)z gu'ín də'um dhe róed dhíer thruu dhe red géet ən dhe
left and sə'íd v)dhe róed.

3. luk jənder! dhe tʃə'íld)z gan stre'ít u^op tɛ)dhe roq ə'us [roq
dúer],

4. wíer shi)l vɛrɪ lə'íklɪ fə'índ dhat drəqk'n def óuld tʃap vɪ dhe
nê'ím v :təm.

5. AAL əv)ɛz nòu ðm vɛrɪ wɛ'l.

6. wənt dhe óuld tʃap sùn tɪtɪ ɛr nət tɛ kəm dhíer ɛgje'n, púer
thíq!

7. luk! díd'nt ə'í tɛl jɛ sòu.

Phrases. (ju ént v)gu ín :darəl), you are-not a-going [to, omitted
dialectally] Dayrell (3 n. Buckingham). This omission of 'to'
is gen. in the E. division as well as in Ch.

Mem. "r half reverted," possibly (r_o).

S.BU., AYLESBURY AND WENDOVER CWL.

Unmarked, word list written io. by Mr. John Kersley Fowler, Prebendal Farm, Aylesbury, and his son, corrected from dict. and pal. by AJE. with additions marked E, heard by AJE. from farm labourers at Aylesbury, and a few words marked H noted by TH.

W words from Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Beeby. “&W” means that the last given pron. was heard at Wendover.

WH Wendover from Mr. Hallam's observations chiefly from Varney 82, and Higgs 63, who generally corroborated Varney, and from some others, (R) was once heard from a woman.

(+r) means that euphonic (r_o) was specially stated to be inserted before a following vowel.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 4 téek tæk, W téek [both (éy) and (iv) are used in these doubly written words, as they are in D 4]. 5 méek mæk, W méek. 6 méed m'ed, WH [old] m'éd, [now] m'éd. 7 séek sæk. 8 W eev. 9 bhEE'iv. 12 saā, W saā+r. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa, W laa+r. 18 W kéek. 19 téel t'el, W t'él [ʔ]. 20 léem l'em, W léem & WH. 21 néem, WH n'ém niem. 22 téem f'ím. 23 séem s'ím, W séem & WH. 24 shéem sh'ím, W shéem. 25 ménn m'én. 28 éer. 32 baadh. 38 reedhe. 34 last. 36 W thaa. 37 klaa. A: 41 theqk. 51 maan, W m'an. 54 waant, W w'aunt. 57 as. A: or O: 58 W frem. 59 lam. 61 emsq & W. 63 thraeq. 64 W raq.

A'- 67 gur'in, W g'u & WH. 70 W too. 72 W uu. 73 W soo. 74 E t'ín, W tuu. 76 t'éd. 81 léen, W l'ém. 84 múue & W [E (múe nu dhàt) more nor that]. 86 wats, W óuts ats, WH w'uts, WH wats. 87 W tlooz. 89 W bóouth, WH búuth. A': 101 W óek. 102 ast, aks. 104 r'úd & WH. 106 W braad. 108 daf doo. 111 W aat. 113 W uul, W w'al, WH w'ul. 115 wóem, H óem, WH oom. 121 H gaan. 122 W nan. 123 nothen, W n'òth'qk. 124 E st'áun & W, WH st'ùn. 125 oni & W. 129 góoust.

Æ- 138 fædhe f'ádhe, W fædher. 140 éel. 141 n'él. 142 sn'él & WH, W snee'd & WH [Varney gave (sn'él) and Higgs (sne'íl)]. 143 t'él, W tee'íl. 147 bréem, W bree'in & WH. 149 W bléez. 150 liest. 152 waate & W. Æ: 155 thetj & W. 151 aate. 160 W eeg. 161 dee [see 438], W dee'i. 163 lee. 164 nce. 166 méed, W mee'id. 167 déul. 169 wen. 170 W aríst. 172 graas, W graees. 174 W cesh. 175 faast. 179 wat & W. 180 baath. Æ'- 182 see. 182 teetj [common], & W. 184 leed. 185 reed. 186 bret. 187 leev. 190 kee & W. 191 iil. 193 kl'áun, W tleen. 194 W eeni. 197 W t'eez. 199 bleet & W. 200 wéent. 201 eedh'n. 202 eet. Æ': 203 speetj. 205 tred [occ.], W thred. 207 W niid'l. 213 éidhe, W iídhe. 216 deel & W [but meaning wood (diil)]. 217 ütj. 218 ship & W. 219 W sliip & WH. 223 W dhéu. 224 w'íc & W. 226 [(un'óest) almost]. 228 swet swée'it. 230 fót.

E- 232 bréek & W. 233 E speek & W & WH. 235 W w'iv, WH w'év. 236 W úiv. 241 réem, W ree'in, WH réin. 247 ween, W wiin. 251 meet & W, WH me'it. 252 kit'l & W. 253 W net'l. 255 wedhe, wede. E: 262 E wév [frequent, sometimes (w'éi)], W wee'i & WH. 268 jeldst. 272 elm & W. 281 leqkt, W leqkth. 282 streqkt, W streqkth. 284 thrash, E thresh. 287 bezam biisem & W. E'- 294 fiid, W feed. 299 W green. E': 305 h'ó'i. 306 hekth [very common], E hekt. 307 n'á'i n'ó'i. 308 W need. 314 i'ud. 315 W f'écit. 316 W neks.

EA- 319 gaap & W. 320 kév. EA: 322 laaf & W. 323 W f'áut. 324 eet, W ee'it. 325 wéek. 326 ool [but (ool'd)amén], W ool. 327 b'á'uld. 328 koold. 329 foold. 330 oold, W oolt. 332 f'á'uld. 333 kaaf & W. 334 aaf & W. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 343 W waam. 345 déu. 346 géet & W. EA'- 347 ed & W. 348 W ó'i. 349 W fiú. EA': 350 W ded. 353 H bréd, W bred. 355 W def. 359 neebu. 360 tíim, W tiim. 361 béem, E beenz. 363 t'ceep. 366 grat. 368 W deth. 370 W raal. 371 straa. W straal. EI- 376 béet. EI: 377 stee'ek. 378 W wiik.

EO- 386 *joo* &W. 387 *W nén*. EO: 393 *birænt*, *bige'n* [the latter rare, the (æ) should probably be (a)], *W biænd*. 394 *jinde jende* [I heard the last] *hinde* [all used], *W ende*, *WH ender* [occ. *jender*]. 396 *waak*, *W wak*. 397 *sáud*. 400 *aanest* &W. 402 *E laan*. 407 *faad'n*. EO'- 411 *W thrii*. 413 *W divel*. 417 *tjAA*. EO': 425 *W l'it*. 426 *W f'it*. — *E helt* [held]. 428 *II sá*, *W sii*. 430 *W frend*. 436 *W tríu*. 437 *W tríuth*. EY- 438 *dá'i* &W [(*dhæt pig*)'l *dá'i te déei*] said Mr. F., but (*dhæt pig id dá'i te déev*) agrees better with what I heard from the labourers].

I- 440 *W wiik*. 443 *W ír'idi* [see 512]. 444 *W st'íl*. 446 *W n'ín*. — *peez'n* [pease, occ.], *E peez*. 449 *W gít*. 450 *W tuuzdi*. I: 452 *E á'i ái* [once only heard], *A'i* &W, *WH á'i*. 458 *n'ít* &W. 459 *r'ít* &W. 462 *s'ít* &W. 465 *W sítj*. 466 *W t'p'ild*. 468 *W t'ilde*. 472 *W sriqk*. 480 *enithiik sathiik nathiik* [anything something nothing, the two last are also] *sathín nathén*. 485 *W thís'l*. 487 *jiistedi*. 488 *W jít*. I'- [I heard (*ái*) not (*s'i*) from the people]. 491 *s'i*. 494 *t'ím* &W. 499 *hiit'l*. I': 500 *W l'ík*. 506 *W oomen*. 507 *W wáin*. 508 *m'íl*. 514 *W á'is á'is á'is* [the diphthong apparently varies as at Aylesbury].

O- 521 *fool*. 524 *W w'él*. O: 526 *kAAf* &W. 527 *baat*. 529 *braat*. 531 *daate* &W. 532 *W kool* [no vanish]. 533 *dál d'úl*. 536 *guuld* [but] *goold'n*. 539 *bol*. 541 *II wont*. 543 *E samthiik an em* [the (æ) of Mr. F. was rather (a) in the labourer's mouth]. 547 *búud*. 550 *wæd*. 551 *W staam*. 552 *kAAW* &W. 553 *AAN*. O'- 559 *mædhu*, *W mædhu*. 564 *sánn*, *E san*. O': 569 *bæk*. 570 *tæk*. 573 *thæd*. 579 *enæ'u* [never (*enaf*)] &W. 595 *fat*, *E fat fuut*, *W fat*. 596 *ræut*. 597 *sæt*.

U- 599 *ubuv*. 600 *lav*, *W lav*. 602 *sæ'u*. 603 *kóm kám* [both are used; the driver stands on the near side of the horse and says (*kómu i'dhæ*) for go to the left, and (*djií aaf*) for to the right; the ploughboy will be directed to (*pæ'ím vlit'l múv túed*) pull him a little more towards, *i.e.* to the left]. 606 *dáuv* &W, *WH dūv*. 607 *bætv*. U: 608 *vglí*. 609 *íul*. 610 *wúl* &W. 611 *bævk* &W. 612 *sám*. 613 *dræqk*, *W dræqk*. 614 *E'ænd* [apt to be nasalised, as (*E'ænd*) and so of the rest] &W. 615 *pæ'ænd*. 616 *E græ'ænd*, *W græ'an*. 617 *sæ'ænd*. 620 *græ'ænd*. 621 *wæ'ænd*. 622 *ænde*. 625 *tæq*. 626 *æqge*. 630 *wæn*. 632 *up*, *æp* [(*æp*) is the rule, I heard the groom say (*kæp*, *kæp*) *i.e.* come up, to the horse]. 634 *thæv thæv* [(*thævæt*) throughout], *W thruu*. 635 *wath*. 636 *fædv*. 637 *tash*. 639 *dæst*.

U'- 640 *kæ'u kje'u kæ'u* [uncertain]. 641 *E'u* [verging to *æ'u*]. 642 [not used]. 645 *dæv* [(*dūv*) on the Chilterns]. 650 *E vbe'ut*. 653 *bæt*, *W bæt* [occ.]. U': 658 *E de'am*, *WH dæ'am*. 659 *WH tæ'am*. 663 *E'us*. 666 *æzbend*, *W æzben*. 672 *sæ'ut* [not (*th*)].

Y- 673 *mæ'tj* &W. 674 *E ded*. 676 *W l'í*. 679 *W t'ætj*. 682 *liit'l* [occ.]. Y: 685 *ridj*. 690 *W k'índ*. 691 *W m'índ*. 696 *W bath*. 700 *was*. 701 *fæst* &W. 704 *wiks'n*. Y- 705 *W sk'í*. 706 *W w'í*. Y': 709 *W f'íve*. 712 *mæ'uzev* [used].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 *dréen* &W. 737 *méet*. E. 744 *W meez'lz*. 746 *bríid* [always with (d) not (dh)]. 748 [(*kælv*) callow, unledged, applied to birds only]. I. and Y. 756 *W srímp*. 758 *W gæl*. 760 *shriv'ld íud baali* [shrivelled eared barley was used for *chevalier barley*]. O. 761 *lód*, *W lóed*. U. 808 *pæt* &W.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *W féus*. 811 *plívs plévs* &W. 813 *bíek'n*, *W béek'n*. 816 *W féed*. — *E fræl* [lail]. 824 *tjié*. 827 *eegu*. 828 *W eegu*. 830 *tréén*. 834 *shæ'j* [&W for a perambulator]. 835 *reez'n*. 836 *seez'n*. — *WH wes'l* [vessel]. 847 *W dééndj*. 852 *æpən* [by old people]. E.. 867 *tee'j*. — *thetjæz* [vetches]. 874 *rén*. 885 *WH wérí*. — *ííe* [a fair]. — *te'rub'l* [a common intensitive, occasionally (*terii'b'l*) to increase the effect]. 888 *saatin*. — *WH sàrvænt* [servant]. 890 *W beest biist*. 891 *fæst*. 894 *diseev* &W. 896 *beevv*. I.. and Y.. 898 *W n'ís*. — *wilj* [village].

— wineger [vinegar]. 901 wáielit, W vǝ'ilit [not (ǝ'i) not (w)]. — WH wit'iz [victuals].

O.. 913 W kóetɿ. 914 W bróutɿ. 916 áinen, W á'inɿm. 918 W feeb'l. 920 páint [and 'pint' is (pǝ'int)]. 929 W kǝ'ukembɛ. 940 W kóet [an under-petticoat]. 947 báil, W bǝ'íl. 948 bǝ'ud. 959 W kenwee'ens. U.. 965 áil, W ǝ'íl. — H ǝrt [hurt, TH. found the (r) was "stronger than at Dunstable, on the way to reverted, something like n.Sh." I failed to hear it, and should have written (ǝət)].

E *Note.* ǝ approach (a) rather than (w); (e, ɛ) were used uncertainly: (ǝ, o) I could not feel sure of, nor of (ǝ, ɹ); the i approach (i₁). I think rather (u) than (u₂), (h) occ., wh=(w). I did not hear (w) for v; (ee, ee) uncertain, did not hear (ee'j), and heard (oo) not (oo'w); (e'u) had no prominent (ɛ), but it was not (ǝ'u).

n.Br. cwl.

B Buckingham and Clackmore (1½ nw.B.), wn. in 1881 by TH. (u_o^o) is a sound intermediate to (u₂, ǝ) and most like (u_o). TH. hears a very faint (r), which he calls "common English r"; sometimes he hears a faint reverted r (ɿr); and he heard reverted or retracted (ɿ) in ale, bell, Bill, children, girl, he'll, milk, silk, tail, possibly an individuality. *Usages*, I are (=am), you be, they be. The I' U' are very refined, as (ǝ'i ǝ'u) in place of (ǝ'i E'u).

H Hanslope (10 ne. Buckingham), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, native.
T Tyrinham (13 ne. Buckingham), from Rev. J. Tarver's wl. io.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T nam, H néem, B nêimz nîemz. 24 T sham, H shéem. 31 léut. 33 HT reedhe. A: 43 T hond, H ænd, B and. 44 T lond. 50 T tǝqz. 51 HT mǝn, B mǝn. 54 H wǝent. A: or O: 61 T umǝq, H umǝq. 64 B roq'. A'- 67 B gu góu. 76 T tǝud, H tǝud. 86 T ôuts, H ôuts ǝts. 89 H búeth. 92 B nõu. 95 B thróu. A': 102 T aast. 104 T rǝud, H rǝud. B rǝud. 110 B ǝ'i shǝnt [I sha'nt]. 113 H wǝl. 115 T ham, H ôem, B òm. 117 B wǝn. 121 B gǝam. 122 B nõu. 124 T stǝm, HB stǝem. 125 H ǝoni. 130 T bǝrt. 131 T gǝet.

Æ- 138 T feedhe, H faadher. 143 B téuel. — B stǝɛrɿz [stairs]. 152 HT waate. ÆE: 155 HT thek. 158 T aate. 160 H eeg. 161 B dêi. 163 T lǝ'i. 166 T mǝud, H mǝe'id. 170 T hǝevvist. 171 HT béeli. Æ'- 183 B téitɿ tiitɿ. 190 B kǝi, HT kee. 194 HT ǝnǝ. 195 HT meeni. 200 B wǝit wǝit [occ.]. A': 213 HT eedhe. 218 HT ship. 223 H dhǝie, B dhǝieɿr. 224 HT wǝie, B wǝieɿr. 230 T tǝt.

E- 233 HT spǝek, B spǝik. 236 T fǝevv, H fiivv. 241 H rêin. 243 B plǝi. 252 H kif'l. E: 260 B lêi. 261 B sǝi. 262 HB wǝi. 263 B wǝi. 265 H strǝet. 272 T helem [ʔ h]. 280 B lǝb'm. 281 H lǝqkth. 282 H strǝqkth. — H nǝstiz [nests]. E'- 299 B grǝin. 300 T kep [ʔ kept]. E': 306 T heet. 312 B iur. 314 B iurd. 315 HB fǝt.

EA- — B éiel [ale]. 319 HT gaap. EA: 323 HT fǝ'ut. 324 B éit. 326 T ǝ'uld, H ǝl, B óuld. 328 T kǝ'uld. 330 HT ǝolt. 332 T fǝ'ud. 333 T kǝnf, H kaat. 334 T hǝnf, H haat. 343 T waam, H waam. 346 HT gǝet, B gǝit, [middle class, usual] gǝit. EA'- 347 T iud, B e'd, H ed. EA': 355 B def. 361 B bienz. 366 B gret. 370 H rǝa+f. 371 T straa, H straa+f.

EI- 373 T dhǝ'i, B dbéi. 374 T naa. EI: 377 T stǝek. 378 HT week. EO- 383 B sǝb'm. 386 HT joo. 387 T nuu.

EO: 388 B mǝ'lk [reverted (l), and the Sm. intermediate between (ǝ, i) p. 146]. — B sǝ'lk [silk, see 388]. 398 T stǝev. 400 T éemest, H aanest. 402 HT laan, B lǝrn. 406 T aath, H ath. 407 T fǝ'edhin faad'n. EO'- 411 B iur [very often]. 420 T fǝ'ub, H fǝv, B fǝver. EO': 425 HT lǝ'it. 427 B bǝi. 436 H trǝu. 437 H trǝuth, B trǝ'uth. EY- 438 HT dǝ'i [ʔ (dǝ'í)].

I- 443 HT frǝ'idǝi. 444 T stǝ'il. 449 HT git. 450 HT tuuzdi. I:

452 HT ə'i, B ə'i *di*. 458 HT nə'it, B nə'it. 459 IIT rə'it. 465 HT sɪtɪ. 466 T tɪə'ild. 468 B tɪɹdɹɛn [(u) verging to (u_o) and (l) reverted]. — B rʊn rɛn [rum, some vowel intermediate to (u_o, ə)]. 482 B ɛnt ɛɪnt [ain't, is it not?]. I'- 490 T bə'i. 494 T fə'im, B tə'im. 496 T ə'i'en. 498 T rə'it. I': 500 HT lə'ik. 502 T fə'iv, B fə'iv. 503 HT lə'if. 504 T nə'if. 505 T wəif. 506 IIT ɹmen.

O- 519 B ɔuvɛr. O: 525 B ʌʌf [off]. 531 T daatɛ, II daatɛ daatɛ [but my (gæl) is more usual]. 541 B ə'i wɔnt [(ə) approaching (u_o)]. 543 B ʌn ʌn. O'- 555 B shuʊ shə'u. 559 T mɪdhɛ [ʔ], H mɛɹn mʊ_odhe. 564 B sɪ_on. O': 579 T ɛnɪʊ, H ɛnʌf [was the only form known]. 587 B dʊ_on. 592 IIT sɔv.

U- — B ʊd [wood]. 603 B kɛm. 605 T sɔn, B sɪ_on [when used]. 606 B dʊ_oɹ. U: 610 T ʌd. 612 B su_oem. 614 T ʌnd [ʔ]. 615 T pɹɛn. 616 T grænd. 622 T ʌndɛ. 629 B so'u'n. 632 B u_op. 633 B ku_op. U': 658 H dɛ'ʊn [and so on for the rest, but the diphthong is rather uncertain, and may be (ə'u)]. Miss Cox used (ɛ'ʊ) herself, and was unable to decide]. 663 B ə'ʊs. 667 B ə'ʊt.

Y: 700 T wɔs. 701 IIT fɔst. Y- 705 HT skə'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 B mɛit mɪt. E. 749 B lɛit. O. 761 HT lɔɛd. 767 T nə'iz. 790 T gɛ'ʌnd. U. 803 B dɪ_omp. — B tɔn [fun]. 808 T pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 H fɛs. 811 H plɛs [pl. plɛs'n]. 813 T biɛk'n, H bɛk'n. 824 T tɪv, H tɪv. 827 H eɛv. 828 H eɛv. 840 T tɹaambe [not a bedroom, but any other room]. 852 T ɛpɛn. 862 H sɛf. 866 H pɔv.

E.. 867 H tee, B tɛi. 878 H sɛlɛri. 879 HT fɛrmɛl. 888 H saatɪn. 890 H biɛst [pl. (biɛstɪz, biɛs)]. 896 T biivɛ [in common use]. I and Y. 898 B nə'is. 904 T vɔ'ilet.

O.. 913 T kɔtɪ. 914 brʊɛtɪ. 920 H pɹ'ɪnt. 923* H mɔ'is. 926 H sp'ail. — B tʊ_on'l tʊ_on'l [tunnel]. 939 H klɔs. 940 T kɔɛt, H kʊɛt [under petticoat, the outer is *skirt*]. 942 T bɹtɹ. 947 H bɹ'ɪl. 954 T kɛsh'n. U.. 963 T kɛɹ'it. 965 H ɹ'ɪl.

T (watɹɛd) wet-shod, (ʌnkɪd) wretched, a few broth. B (*di* ʌr) I are. TH. hears a faint (r), but to me it was quite inaudible.

D 16 = ME. = Mid Eastern.

Boundaries. Begin at Harwich at ne. corner of Es. Go along n. b. of Es. till you reach Cb. Go along first the s. and then the w. b. of Cb. to Peterborough, Np. Go w. along n. b. of Hu. to its nw. corner about Wansford, Np. (In the map the line accidentally falls a little s. of this border, and does not quite pass through Peterborough.) Go wsw. across Np. to Rockingham, Np., at sw. angle of Rt., passing s. of King's Cliffe, Np. Go sw. along the n. b. of Np. to Watling St., near Crick. Then go se. across Np., by the b. of D 6, passing e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, where turn more se. near Pattishall, and proceed s. of Blisworth and w. of Towcester, and continue to b. of Np. and Bu. at about Hartwell, Np. Pursue first the n. and then e. b. of Bu. to Gt. Gaddesden, Ht., and then pass s. across the w. horn of Ht. to strike the b. of Bu. again just about

Whelpley Hill (4 ssw. Gt. Gaddesden). Go e., passing s. of Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield, and Hoddesdon, Ht., n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., ne. of Epping, and w. of Brentwood to the Thames at Tilbury. Then go down the Thames, and round the e. coast of Es. to the starting-point, Harwich. It will be observed that borders of counties are much followed, betraying imperfect information. The line which forms the s. b. is quite uncertain, see D 17. The two lines through Np. are fairly correct, being founded on TH.'s numerous observations. The line across the w. horn of Ht. is rather conjectural, but I have been informed that that horn does not differ from Bu.

Area. Most of Es. and Ht., all Hu. and Bd., and the middle of Np.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Bd. °Amptill, *‖ Bedford, †Dunstable, °Edworth, °Flitwick, †Girford, °Harrold, °Hatley Cockaine, °Melchbourne, *Ridgmont, †Sandy, †Sharnbrook, °Thurleigh, †Tilbrook, °Toddington, †Upper Dean.

Es. °Black Notley, °Bradfield, †Braintree, °Brentwood, °Brightlingsea, †Chelmsford, °Elsenham, †Great Chesterford, °Great Chishall, °Great Clacton, *† Great Dunmow, °Great Easton, °Great Salng, °† Great Shalford, †Henham, ‖ Ingatestone, *Maldon, †Newport, °Paglesham, °† Panfield, °Rayne, °Southend, °Stanway, †Stebbing (Bran End), *Thaxted, °Witham.

Ht. °Anstey, °† Ardeley, † Bishop's Stortford, °Boxmoor, † Braughin, † Buntingford, °Furneaux Pelham, °Gilston, °Great Gaddesden, °Great Hormead, † Hadham, °Harpenden, † Hatfield, °Hemel Hempstead, † Hertford, † Hertford Heath, °Hitchin, °St. Albans, °Sandridge, °† Sawbridgeworth, °† Stapleford, *† Ware, *° Welwyn, °Weston.

Hu. °Alconbury, † Godmachester, °Great Catworth, † Great Gidding, °Great Paxton, °† Great Stukeley, °Hamerton, °Hilton, °† Holme, °Houghton, † Huntingdon, °Keystone, † Kimbolton, † Little Stukeley, † Old Fletton, °Pidley, † St. Ives, °† Sawtry, °Somersham, † Staneley, °† Stilton.

Np. † Blisworth, † Brixworth, † Clay Coton, † Denton, °Duston, *East Haddon, † Great Houghton, † Hackleton, °Hannington, † Hardingstone, °Hargrave, °Harrington, † Irchester, † Islip, °† Lower Benefield, † Lowick, † Nether Heyford, *† Northampton, °† Oundle, † Sibbertoft, † Stanion, † Sudborough, † Thrapston, † Welford, † Wellingborough, °West Haddon, † Yelvertoft.

Character. This is a long straggling district, and between the n. in Np. and the s. in Es. there can be little or no connection. But I have found it impossible to divide the district by any definite lines, and have felt it best to consider the different counties involved as forming 'varieties,' and very slight such varieties are. The general character is

A- remains (éu) only among very old people; but becomes (ái, e'í, áh) in different parts among the younger people. Thus, a Mrs. Clarke, about 73, at Ardeley called apron (E'ipræn), but said her grandmother called it (éppæn). Sometimes the women have made the change only, thus at the last-named place both Calvert 77 and Clarke 73 said (mæc' mate, in which the (v) is merely omitted; but their wives said (mæ'it méit) respectively. It is certain then that this (éi, e'í), which is now so characteristic of D 16, is of recent growth, and has arisen from (éu), which with (iu) is prevalent all over the S. div., just as (ái) in the M. has grown out of (au), an alteration of (áu). Alphabetically, the letter *a* is called (á'í).

A' is still occ. (úv) as an old form, but falls into (óv), and thence into (óu, óu). I' becomes quite (á'í), and the letter *i* is so called alphabetically; it is thus practically distinguished from *a* (E'í).

U' has similarly to be distinguished from (óu), and hence (á'u, áu) were ousted by (É'u, éu), which is the general form.

These characters appear pretty generally in all the varieties, which I propose to pursue and exemplify in the order Var. i., Ht. ; Var. ii., Bd. ; Var. iii., Hu. ; Var. iv., Np. ; and then, starting from Ht. again, proceed to Var. v., Es., which leads directly to the e.London variety of D 17.

VAR. i., HERTFORDSHIRE.

There were three principal centres of information. 1. Ware, where I had a vv. cs. from a native, checked by TH.'s observations; 2. Ardeley, where I had first much information from Rev. C. Malet, and then had it checked by TH. in a journey made on purpose; and 3. Welwyn with Hitchin.

1. The Ware speech is well exemplified by the following cs., with the cwl., which includes the words observed by TH.

2. Ardeley was recommended to me by the gentleman who gave me the cs. of Ware, and with much difficulty, owing to want of phonetic knowledge on the curate's part, I obtained a sufficiently intelligible version, but this was excellently supplemented by TH.'s visit, when he had the good fortune to be assisted by very old peasants, whose information is embodied in the cwl.

3. Welwyn I had hoped to have settled by a vv. from a native student at Whitelands Training College, but it was spoiled by the peculiarity of her education, and I am indebted to an old college friend, Mr. C. W. Wilshere, who lives at Welwyn, for a dt. for that place and also from Hitchin; but as they were written in unsystematic orthography, there is much that is conjectural in my pal., the interpretation being often derived from the other sources.

Finally, I add a few words from Harpenden and Hatfield, to shew the nature of the dialect at the borders of D 17.

There are very few points to be noticed. One is the partial use of (w) for (v) more developed in Es. and D 19, which we also met with in D 9, p. 132. The use of 'together' in addressing several people, and 'it do' for 'it does,' are more developed in Cb. and D 19. The use of the aspirate varies, but it is generally omitted.

WARE CS.

pal. by AJE. in 1876, from the dictation of Mr. J. W. Roderick, a native of Amwell (1 se.Ware), who considers that the specimen he gave applied to a district from Great Munden (6 n.Ware) to Broxbourne (4 s.Ware), and from Watton (6 nw.Ware) to Widford (4 ene.Ware). Drawing lines e. and w., n. and s. through these extremes, we get a large district including Hertford and Stapleford, but excluding Welwyn and Ardeley. TH. endeavoured to verify the indications here given. At the end I collect the principal words of this cs. in a cwl., adding the words obtained by TH. at Ware, Hertford, Hertford Heath, and Stapleford. The introductory (r) was found at Ware by TH., but the nasalisation was not observed at Ware, and neither were observed elsewhere. TH.'s chief time had been devoted to Ardeley, and he was unable to do much in the other places.

0. wói :djoo.n ez nóov déuts.

1. wé'el, níebe, jú en ii me búueth léáaf et dhís níuz e móin. íu kíerz ? dhaat)s nædher íie ne dhíie.

2. fíu men dói kez dhe)e léáaft et, wii núuez, dúent)es ? waat shud míek em ? t)íi)nt weri lóikli ís)t ?

3. éuseme)v dhíes íie)z dhe tríuth e dhe kíes, soo djíst óud je réu, méet, en bi kwóiet til ói)v dæn. lí's'n.

4. ói)m sət'n ói íied em síec)í,—səm e dhe piip'l íu we)nt thríu dhe úuel thíq frem dhe fæst dhe)selfs—dhaat ói díd, síef eníæf.

5. dhaat dhe jæqgest sən ínself, e gríet bóí e nóin, níu íz féaa)dhez vóies et wæns, dhoo t)waaaz se kwíier en skwíiken, en ói ed)træst)em)t spiiek dhe tríuth aní díeci, aa, ói wud.

6. en dh)óud wamen)self, 'l tel ení) ov je dhat líáaf níé)u, en tel je stríet aaf tíu, bréat ne boodhe, ef jú)l ooni æks)v, úub wúent shí ?

7. lístwíez shí tuuld et mii wen ói ækst)v, tíu)v thríie toimz úuvv, sh)díd, en shii úuet noot tíu bi ròq on sít) e páint eez dhíies —waat díu jú thíie)q ?

8. wel, ez ói wez v)sec)en shí)d tel)je éu, wíier, en wen shí fiéunt dhe dra)ken bíest she kaalz er æzben [óud mæn].

9. shí súu) sh)sid)em wi er óoen óiz blóí)en stríet)at at fuul líe)kth oon dhe gríeund, in íz gúed sände kúuet, klúues bóí dhe [be dhe] dúuer v)dhe íe)us díe)an et th)kúuener v)dhe líen inde.

10. ii wez e wóimen [íe)den] ewéer, sez shii, fer aal dhe wald lóik e síek t)íóild [t)íáild] er e lí'l g)el e fréeten.

11. en dhaat aapend ez shii en er dúueter)in)laa kíem thríu dhe bíæc j)aa)d fre æqen íe)ut dhe wíet klúuez tíu dróí on e woshen déci,

12. wóil dhe kí'l wez e báilen fe tii, wən fóin broít samer aatunun, úuendi e wíek egu)u kam neks thæzdi.

13. en d)je núue ? ói neve laant ení máue dhen dhíies, e dhaat bíznis ap tíu te déci, ez shíue)z móí níem)z :djaak :shí)et, en e dúu)ent woont tíu nædhe, dhíie níeu.

14. en soo ói m gúwen úu)em tíu s)pe. gú)noíet, en dúu)ent bi se kwíek tíu krúue úu)ver e feler egí)n, wen í tóovks e dhíies dhaat e t)ædhe.

15. ii)z e wí)ek fáuel, dhat djí)æz eríe)ut kí)æ)z te. en dhaat)s móí lí)æst wæd. fáu je wel.

Notes to *Ware es.*

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* is entirely absorbed in the vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *it is not*, distinct (tiint) not (tiünt).—*very*, *v* is constantly pronounced as *w*, but not conversely.

3. *this here's*; very short fracture in (dhíes).—*hold*, doubtful whether (a'ud) or (óud) and may be (óud).—*rou*, noise.—*I are done*, *I are* for *I am* and that for *I have*, as usual. (óí ra)u) I are, an

emphatic assertion, and (ii)v he are are common, so also thou, we, you *am*, (dhéu)m wii)m jú)m): they *be* sometimes, but in answer to a question they're, them and it's me (dhe)e)v dhem, it,s mii) are used.

4. *I am* with an adjective predicate, not *I are*.—*certain*, not (sət'n).—*say*, the nasality occurs only when the word is very prolonged.—*people*, *folk* is not usual.—*enough*, this was the best imita-

tion I could give, the (i) very short, the (æ) long, but I was not satisfied with the last vowel.

5. *great* (gæ̃t) is never used.—*knew*, (nú) distinctly, not (nú).—*voice*, though this is a common word, (w) is not used.—*day*, the (ee) is not nasal, (diu) occ., the prefixed (i) was not heard in par. 11 and 13.—*aye*, also (jís) yes.

6. *ask*, distinctly (æks), not (aks). At Albury (8 n.e. Ware) (jísks) is heard.

7. *point*, distinctly (páint) while *pint* is (póint) similarly (djáint, áil, áint-

ment) joint, oil, ointment. (iier áil) hair oil, and similarly (riien, driien, riuelwéei triien) rain, drain, railway train.

9. *yonder* is very commonly called (indu). We have the various forms (jander jander jinder) in S. dialects and (jende, jinde, inde) in E. dialects, but whether (indu) represents *yonder* or *kinder* is not clear.

14. *goodnight*, almost (ge)noít).

15. *fare ye well*, *good-bye* would not be used except for a long absence, (tataa') may be heard, but it is not very common.

se. HT., WARE, etc.

Unmarked words from Mr. Roderick's es. for Ware, with others given by him.

W wn. by TH. at Ware from Goldstone 29, and W₂ Saunders 12, natives.

H wn. by TH. at Hertford from Seymour 71, and HH. Hertford Heath (2 se. Hertford).

S wn. by TH. at Stapleford (3 n.-by-e. Hertford). All in 1884.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- W₂ [letter A = (ái)]. 5 míek, W me'ík. 8 W æv, W₂ ev, H. ðnt [have not]. 17 laa, W laa. 19 HH te'iel. 21 níem, W₂ ne'im. — fáau [fare]. 34 háast. A: 39 kíem. 49 æq. 53 W₂ kæ'n. 54 woont. 56 wosh. A: or O: 60 loq. 64 ròq, HH ròq.

A'- 67 gíuven, W [between] egóu'in, egóu'in, W₂ góu'in. 69 W nóu. 72 íu, W₂ uu, W uu íu. 74 íu, H íu. 79 óem. 81 líen. 82 wæns. 84 míuv, H móv. 87 kláuvz. 89 bíueth, W bóath, W₂ bóuth. 92 níuv. 94 kríuv. A': 102 æks [at Albury (jísæ'ks)], W àsk. 105 H rúed. 106 H braad. 110 noot. 111 úæt. 113 úuul, W oo'l. 115 úuem, W òem, H oom òm. 117 wæn, HH eloon [alone]. 120 uguu'. 122 nóov. 125 oonli úuveni. 137 nædhv, W nedhv.

Æ- 138 fæaa dhv, WW₂H faadhv. 144 egín. 150 líest. Æ: 154 bíek. 155 HH íhetj. — tugj'edhv [together, addressing several persons]. — W àd [had], W₂ ed. 151 aate. 161 déei, déei, diu, W de'i, W₂ daí, H dí. 169 wen. 173 waaZ. — kaat [cart]. 177 dhaat [?(dliatj)]. 179 waaT. Æ'- 194 eni. 200 HH wit. Æ': 209 nevv. 220 shápt. 222 íu. 223 dhíiv, W dhéev. 224 wíiv. 227 wíet.

E- 233 spíek. 241 riien, W re'in, W₂ ráin. 244 we'el. 252 kí'tl. E: 256 stríetj. 261 síee í, esee-en [a-saying], W se'i. 263 ewéev, W ewe'i. 265 stríet, W stre'it. 276 thíúqk. 279 we'nt. 280 W 'lev'n. 281 líeqkth. E'- 297 telv. E': 307 HH náí. 312 íu. 316 neks.

EA- 320 kíer. EA: 322 léaaí líaaí, WW₂HH laaí. 326 óud, W óu'ld, W₂ óuld, H [between] óul óul. 330 óud, W óu'ld. 332 tuuld. 335 aaí & H. 338 kaaí. 340 jaa d. EA'- 348 ói. 349 íu. EA': 357 dhoo. 359 néeba. 366 gríet, W gre'it. EI- 372 aa. 373 dhev. EI: 378 wíek.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 387 níu, W níu & W₂. EO: 392 jaelv [yellow]. 394 indv, W jände [mostly, occ.] jände, W₂ jände [old (jände)], HH jände. 399 bróit. 402 laant. 408 níu. 411 thríiv. 412 shi sh-. EO': 422 síek. 435 jiu, HIIW ju. 437 tríuth. EY- 438 dói, W da'i, H [between] dáid da'id. EY: 439 trast.

I- W₂ [letter I = (aa'i)] 440 wíek. 446 nóin. I: 452 ói, W ái. 453 kwíek. 458 gú'noíet [good-night]. 465 síti. 466 tíróld, tíáíld, W₂ tíaa'ild. 469 wól. — wíndv [window]. 480 thíq. 482 tíint [it is not], W e'ínt iz'nt, W₂ e'ínt. 484 dhíiv dhíiv. I'- 492 W₂ saa'id. 494

tóim, H [between] ta''im tóim, HH ta''im. 495 wóin. I: 500 lóik, W láik & H. 596 wamun. — W₂ [between] ái, á'i [hay]. 508 HH [between] ma'ild, ma'ild. 509 wóil. 510 móin, W ma''in, W₂ maa'in.

O- 519 úvuv úvuv. 524 wald, W wa'ld wa'ld. O: 525, ii. aaf. 531 dúvuv, W daav, HH daav. 538 wud. 541 wúent, W₂ wóunt [sometimes (wánt)]. 550 wad, H wód. O'- 555 shiu. 556 tíu. 557 tíu, H [between] tíu, téu. 567 tjadhe. O': 571 g'áud. 579 uníæf, W unaf, W₂ [between] unaf, unaf. 586 diu d'úent [don't], W dáu, H diu. 587 dan. 588 nuun. 592 síuv.

U- 603 kam & W. 604 sãmv. 605 sãv, HH sã'n. 606 dúuv. U: 609 fuul. 612 sãm. 616 gríeund, W gría'un. 623 fiéunt, W fí'a'und. 627 saunde. 629 HH sã'n. 631 thrãdi. 632 ap, W₂ ap, H ap. 633 H [between] kãp kãp. 634 thríu, HH thríu. U'- 641 éu. 643 nié'u, W niá'u, W₂ [between] ne''u, nêu. 648 á'uén [ourn, in "our mode of pronouncing"]. 651 v'éut eréut [?: is this there-out], W' widhiá'ut. U': 658 diéun, W diá'un, W₂ dié''im, H d'ã'un d'á'un, HH d'ã'un. 659 W₂ te''in. 663 iéus, W i'á'us, HH [between] e''us á'us. 666 azben. 667 iéut, W e''ut, H á'ut.

Y- 673 H matj. 674 diid. 677 drói. 681 biznis. 682 lit'l. Y: 692 jaqgest. 694 H wak. 701 fast, WW₂ faast. Y'- 706 wói, W wa''i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 drúen. 726 tóok, H taak. 732 aapen. 737 méet, W me'it. — djiãvz [jaws]. E. 652 iréut. I. and Y. 758 gjel, W ga'l, H gjal, W₂ gja'l. O. 767 W nôiz. — H wóv [worn]. 781 boodhe. 789 réu, W riá'u. 791 bói, HH bóv. U. 797 skwiiken. 798 kwíuv. 803 djãmp. 804 drãqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plãs. 830 tríen, W tre''in. 841 H tãans. 857 kús. 862 síef. 864 kíãã'z [cause]. — síãã'vidj [savage]. E.. 867 iíi & H. 885 veri, W veri [no *v* used for *r*], W₂ veri, H [no *v* used for *r*], HH & S [used for *r*]. — píãã'tridj [partridge]. 888 sã't'n. 890 búust. I.. and Y.. 901 íóin, W₂ íã'in. — W v'ínigv [vinegar] & W₂ [with *v* only]. — póint [pint], W [between] póint páint, W₂ p'óint. — vit'lv [victuals], & W₂ [adding, some say (wit'lv)], HH & S wit'lv.

O.. 919 ánimment. 920 páint, W₂ p'óint. — djáint [a joint]. 925 vóius, W v'ó'is. 938 kãnev. 939 klíuv. 940 kúvet. 941 tíuv. 947 báil. 950 sã'pv. 955 déut, W d'ã'ut. U.. 963 kw'óit, W kwã'iet. 965 áil. — iéul [howl]. 969 shíuv. 970 djíst.

ARDELEY OR YARDLEY (8 e.-by-s.Hitchin) dt.

written by Rev. C. Malet, son of the Vicar, and palaeotyped by AJE. from indications given by him. Mr. Roderick of Ware, Ht., said that (jãã'dli : wud : iind) or Yardley Wood End was a famous outlandish place for the dialect. From TH.'s observations it appears that long vowels are too freely used in this translation.

1. soo ó'i sééiz, méevts, jú sii néev, dhaat ó'i bii r'ó'it, tvgídh'v, ábécut dhaat éev líit'l gaal v-kãm'in from dhe skíul jaan'dv.

2. shíi z vgoó'in déevn dhe róovd dhéev thríu dhe réevd gúvt on dhe left aand s'ó'id v dhe wéev l'ó'ik.

3. shíuv naf dhe tjo'ild v gaan str'ó'it ap tíu dhe dúuv v dhe roq éeus.

4. wéev shíi vl moost(v)niin f'ó'ind dhaat drãqk'n déevf síivd tjaap nvem v :tãã'mãs.

5. wi aal nóovz en ver'i wel.
 6. want (dh)aal tjaap sî'un laan v not te díu et ógíen nó'idhø,
 píuv thøq!
 7. líuk! éevnt et trú'u.

Notes.

Very drawled. 4. *most on end*, sure that (en) for (em) or (im) was generally, surely. *seared*, shrivelled. used. No other authorities admit this
 5. *we all knows him*. Mr. M. was strictly MS. form.

ARDELEY WOOD END (:jaadli :wud :iind, :jàrli :wud :iin),
 (1½ se.Ardeley), cwl.

TH.'s observations on Darby and wife 48, Brown 86, Calvert and wife 77, Clarke 73 and wife 62, these are not here generally distinguished, as that would be descending to personal differences, when there was substantial agreement, but it was observed that the men inclined to older and the women to recent forms. Darby used 'together' as an address to several, as (wíe[r] ju gu'in, tégjødhe?) where are you going, you people? Common in D 18 and 19.

B a few wn. by TH. at Buntingford (:bæ'nítet) about 4 ne.Ardeley, chiefly from F. Kimpton, labourer, 72. Mrs. K. said (it du) for it does. All wn. in 1884.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 meek. 21 niem nó'em ne'im, B [between], née[em] née[im]. A: 43 and. A: or O: 64 [between] røq roq [or something between (røq, roq)]. A'- 67 guu gu'in. 73 B sôu. 74 tú. 81 léen, lee'n, le'in [Mrs. Clarke, whose mother said [léen], B lê'in. 86 óuts. 92 nôu. A': 104 [formerly] rúed, [now] rôud, [Brown and Mrs. Calvert], rood [Calvert]. 115 oom. 117 wan.

Æ- 138 faadhø. Æ: B thetj. 161 dôi, dee [Calvert], de'i [Mrs. Clarke], deei [Clarke]. — stéul [stale=handle]. — waps-iz [wasp-s]. 170 àlvíst-iz. — glaas [glass]. — kjaat [cart]. Æ'- 125 oní. Æ': 226 mòs en iin [most on end, generally].

E- 241 reen [Calvert] re'in [Mrs. C.]. E: 263 ewee. 265 stre'it stréit strèt, B stréit. — fíld fílz [field fields]. E'- 299 gríin. E': 314 ied & B. 315 íit.

EA: 326 óuld, B óul, óuld. 328 B kóuld. — járjn [earn]. 346 g'ut. EA'- 347 e'id. EA': 355 det. 371 straa [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother]. EO- 383 sev'm. EO: 394 jände [Darby], jande [Brown], [both at B.]. 396 [between] wæk wok. 402 laan, [between] leen læn [Mrs. Clarke].

I: 452 ai. — bád [bird]. 459 ráit róit róit. 466 tpiid tpi'il. 469 wàl. 477 fæ'ind fæ'ind. 482 ènt [aint, is not]. I'- 492 sã'id sã'id [nearly], sãid, B sã'id [and all long i at B=(A'i), B sô'id. 494 tá'im & B. I': 503 blã'iv [alive]. 510 ma'in.

O- — bô,øn [born]. O: 531 daats. 541 want wònt wont. — faak [fork]. 550 wad. — A'us [horse]. O'- 556 tú. 560 skuul & B. 562 mun. 564 sîun sunn sæ'un. O': 586 díu. 588 nuun.

U- 603 kam. 605 sũn. 606 dùu dùu dùu d'us [between (dùu, d'ø)]. U: 613 drøqk, drøqk. — wände [wonder]. 632 æp øp. 634 thrú. U'- 643 [between] nó'u, ne'n. [Darby and Calvert], nã'u [Brown], ne'u [Mrs. Clarke]. 648 ó'un [our'n, ours]. 659 vbo'ut. U': 658 d'ã'm [between that and (de'un) Mrs. Calvert and B: between the two, Mrs. Clarke], B d'ie'an. 659 B t'ie'an, B te'an. 663 ó'us [between that and (e'us) Mrs. Calvert, B e'us].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet [Clarke, Calvert], me'it [Mrs. Calvert], méit [Mrs. Clarke]. E. 749 leit. I. 758 gjål gjal. O. — grø'ul [growl]. U. 803 B [between] dʒæmp, dʒæmp. — taneps [turnips].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fêes. — déeəm [dame]. 852 [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother said éepən, but the present pronunciation is e'iprən]. I.. and Y.. 898 náis. 901 fáiin. O.. — bit [beet]. — B pæmp [pump]. — füst [forced]. — tən [turn]. 955 [between] de"ut də"ut [Calvert].

Note. B no (w) for (v).

WELWYN (8 s.-by-e.Hitchin) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from notes and indications by C. W. Wilshere, Esq., of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. soo ái sez, meets, sez ái, jú sii néu ez éu ái)m ráit obéut dhat lî'l gæl ekæmin frəm dhæ skunl jandæ.

2. shii)z eɡoo'in déən dhæ róord dhées thruu dhæ red gáit ən dhæ fædhe [dhis] sáid ev dhæ wái.

3. shiur euf dhæ tjáild iz gææn stráit ep tæ dhæ dúuer əv dhæ rəq éus.

4. wéu shii)l tjaans fáind dhat dræk'n dæf wiz'nd fæler əv dhæ náim v :toməs.

5. wii aal nooz im veri wel.

6. woont dhæ ool tjæp suun læn)v nət tæ duu it egen.

7. læk'i dhées, eent it djest ez ái sed ?

Miscellaneous Welwyn Notes from Mr. Wilshere.

r not sounded except before a vowel.

h initial almost unknown except in *hisn hern*.

I be was constantly in use about 1850, and *beant* is universal now among old people.

unked (æqkɪd), uncomfortable, dreary, —common.

like (lɪk), a common qualifying addition to adverbs. She looked at me quite strange-like; I thought she knew him, they seemed quite friends-like ?

do (dú), (ɔ'i aaləz dú it, sɔu ɔ'i dú), I always do it, so I do. (i tæuz in dhéu pɪtɪ rɛɡlɪr v,nə'its, i dú) he turns in there pretty regular at nights, he do.

gave. In Welwyn (gɪv), in Hitchin (gæv).

audacious (éudcei:shəs), impudent, —common.

who (hu). "I be-ant a-goïn ther ter-day." "They people over at Har-

ford *aint* [anciently beant] like *we*," "Lookee, there, if that aint [or beant] our Jim, dooant e jist look spɪv [(spráit) not (sprá'it)] since ee's biin keepin company with Jane," universally used for courting.

-en, in *yearn hisn hern theirn ousen rosen* [at Welwyn].

town, up town, down town, always without the article.

done. "it was im as done it, she done it, its er as done it, it's them as done it."

favour. "e (the os) favours is off leg wus than yesterday," does not rest on it being lame; "bless me ow she dew favour her mother sure-lie," how like she is to.

shut (shɛt), *shrink* (sriŋk), *put* (pʊt), *foot* (fɒt).

jackass. *clock* is feminine.

The indications were not sufficient for me to give the pronunciation fully in these notes.

HITCHIN dt.

pal. by AJE. from notes obtained by C. W. Wilshere, Esq.,
of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. *soo* ə'i SEZ, *meets*, SEZ ə'i, *ju sii* vs *éu* ə'i)m rəit əbéut dhæt
lɪtl en [dhæt jæq gæl] ez iz v)kæm'in éut)v skuuld jændə.

2. *shii-z* egoo'in dɛm [dæ'ɪm] dhæt év rúued dhéu, thruu dhe
red gíut v)tedhe [ə)dhɪs] sáid v dhe wee.

3. *shíur* enaf *if* shi *cent* v)gAAN rə'it əp tɛ dhe dúuer v)dhe rəq
éus.

4. *blest if* shi *woont* [bet v pen'i shii]l] f'ɪnd dhæt draɣkn ool
tjæp dhéu, wɪz'nd ool :təm.

5. *wi* aal *nooz* im *pat'i* wel.

6. *woont* dhe ool tjæp sunn lɛm)v tɛ teek kéeur éu shi daz it
egɛn, púue thɪŋg!

7. *luk'i* dhéu! *túueld* *je soo*.

Notes.

I is distinctly broad (ə'i).

(*unéu*) is said when it refers to the plural.

HARPENDEN (4 n.St. Albans) ewl.

words from Mr. T. Wilson's dt.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 *néim*. A: 43 *ænd*. A: or O: 58 *fæn* [ʔ]. 64 *rəq*. A'- 67
gu'in. 92 *nóu*. A': 104 *rúed*. 121 *gAAN*. Æ- 144 *egɪ'n*. Æ: 177
dhət. Æ'- 183 *teetɪ*. Æ': 223 *dhie*. 224 *wie*. E: 261 *sə'i*.
262 *wáɪ*. 265 *stréet*. 266 *wæl*. E'- 293 *wæ*. 297 *fielɛ* *fielɛ*. EA:
326 *óul*. 346 *gíut* *géut* *gæt*. EA': 355 *deth*. EO: 394 *jændɛ*.
EO'- 412 *shœ* [ʔ]. EO': 428 *se* [ʔ]. 435 *ɹé'u*. 436 *tríu*. I: 452
ái [probably, uncertain]. 459 *rə'it*. 466 *tjə'ld*. 469 *wɪl* [will]. 477 *tə'nd*.
480 *fɪq* *fɪq* *thəq*. 482 *cent* [is not]. I'- 492 *sə'ɪd*. O: 541 *wənt*
wənt. O'- 560 *skuuld*. 564 *síun*. O': 579 *enɛ'u*. 586 *díu*. U- 606
dúue. U: 634 *throo*. U'- 643 *nɛ'u*. U': 658 *díɛ'm*. 663 *ɛ'us*.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 *gæl*. U. 804 *draɣk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 *tjAANS*. E.. 885 *wɛri*. U.. 969 *shíue*.

HATFIELD (6 wsw.Hertford) ewl.

wn. in 1884 by TH., chiefly from J. Hart 62, and his wife.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *téik*. 5 *méik*. S *ɪnt* [hasn't]. A'- 74 *tə'u*. 82 *wɪns*. A': 104
rô'ud [old form *rúed*]. 121 *gAAN*. 128 *dhə'uz*. Æ- 144 *egjɛ'n*. EA:
326 *óul*. 346 *gjéit*. EO: 394 *jændɛ*. 402 *laan* [old form]. EO'- 411

thrii. I: 466 tʃáil. 480 enithiqk [anything]. — iten [hitting]. I'- 492 sáid. O: 541 wóunt went. O': 586 dá'n. 587 [between] dá'n, dá'n. U- 606 dów. U'- 650 ɛbá'ut. U': 663 [between] ə'us, ɛ'us.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lād [used more than boy]. I. and Y. 758 gʃəl [old form, Mrs. H. said between] gʃəl gʃɛ'l. O. — laast [lost]. 791 bði [more often lad].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — gaad'nin [gardening]. O.. — pamp [pump].

VAR. ii. BEDFORDSHIRE.

The Bd. var. is scarcely distinguishable from the Ht. We have Batchelor's account written 80 years ago, and it scarcely differs from the present pron., as shewn by the following dt. from Ridgmont and the es. from Bedford. It is sufficient to leave these to tell their own story.

T. Batchelor in 1809 wrote an "Orthoepical Analysis of the English Language—to which is added a minute and copious analysis of the dialect of Bedfordshire," 8vo. pp. viii. 164. This differs from ordinary writing about dialects by being written in a systematic character, and therefore I deviate from my usual habit of disregarding printed books. All is here given in the best pal. interpretation I could assign. But of course difficulties and uncertainties abound. Thus, (e, ɛ) are quite uncertain, and hence (éu, ɛ'u). Similarly, (ə, ɛ), and hence (ə'i, ɛ'i), are also uncertain. The simple (e, ə) are therefore alone used. B. has no other way of expressing (ii, uu) but by the equivalents of (iʃ, uʃ), which might mean (í, ú), but I interpret them as (ii, uu) for simplicity. B.'s r is said to be always "smooth," and that means most probably, as generally in E. div., before a vowel (r) or (r_o), and when not before a vowel simply (r); but to indicate his usage, 'permissive r' or (r) is here employed. For the simple (r) see the following es. and dt. B. gives a very long list of principally "accidental" errors of pronunciation, and a large number of "colloquial phrases or low vulgarisms." The first I give to a small extent in a ewl. and a few of the latter are also added. But to go into the whole would be to give undue prominence to the district. His rules for pronouncing the dialect in 1809 amount to the following, the examples and pronunciation are his own.

1. *ow* generally = (éu), this refers to the words with U' (néu kéu dhéu féul éul), now *cow* thou *owl*, and O' (pléu) *plough*, and with the French OU .. (véu, pléu) *vow, allow*. He takes the received diphthong as (óu).

2. Long *ū* is generally (iu), as (triu, trius) *true, truce*, and in French words (míuz, ríu'in, níuzens, kríu'íl, slíus) *muse, ruin, nuisance, cruel, sluice*.

3. *ai ay* = (éei) in (déei wéei séei néei réei) *day way say nail rail* and French (péei péei), but *a* followed by a consonant and final *e* is (éu, éu, éeu), for which I usually write (éu), as (séel séel) *sale sail*, (téel téel) *tale tail*, (méel méel) *male mail*, (péel péel) *pale pail*. This corresponds to the treatment of A-, ÆG-, EG-, to which other Saxon and French words are levelled up, thus he

gives also (wéœu téœu géœut) wear tear gate, and (gréœus pléœus spéœus péœu) grace place space, pear & pair. And he says (néœushœu stéœushœu) nation station occur in n.Bd.

4. *ea* and long *e* before *r* = (*iœ*), for which I usually write (*iœ*). these words are from various sources (hít míet swíet bíet fíœ :djœmz píœ bíœ) heat meat sweat beat fear James peer beer.

5. *oa* and *o* before a consonant followed by *e* = (*úœ*), as (múœn grúœn thrúœt búœt túœn sœpúœz, befúœr múœr flúœr) moan groan throat bought toue suppose before more floor; here whatever has (*œo*, *œœ*) in received speech is levelled up. But B. adds *not* in "hope home rope spoke oak told mould sold soul roll," and *not* in (nóœu dhóœu dóœu króœu) no though doe crow, so that each word would have as usual to be separately acquired.

6. *o* short before (k, g, q) is (*œ*), as (brœk strœk spœk fœk) broke stroke spoke folk, (dœg hœg rœg) dog hog rogue, (sœq lœq rœq) song long wrong. This rule is difficult, the *œ* being (now at least) often long in rs.

7. (*œq*, *œk*) of rs. become (*uq*, *uqk*), as (sœq dœq hœq druœk mœq truœk suœk brœ mœqgrœl œmœq) sung dung hung drunk monk trunk sunk bung mongrel among.

8. *oi*, *oy* become (*œ'i*) in (brœ'il spœ'il fœ'il be'il sœ'il œ'il œ'intment nœ'iz tœmœ'il rœ'al) broil spoil foil boil soil oil ointment noise turmoil royal; but is (*œ'i*) in enjoy noise [as well as (nœ'iz)?] voice choice toys boys = (bœ'iz).

9. *r* is not pronounced before *s* followed by *e* or by a consonant, as (fœst dœst wœst kúœs fúœs AAS BAAœœ bæth wœth wœstœd) first durst worst course force horse border birth worth worsted. Here we have not always simple omission.

10. *-ow* final is often (*œ*), or more probably (*œ*) except when a vowel follows, (elbœ melbœ nærbœ wíndœ) elbow mellow narrow window, also (œ'idíœ putœœtœ :œ'fríkœ :tjœœni) idea potato Africa Chinaware.

11. *-nge* final = (*nzh*) not (*ndj*) as (strœœnzœ réœœnzœ méœœnzœ sprœnzœ twœnzœ sœnzœ swœnzœ) strange range mange springe twinge singe swinge.

12. *-ing* of participles is (*œn*), as (sœœn) singing, (gœ'n) going.

13. *wh* initial is simple (*w*), as (wœt) what.

14. *h* initial generally omitted, as (i iz œm) he his him, but sometimes inserted in the wrong place, as (bœal hœœl hœœœ hœks hœndœ'œ œn) awl owl order axe and iron.

15. *-aw* final generally = (*-aa*), but the custom is disappearing, (lœa sœa klœa) law saw claw.

16. *er*, *ir* followed by a consonant is (*œr*), meaning really (œ, œœ), and unaccented seems to be (*œr*) or simply (*œ*); (pœrhœps pœrswœœd pœr œsœœtœd pœr œ'n) perhaps persuade pert merciful person.

17. unaccented (*œ*) takes the place of long *o* and even *œ* in initial, middle and final unaccented syllables, as (œ'nœœns œkœr œfœnd œlœœn œkœœnt) innocence occur offend alone account.

I œre for *I œm* is common, he'm she'm we'm you'm they'm, are used by a few. On b. of Bu. I be, ye be, are heard.

Batchelor's Bd. Sentences. Only a few are given.

- (wœt œ vaas sœ'it œv fœk), what a vast sight of folk.
- (œ'il bi wœ)œ nekst wéœz), I'll be with)you next ways, i.e. I'll come soon.
- (hœ)z lœq œ dhœ bak œn œm), he's long of the back on him, i.e. he has a long back.
- (dhœœ œ gœd wíœts, bœœlœz), these are good wheats, barleys, etc., i.e. good kinds of wheats, etc.
- (œ'i kaant méœk nothœn œv œt, nœdhœ hed nœ tœil œn)œ), I can't make nothing of it, neither head nor tail of it.
- (gœv mœ œ fœœ brœœth, pœrœœ), give me some broth, porridge.
- (hœœ mœni brœœth? œz dhœœr œnœœ), how many [much] broth? is there enew. [Broth is always in the plural.]

8. (:mistres :m. iz néishən, mAAɪtəl, déusid rɪtʃ, púuɪ, ɪl, gʊd, bəd, hɑnsəm, əgli, etc.), Mrs. M. is 'nation, mortal, deucid rich, poor, ill, good, bad, handsome, ugly.
9. (dhéuɪ wɛz ɒ də'nɛ hɛ'mənɪ'), there was I don't know how many.
10. (AAɪbɪz gu'ɪn tɛ fébɪz ɛn sɪtʃ), always going to fairs and such like.
11. (evəri néu ɛn tən), every now and then, (dhen) with (dh) assimilated to the preceding (n).
12. (dhi wɛdhuɪ)z píuuɪ kɔmfəteɪbl ɔʊvər ɪt wɔz, the weather is pure comfortable over it was.
13. (ə'ɪ hɛ)nɛ wɔts tɛjɪər. I have no oats to-year [this year].
14. (ɪt)s pɪtɪ gʊdɪʃ, bɔbɪʃ, lə'ɪk, it's pretty goodish, bobbish, like; the 'like' qualifies the meaning similarly to the usual as it were, it is *about* pretty good.
15. (ɪt stanz tɛ sɛns, hɪɪ wɔnt bɪ sɛd), it stands to sense [it is clear] he won't be said [stopped by words].

RIDGEMONT (9 ssw. Bedford) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from the dictation of Miss Susan Wheck, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. soo A'ɪ séei, mééits, juu sɪi né'u A)ɛ rə'ɪt ɛb'e'ut dhət lɪ'tl gɛl [gæl] kəm'ɛn frɔm dhu skʊl jɔndɛ.
2. ɛr'ɛ goo'ɪn dé'un dhu rúvɔd dhéev, thruu dhu rɛd gééet ɔn dhu lɛft ə'ɪd sə'ɪd ɛv dhu wéei.
3. shɛər ɔnəf dhu tʃə'ɪld)z gɔ'n stréevt ɛp tɛ dhu dúner ɛ)dhu rɔq E'us.
4. wɛə shɪ'l lə'ɪk'li fə'ɪnd dhə't drɔk'ɪn dɛf sri:k'ld fɛlɛr)ɛv dhu néevm ɛv :tɛm'ɛs.
5. wɪ AAɪ nɔʊz ɛn vɛr'ɪ wɛl.
6. wɔnt dh)ɔʊld tʃə'p sən tɛtʃ [laan] ɛ nɔt tɛ duu)t ɛgɪn', píuu thiq'!
7. lʊk'ɪ, ɛnt ɪt trɪu [try'u].

Notes.

2. *her-are* = she is (ɛr'ɛ).—*thou* is not usual. *I he we they knows* is common. Has not heard *he do*. The *w* and *v* are never confused. The euphonic *r* is freely introduced, as (sAAɪrɪn) for *sawing*, but final *r* is the same as in London, *earth hearth* being (ɛəθ aəθ). The pl. of nouns in *-st* is *-steses*, as (bi:stəsɪz).—*I are* is commonest, pronounced when unem-

phatic (A'ɪ'ɛ) or (A)ə), and emphatic (A'ɪ aa).—(gééet) is commoner than (gíət).—*pail, pale* are sometimes distinguished as (péil, péel) by the peasantry.—*home, shrub* are (ɛm, srɔb). The *h* is constantly omitted, and (w) is used for (wh) initial.—*enough* is pronounced as 'ɛnəf. ɛn'e'u), but with no distinction in meaning.

MID BEDFORDSHIRE CS.

pal. in 1877 by A.J.E. from dict. of James Wyatt, Esq., St. Peter's Green, Bedford, not a native, but who had resided 40 years in the county, and "knew the country talk pretty well." He had not observed any strong mark of separation between n. and s.Bd., but in extreme s.Bd. *I be* is used, not in n.

0. wə'i :djən ez nɔo déuts.

1. wel, néeba, jiu en ii me búeth laaaf ut dhís níuz v mǝ'ín. íu kíez? dhat)s nǝdher íe ne dhée.

2. fiu men dǝ'i kǝz dhe bi laaft ut, wi nɔo doont wi? wǝt shud méek)em? ít ízn't vǝri lǝ'íkli, íz ít?

3. éazi'va dhiiz)v dhe faks v dhe kíus [kéus], sɔo djíst oold ju nǝ'íz, frínd, en bi kwǝ'íet tel [wǝ'íl] ǝ'i)v dǝn. aar. ki.

4. ǝ'i)m saat'n ǝ'i ǝǝ)em see—sǝm v dhem dhée fook u went thriú dhe hal thiq fróm dhe fast dhǝselvz—dhat dǝd ǝ'i, séef [síef] vǝf—

5. dhet dhe juqgíst sǝn ízself, v gǝt búí v nǝ'ín, nɔod íiz fadhuz vǝ'ís ut wǝns, dhoo ít wǝr sǝ kwíer en skwíikín lǝ'ík, en ǝ'i vǝt trast ím te speek dhe tríuth aní dee, aa ǝ'i 'ud.

6. en dhe ool)d)umen vself)l tel aní v jiu dhut laaaf néu, en tel jiu street aaf tíu, v)éut matj bǝdher, íf sɔ bii ez jiu)l ooni aks er, oo wǝnt shi?

7. liistweez shi teld ít te mii, wen ǝ'i akst)v, tíu v thrii tǝ'imz oovv, díd shii, en shii aat nǝt te bi rǝq an síj v pǝ'ínt ez dhís ív, wǝt de jiu thiqk?

8. wel, ez ǝ'i wer v)see'ín, shii el tel jiu, éu, wíur, en wen shi fǝn dhe druqk'n bíst, ez shi kaalz er ezben.

9. shi súe shi síid ím wii er íum ǝ'íz lee'ín stretjít ut fal lenth an dhe gréund ín íiz gud sandi kǝet, kloos bí dhe dúer v)dhé)éus, déum ut dhe kaaner v dhat dhée léen.

10. ii wer v wǝ'í nín vwee', sez shii, fǝr aal dhe wǝald lǝ'ík v sík tǝ'íld er v lí'l gǝl v'fretín.

11. en dhat ap'nd ez shii en v daater ín laa'e kǝm thriú dhe bak jaad fróm v)aqín éat dhe wǝt klúez te drǝ'í an v wǝshín dee,

12. wǝ'íl dhe kí'l wer v bǝ'ílín fǝ tíi, wǝn fǝ'ín brǝ'ít sǝmer aatenuun, ooni v wiik eguu kǝm nekst thǝzdí.

13. en de jiu nɔo? ǝ'i níve laant aní múe ne dhís v dhat dhée bizníz ap te tedee, ez shíuer ez mǝ'í níum íz :djən :shíped, en ǝ'i doont woont tíu adhe, dhíe néu!

14. en sɔo ǝ'i bí egu'ín hǝm te aa mí sǝpe. gud nǝ'ít, en doont bii sǝ kwíik te kroo oovv v tjap egín, wen í taaks v dhís dhat v tadhe.

15. ít)s v wíek fuul ez príets v)é'ut reez'n. en dhat)s mǝ'í laast wǝad. gud bǝ'í.

Notes.

0. *why*, for the long *i* Mr. W. sometimes said (*ái*, *ái*), the (*ǝ'i*) which he wrote was not consistently pronounced; but it was quite (*ǝ'i*) at Ridgmont.—*doubts*, Mr. W.'s (*éu*) was probably a refined form, as I got (*é'u*) from Ridgmont.

1. *neighbour*. Mr. W. treated *r* in the London way quite vanishing except before a vowel. TH. finds a decided *r* in Bd., but very moderate, probably not

more than (*r*), of course it was in no wise trilled.

2. *make*. (*méek* *míek*). "two persons in the same house will pronounce the word in different ways."

3. *case*, double pronunciation as for *make*.—*hark*, here Mr. W. considered that there was an *r*, but that it was not "quite trilled." I failed to hear it.

4. *say*, (*see*) and distinctly not (*séei* *see'j*), which Mr. W. did not recognise

at all. But I got it from Ridgmont, and it is found in Batchelor.—*whole*, (hæl) with the aspirate clearly pronounced.—*safe*, see *make* par. 2.

5. *his*, specially dictated as (iiz), quasi *he's*.

6. *without*, apparently a form of (vréat) arout=athout (vdhéat).

8. *beast*, plural (biústez).

9. *full*, the (fæl) was clear, but they do not say (bæl).—*on*, the (an) was very distinct.—*lane*, see *make* par 2, for *yonder* they would use (jindø).

11. *law*, the pronunciation assumes *law* to become *lawr*.

12. *tea*, observe (tii), not (tee).

14. *home*; the aspirate well pronounced.

Miscellaneous Words and Phrases furnished by Mr. Wyatt.

1. (ə'i wul), I will.
2. (hi had'nt aat), he should not.
3. (éuz'ən), houses.
4. (tə empt), empty.
5. (enú), enow, more general in the north, (enáf) enough, in the south.
6. (dabth), depth.
7. (dizaa'v), deserve.
8. (ən'gíiv'ín), ungiving, (ən-) is usual for *un*.
9. (ə'i gəv in v díq'ər ən dhe tʃəp, soo i sən gən oo've), I gave him a stinger, strong blow, on the chaps, so he soon given (gave) over, or discontinued.
10. (shi gaand at mi), she stared, girmed, at me.
11. (i ət mi v kliq'kər an dhe bak), he hit me a clinker on the back.
12. (ə'i kud'nt ap'ən v v ani nəledʒəbl man), I could not happen-of (=meet with) any knowledgable man.
13. (an lə'ík'ínz), on liking or approbation.
14. (ə'i lə'ík v fíu braath. ə'i beent soo matʃ rapt əp in spuun v'it'l; gím'i plən tɪ v gud biif un mæstəd, dhat iz səm'ət for v fɛlə tɪ bəl əg'ín), I like a few (=some) broth. I be-not so much wrapped up in spoon victual; give-me plenty of good beef and mustard, that is somewhat for a fellow to loll (=lean back, rest) against.
15. (ə'i beent), is used on the Bu. or w. side, (ə'i eent) is n.
16. (moost)'n)iiin) ? (múbst), most-on-end=generally.
17. (aa'kəd, pleez'ən, píur'ət), awkward, pleasing, pert=saucy, full of spirit.
18. (i kəm paa'ltʃ'ín rə'ít an mə'i fət, fít), he came poltering right on my foot, feet; to *palch* is used for walking slowly in Dv., but *palchin* is a fish spear.
19. (rəts ən miis), rats and mice.
20. (skúv, skrat, sə'íth, sɪd'əz, spə'i'tík'lz, tíəm, tə'ít, fərəðs), score, scratch, sigh, scissors, spectacles, team, tight and forwarder =tipsy.
21. (ii)z dhe vek'sínest ən éudee'shúsest bú'i), he's the vexing-est and audacious-est boy.
22. (jín)v bín v-et'ín ar'əwíg pə'i, jii)v sɜ shaap), you've been a-eating earwig pie, ye are so sharp.

23. (i AA·ləz tʃɛts púə fook éat v dhə rə'íts), he always cheats poor folk out of their rights.
 24. (jɪn-l bii tɛ grɛt dhat dhéu piəpə dən éat), you'll be to get that there paper done out=you'll have to get that document copied.
 25. (i did lək noo weez ez plez unt lə'ik), he did look nowise as pleasant, like.
 26. (ə'i doont set noo stúv bə'i gælz, ə'i)d raadhə av búiz), I do-not set no (=any) store by girls, I'd rather have boys.
 27. (wats, wər, ʒæbz, hilt, wət·shod, bab'i), oats, our, herbs, held, wet-shod, baby.

BEDFORDSHIRE CWL.

B from Batchelor, but not nearly all his words.

D from TH.'s Dunstable observations on a railway porter, a native, representing extreme s.Bd.

R from Miss Wheek's dt. for Ridgmont.

W from Mr. Wyatt's es.

H Mr. Rowland Hill's word list for Bedford generally confirms the above, I give a few differences, or new words.

In Hatley Cockayne (12 e.Bedford), the dialect has been nearly exterminated by the action of a former Rector, the Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cust, and his wife.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 W méek. 8 W aa. 11 B maa. 12 B saa, H saa. 13 B naa. 14 B draa. 17 B laa, W laa'v. 20 H léem. 21 W niem, RH néem, D ne'im. 23 H séem. 24 H shéem. 35 B haal. 36 H thaa'v. 37 B klaa. A: 43 R a'nd. 44 H laand. 42 W aq. 50 H taqz. 51 H mən man. 54 W woont, H wa'mt. 46 W wash. A: or O: 60 B ləq, H ləq. 61 B eməq. 62 H strəq. 64 B roq, R roq, D rəq, H rəq. 65 B soq.

A'- 67 W gu'in, R goo'in, H gu. 69 D nóv. 72 W ín [interrogative, (u) relative]. 73 R soo. 76 H túud. 79 W ún. 81 W léen. 82 W wans. 83 B múen. 84 W múv, H maa. 86 BW wəts. 87 W klúbs. 89 W búeth. 92 WR noo. 94 W kroo. A': 103 BW aks. 104 R rúud. 107 H lúaf. 110 W doont [don't]. 111 W Aat. 113 W həl, H həl wəl. 115 W ham, D ôam. 117 W wən. 118 B búen. 120 W eguu. 121 R gə'u. 122 W noo, D nóv. 123 B naadhən nəthən. 124 B stúen stən. 125 W ooni. 129 H gúest. 134 B wəth, H óuth. 136 W ədhu. 137 W nədhu.

Æ- 138 W fadhə, D faadhəʀ ["In e.Sf. Cb. no r in these cases, in Bd. r certainly but very moderate," says TH. but probably [r] would better represent the sound, if he was not mistaken]. 141 H néel. 142 H snéel. 144 W ugin. 147 H bréen. Æ: 154 W bak. 155 B thek. 157 H reev'n. 158 W aats. 161 W dee, D de'i. 169 BW wen. 173 [(war) used]. 179 BW wət. Æ'- 183 R teetj. 184 H líed. 187 B líev. 189 II wee. 190 B kái. 194 W aní. 199 B blaaf, H bliet. 200 BH wíet, D wiit. 202 B híet. Æ': 209 W níev. 213 H eedhu. 221 B fíul. 223 W dhéu dhíu, D dhe'vʀ, R dhéev. 224 B wéu. W wíu, R wəu. 226 H móest. 227 W wət. 228 swíet.

E- 233 W speek, D spíik. 236 H fiive. 239 H se'íl. 241 H re'in. 243 H ple'i. — B téu [tear]. 249 B wéu. 251 míet. 252 BW kí'tl. E: 261 W see, R sée, DH se'i. 262 R wéi, DH we'i. 263 W weev. 264 H e'íl. 265 W street, R stréent, H stráit [?:]. 272 H helm [generally]. — BW iind [end]. 281 W lenth. — B gəu [grin]. 284 H thresh. E'- 290 WD ii. 293 W wi. 297 WR fele. 299 D grín. E': 312 W ív. 314 W əd, D ívʀd [see 138]. 316 H neks [frequently, without the t].

EA- 320 W kíez. EA: 322 W laaf, D laaf. 323 H íit. 324 B áit,

H *ect.* 326 W *ool*+d, R *oold*, D *ôud*. 330 B *hóult*, W *oold*. 335 R *aal*. 338 W *kaal*. 340 W *jaad*. 342 B *ém*. 346 B *géut*, R *gécet*. EA'- 347 D *E'd*. 348 W *ó'i*. 349 W *fiu*. EA': 352 R *red*. 355 B *deth*, R *def*. 357 W *dhoo*. 359 W *nébeu*. 360 WH *tiem*. 361 H *bien*. 363 H *tjéep*, W *tjap*, R *tjap*. 366 W *gœt*, D *gréit*. 370 *raa*. EI- 372 W *aa*, H *ó'i*. 373 W *dhéeu*. EI: 377 H *stéek*. 378 W *wiek*.

EO- 386 B *jéu*. 387 W *núu*. EO: 390 W *shud*. 393 B *bijend*. 394 B *jendar endur*, R *joude*. 399 W *bró'it*. 402 B *laam'in lam'in*, RD *laan*. 406 B *éuth iith jœth*. EO'- 411 W *thrii*. 412 W *shii*. EO': 422 W *W sik*. 425 H *l'it*. 428 R *sii*. 430 BW *frind*. 431 B *bier*. 434 B *biet*. 435 W *juu*. 436 BR *triu*. 437 W *triuth*. EY- 438 W *dó'i*, D *da'i*. EY: 439 W *trast*.

I- 440 H *wiek*. 446 W *nóin*. — B *iis 'ms 'mus* [yes]. 449 H *gít*. I: 452 W *ó'i*, R *A'i* [practically the same sound]. 458 W *nó'it*, D [between] *na'it náit*. 459 R *ra'it*. 463 W *fel*. 465 W *sitj*. 466 W *tp'ild*, R *tja'ild*. 469 BW *wid* [will]. 473 H *bl'ind*. 477 R *ra'ind*. 478 H *gréind*. — B *hinnæst* [hindmost]. 480 W *thiq*. 483 W *iiz*. 485 B *fis'l*. 488 B *jit*. I'- 491 B *só'ith*, W *só'ith*. 492 R *sa'id*. 494 W *to'im*. 499 B *bet'l*. I: 500 W *l'ik*, R *la'ik*. 503 H *l'if*. 506 W *umœu*. 508 H *mó'il*. 509 W *wó'il*. 510 W *mó'in*.

O- 519 W *oovv*. — B *drap* [drop]. — B *smœur* [smother]. 524 W *wæld*. — B *thruet* [throat]. O: 527 B *búet bot*. 531 B *daatœr*, W *daatœ*, D *daatœr* [see 138]. 535 B *fok*, W *fook* [but the length of Mr. W.'s vowel was not particularly observed]. 536 H *gúuld*. 538 W *ud*. 541 WR *want*. 542 H *búelt*. 550 W *wæd*. 551 B *staaam*. 554 B *kraas*. O'- 555 D *shœ'u*. 556 W *tiu*. 558 WR *luk*. 560 R *skul*. 562 D *mœ'un* [H says it is (míun) "soft," as the (mœ'un) often sounds, but I think this (œ'u) at Dunstable was an individuality]. 564 R *sim*. 565 H *núez*. O': 569 H *bék*. 570 H *tøk*. 571 W *gud*. 578 B *plœu*. 579 WR *enaf* [in the s.: but (enúu) more general in the n., H gives it]. 583 H *túel*. 584 H *stúel*. 586 R *duu*. 587 W *dæn*, D *dæn*. 588 D *no'eun*. 589 H *spúen*. 590 *flúer*. 591 B *múer*. 592 W *súv*. 595 W *fæt*, H *fæt*. 597 H *sæt*.

U- 603 B *kœm*, *kjœp* [come up], RD *kœm*. 604 *sœmv*. — B *muzk* [monk]. 605 W *sœu*, D *sœ'u*. 606 W *dúv*, R *dúv*, D *dœvr* [see 138]. U: 609 W *fæl*. 612 W *sœm*. 613 B *druqk*. 616 W *grœ'und*. 619 B *fœund*, *fœud*, W *fœn*. 632 W *œp*. 634 W *thriu*, R *thruu*. 635 B *wath*. U'- 640 B *kœu*. 641 W *œu* [H. says that this diphthong is "broad and flat," and seems to mean (œ'u), but he may mean (œ'u) after all]. 642 B *dhœu*. 643 BW *nœu*, R *ne'u*. 647 B *héul*. 648 W *war*. 650 R *ebœ'ut*. 651 W *u,œ'ut*. U': 655 B *fœul*. 658 W *dœun*, R *dœ'un*. 663 B *héus* [the kitchen where the family sit], W *éus*, R *é'us*, D [between] *œ'us*, *œ'us*. 666 W *æzben*. 667 W *éut*.

Y- 673 *mætj*. 675 W *dró'i*. 682 B *liit'l* [intensive form], WR *lit'l*. Y: 692 W *juqgíst*. 696 B *bœth*. 700 B *wœs*. 701 BW *fœst*. 702 W *wii*. Y- 706 W *wó'i*. Y': 712 W *miis*, H *mó'is*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 W *taak*. 737 R *mécit*. 738 W *príbt*. E. 745 W *tjæt*. 751 B *paat*, W *píat*. I. and Y. 758 B *gal*, WR *gæl*, R *gæl*. 760 B *sriv'l*. O. 761 H *lúed*. — B *dog* [dog]. 767 B *nó'iz*, W *nó'iz*. — B *muqgril* [mongrel]. 790 H [adds a (d) gownd]. 791 W *búi*, H *bó'i*. U. 804 W *druqk'n*, R *draqk'n* [perhaps Miss W. did not know the word well].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 B *plœus*. — B *fréil* [flail]. 824 B *tjœur*. 833 B *pœur*. — B *pléizher* [pleasure]. 835 B *réiz'n*, W *reez'n*. 840 B *tjaambœr*. 849 B *stréinzher*. — B *waandhœ waantjœ* [warrant you]. 857 W *kíes kéus*. 862 W *séuf síef*. 864 W *kœz*. 866 R *píœv*.

E.. 867 W *tii*. 885 WR *veri*. — W *jaabz* [herbs]. 888 BW *saaitin*. 890 BW *bíest*. 895 B *risíœt* [receipt]. — B *weks* [vex], W *veks*. 901 W *fó'in*. 910 H *dpœ'ist*.

O.. 913 H káutj. 916 B injen iqen. 917 B rog. 919 B ə'intment.
 920 W pə'int. 925 W və'is, H və'is. 926 B spə'il. — B uqk'l [uncle].
 938 W KAANE. 939 W kloos. 940 W káut. 941 W fuul. 944 B uléur.
 945 B véu. 947 BW bə'il. 950 W səpu. 952 B kúes. 955 W déuts. 956
 B kiver.

U.. 963 W kwə'it. 965 B ə'il. — B néuteɹ [nature]. 969 W shíue, R
 shəɹ. 970 W djist.

VAR. iii. HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

All s. of the n *sum* line No. 1, which passes just s. of Sawtry (9
 n.w.Huntingdon) and n. of Ramsey (10 n.e.Huntingdon), the
 pron. is thoroughly ME. in every particular, that is, it practically
 coincides with that of the Ht. and Bd. varieties, and n. of this line
 the change seems to be confined to the treatment of U as (ə) in the
 s. and (u) or (u_o) in the n. But as all the (ə) are modernisms, this
 difference, as before observed, p. 16, cannot be considered to
 determine a difference of dialect which is preserved in all other
 important particulars.

Without TH.'s investigations, in which he was so kindly
 assisted at Great Stukeley by the late vicar's daughter, Miss
 Ebden, I should have had a most imperfect notion of Hu. pron.,
 but these have enabled me to appreciate other information, and to
 determine the general homogeneity of the E. forms throughout the
 m. and s. part of the county, and the change in the n. part with
 respect to the treatment of U only, all other M. characters being
 absent.

GT. STUKELEY (2 n.w.Hu.) dt.

written io. by Miss Ebden, daughter of the late Vicar, but corrected by the
 results of TH.'s interviews with old inhabitants as given in the adjoining wl.

1. sôu A'i se'i, me'its, ju sii ne'u dhət A'i)m rə'it vbe'ut dhət
 lit'l gja'l kəm'in frəm dhə skunul jinde.

2. shi)z gu'in de'vn dhə rûed dhév, thrû dhə red gjé'it ən dhə
 left [hand sə'id v)dhə we'i.

3. shúe vənə'f dhə tja'ld)z gan stré'it əp tîu dhə dōv v)dhə rəq
 [hēus.

4. wiv shi)l tjans tîu fa'ind dhat drəqk'n deth [=deaf] sriv'ld
 fēlv v)dhə ne'im v :təməs.

5. wī aal ən əs nōuz in vev̄i wēl.

6. wənt dhə ôuld tjap suun tiitj)v nət tɛ dîu it vge'n, pōv thiq !

7. lək, éint it trîu.

GREAT STUKELEY cwl.

wn. by TH. in 1881 from William Johnson 77, and James Valentine 75,
 natives and labourers, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebden, daughter
 of the late Vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 ne'im. A: — kànt [cannot]. 57 às. A: or O: 64 roq.
 A'- 67 egóin ugu'in. — slə'vn [pl. sloes]. 69 nóu. 73 sóu. 74 t'iu. 92 dhe
 nood [they knowed]. A': 105 rûed. 115 òm. 122 nò. 130 bùt. 132
 oted [hotted, made hot]. Æ- 138 faadhe. 144 vge'n. Æ: 158 àfte.

161 de^hi. — båg [bag]. — ʔhep^hl [apple]. 173 waa [=wor]. — [between] dlās dlās [glass]. — kaat [cart]. — sət [sat]. E^h- 183 titj. 200 wit wint. E^h: 218 shi^hp. 223 dhe^hv. 224 wiw+r.

E- 233 spii^hk spe^hik. 248 me^hv. 251 miət. — fēdhv. E: 261 se^hi. 262 we^hi. 265 stréit stre^hit. 278 wentj [occ. usually (gjal)]. 280 vleb^hm. E^h- 290 i. 299 griin. E^h: 312 iv. 314 iud. EA: 322 [between] lāf lāf laaf. 324 e^hit. 326 ôudd. 332 teld. 346 gjéit. EA^h- 347 èd. EA^h: 355 deth def. 366 grət, grət grət. EI: 382 dhe^hen. EO- 383 sev^hn seb^hm. 386 [between] e^hù e^hù. EO: 394 jəndə jəndə jəndə. 402 læn læn [(^har, ar) written, but then Johnson did not pronounce (r) when not before a vowel] le^hen [Valentine's pron.]. EO^h- 412 shi. EO^h: 428 si. 435 ju. jūn [yous]. 436 trjūn. 437 trjūth. EY- 438 dāi.

I- 447 æn [hern, written (^harn)]. I: 452 a^hi ai. 458 na^hit. 452 rait. 480 thi^hq. 482 éint [ain't, is not]. 483 iz^hn. 488 jit. I^h- — ongji^hvin [ungiving, said of the frost giving way], gj^hi mi [give me]. 494 ta^him. I^h: 517 jiu. O- — fərd [forward]. O: — frəg [frog]. — srəbz [shrubs]. 527 ba^ht. 531 daate. 532 kùel. 541 wənt. — əs^hiz [horses]. O^h- 555 shnu. O^h: 579 enə^ht [sg., but pl.] en^hiu. 586 dju, dōent [don't]. 587 d'n. 588 num. 595 fət.

U- 603 ekam^hn [a-coming]. 605 sə'n. 606 dōv. U: — du^hm [dumb]. — təmb^hl [tumble]. 632 əp. 634 thrjū. 636 fædv. [TH. considers that both speakers used final (-v r).] U^h- 643 ne^hu. 648 a^huen e^huen [ours]. U^h: 658 de^han. 663 e^hus, [or between this and] ə^hus, e^huz^hn [pl.]. Y: — shət [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lad. — traante [a tranter, carrier, buyer and seller of corn]. I. and Y. 758 ga^hl. gjal [generally, occ. (wentj)]. O. — tlək [clock]. — tlog [clog]. — dōjg [dog]. 791 bōi. U. — təb [tub]. — skə^hl [scuffle, to rough harrow]. — ləmp [lump]. — gən [gun]. 804 drəq^hn.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 ple^hiz^hn [pl.]. 841 trās. — gād^hn [garden, TH. writes (gār-)]. — paale [parlour]. 866 pūv. E.. 869 vīl. — priətj [preach]. I.. and Y.. — ba^hil [bile, bilious attack]. 901 fa^hin. 903 dāv. O.. — tūst [toast]. U.. — dljū [glue]. 969 shūv.

Words. (a^him ba^ht it) I am=have bought it, flid fledged, (ɛ, jə dən) it) have you done it, (iz i, dən it) is=has he done it, (miət enə^ht, tētez en^hiu), (traante) tranter, (dəki) food carried with workmen, rəkləu, youngest pig of a litter, (-krəsh) crush, (əpezə^hit) opposite, (dəseti) audacity, courage, (frīt) frightened.

SAWTRY (9 n.w. Huntingdon) AND HOLME (10 n.w. Huntingdon).

TH. was also introduced by Miss Ebdon to John Harlock, aged 81, a Sawtry man, who had left his village in 1816, and worked in other parts of Hu. and Cb. His speech was mainly the same as that of the other old men at Great Stukeley, except in one important particular, the treatment of U. Harlock used the M. vowel (u_o), and the others the S. vowel (ə). Thus I find noted (ru_on, vlu_oq, ju_oqist, ru_oq, dū_on, shu_ot, tu_ob, tu_omb^hl, fu_ot, skru_osh, su_on, sru_obz, enu_of, du_om), run, along, youngest, wrong, done, shut, tub, tumble, foot, crash, sun, shrubs, enough, dumb. Only the words (əp, dōn, gə^hn, kam^hn), were otherwise noted, of which (əp) was queried. To check this sudden transition, within a distance of 7 miles, which Miss Ebdon had also observed in a maid-servant from Sawtry, TH. went to Holme (:hōum), about 2 n. Sawtry, where he found (enu_odhe, ku_ontri, sū_om, tu_omb^hl, thu_ondv, u_op,

*gu*_od, *sù*_on, *ru*_oq, *su*_ot, *tu*_op), another, country, some, tumble, thunder, up, good, son, wrong, soot, tup, and only (*w*_on, *ə*_ondrəd, *kæ*_omin, *w*_ost), one, hundred, coming, worst, with anything else but (*u*_o), where *one* belongs to the class A', *worst* arises from the *r*, and (*kæ*_om) seems to be common in many (*u*_o) regions. Hence I have drawn the n. *sum* line 1 through Hu., just s. of Sawtry. I think it unnecessary to cite TH.'s careful work at Holme and Sawtry more particularly, as it only confirms the pronunciations already obtained for Great Stukeley.

VAR. iv. MID NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

This variety differs from Ht. by the use of (*u*_o) for U, and scarcely in any other respect, although it is so far removed. The example from East Haddon is, however, evidently tinged slightly by Midland influence. From this Hamington, Harrington, and Lower Benefield are free. The researches of TH. were made in a large number of places chiefly for the sake of determining the S. limit of (*u*_o), hence the results are not very complete in other respects, but words enough are given to shew the strongly E. character of this comparatively remote district. The remarks on Lower Benefield will shew this distinctly.

EAST HADDON (7 nw. Northampton) es.

pal. by A.J.E. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, then a railway porter at St. Pancras Station, an intelligent man and native of East Haddon. In consequence of TH.'s information from Watford and Weedon, Xp., between which E. Haddon lies, I wrote to the long resident vicar, Rev. W. P. Mackesy, in 1886, and he informed me that in the two points I specially inquired after, (*shéi* kat) she cut, Hadley's pron. was correct. The (*shéi*) seems due to M. influence, and was observed also in Rt. As East Haddon is in the mixed region, we have the intermediate sound (*o*) in (*tól* bōlek) full bullock.

0. *æ'u it iz :dʒən ez n'ou də'nts.*

1. *wəl, neeber, juu en im mə'i booth læf et dhis niuz ev m'ain. wət duu ai k'eev? dhæts niidhu iiv ne dhiv.*

2. *fiu MEN d'ai b'ekəz d'haa)v laaft æt, w'ei n'ou, d'ount w'ei? wət)əd meek em? it)s n'ot veri l'ai'kli iz it?*

3. *æ'usemev, dhis iz dhi tr'æ'uth ev it, soo d'rist oold jə n'ois, wil)jə, en b'ei kw'ist w'ail ai)v finisht. l's'n.*

4. *ai)m sh'uer ai i'ied em s'æ'i—s'm ev dhem f'ouks u went thruu dhi ol thi'q frum f'æst te laast dhuse'lvz—ai d'æl dhæt, seef enæf.*

5. *dhæt d'he j'æ'g'ist s'en izse'lf, v gr'it b'oi ev n'ain, n'oud iz faadh'ez v'ois ez soon ez ei i'ied it—aldhoo it wez sou kw'iv en skw'ik'in, en ai wud tr'æst im te sp'ik dhi tr'æ'uth æni d'æ'i, dhæt ai wud.*

6. *and dh)ould wambn ese'lf wul tel aal ev)ju dhæt v læ'f'in næ'u, en tel ju street t'æ'u wi)æ'u't matj b'odhu, if ju)l ooni ast)v, oo! w'unt sh'ei?*

7. *æniwæ'iz sh'ei t'ould 'm'ei w'en ai aast)v t'æ'u v thr'ei t'aimz oovv sh'ei did, en sh'ei ædn't aat te bi r'æq en satj v mæter ez dhis, wət d)ju thi'q?*

8. wel ez *ái* wez sæ'in, shéi'd tel ju, æ'u, wíer en wen shéi fæ'und dhi dra'k'n skæmp dhæt shéi kaalz er æzben.

9. shéi súu shéi sii in wi er óun æ'iz lá'i in aal iz leqkth, en dhe græ'und, in iz best sendi flooz, floos te dha díuer by iz æ'us, dæ'un egin dhe kaa'ener by dhæt leen.

10. éi wez wáin in ewæ'i, shéi sez, fer aal dhe wæald láik e sík tjáild, er) e lí'l gæl e wárit in.

11. en dhæt æpend ez shéi en) e daater in laa kæn thruu dhe bæc jaad fróm æqin æ'ut dhe flooz te drái en e wash in dæ'i,

12. wáil dhe ket'l wez e bóil in fe téi, wæn fáin sámer aafternoon, ooni e wik eguu kæn neks thæzdi.

13. ænd duu ju nóou, *ái* neve lænd æni móou dhen dhis by dhæt biznis ap til tedæ'i, ez shúwer ez mái neem)z :dʒɒn :shɛpəd, en *ái* dóunt wánt te iidhe, dhíiv.

14. ænd soo (*ai*)m egu in oom te sápe. gud náit, en dóunt ju bi so kwik te króu oover ænibodi, wen éi taaks e dhis en dhæt.

15. it) s e páuv fuul dhæt taaks wi)æ'ut réiz'n. en dhæt) s mi laast wæad. gud báí.

Phrases from the same speaker.

1. (dhee liv in dhem æ'uziz), they live in those houses.
2. (wéi láik dhe mæn wel enæ'f), we like the man well enough.
3. (*ai*)m egu in dæ'un oom nekst wik), I'm a-going down home next week.
4. (júwer en oold frend by máin), you are an old friend of mine ;
thou art scarcely ever used.
5. (uuz kaavz en æfæz aa dhee?), whose calves and heifers are they?
6. (wət) s júv neem? spéik dhe træ'uth), what's your name? speak the truth.
7. (faadhu)z dhíiv, cent éi? aast mædhu, shéi nooz), father's there, ain't he? ask mother, she knows.

Notes to the East Haddon es.

1. *neighbour* is used in addressing. —*may* (mæ'i). I noted at the time that *éi* æ'i were occ. difficult for me to catch, and that I heard them much better when conversing with Hadley, and that then (æ'i, æ'u) came out very well.—*I* (*ái*), this at times approached closely to *ó'i*, but (*ó'i*) or (*á'i*) when it occurred was very distinct.—*laugh* (lææf) here and (laaft) in par. 2. It is very probable that (æ) was often used for (a); as I wrote at the time, I retain it, but it is very probable that I appreciated incorrectly.

3. *truth*, though at the time I wrote (træ'uth), I noted that it was difficult to catch and not sure, and I now think it was a false appreciation for (træ'uth), with which I was then not sufficiently

familiar.—*friend*, (frend frenz) are used.—*finished*, a common word here. But very probably (*ái*)v) should be (*ái* m).

5. *soon*, with (*oo*) and so *afternoon*, par. 12, they also use (æt-wæns) at once without any following (t).—*that I would*, (æ'i) is used for *aye*, but is not so common as *yes*.

6. *all*, because any (æni) would not be used.

7. *matter*, point, pron. (póint), would not be used here.

8. *scamp*, beast (béist) would not be used in this sense.—*husband* and *wife* are the expressions always used.

9. *all his length*, stretched (stretit), full (fól) rather (fu)l, and so (ból bot) bull butcher, shewing that the

place is in the *sum sōm* region.—*clothes*, but (khoot) coat is also used.—*that lane*, yon not used (*jande*) is heard.

10. *whining*, this word is used; *girl* is the usual word, (*wensh*) in a bad sense, (*laes*) not used, (*mæ'id*) is an old maid.

11. *wet clothes*, the *wet*, not in the text, is pron. (*wéit*).

12. *week*, observe (*wik*) not (*wik*), *weak* is (*wéik*).

13. *know*, (*nóou*), but *now* (*mæ'u*).—*shepherd*, observe *sheep* (*ship*), *skip* (*shíp*).

14. *I'm a-going*, this prefix *a-* to the participle is regular.—*this and that*; *'other* is not used.

15. *good-bye* is used only on leave-taking for a considerable time.

EAST HADDON, Np., cwl.

Words from the above cs. and a wl. from the same speaker.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 *sou*. 5 *meeek*. 17 *laa*. 21 *neem*. 34 *laast*. A: 39 *kam*. 49 *æq*. 54 *want*. 56 *wash*. A: *or O*: 60 *loq*. 64 *roq*. 65 *soq*. A'- 67 *guu*, *vgu'in* [going]. 73 *soo*. 74 *ta'u*. 79 *oun*. 81 *leen*. 84 *móou*. 86 *oots*. 87 *thooz*. 89 *booth*. 92 *nóu*. 94 *króu*. A': 101 *ook*. 102 *as* [in pres. as well as past tense]. 104 *rood*. 111 *aat*. 113 *ol*. 117 *wæan*. 120 *vgu'u*. 122 *nóu*. 125 *ooni*. 130 *bóut*.

Æ- 138 *faadhv*. 140 *æ'il*. Æ: 154 *bæk*. 161 *dæ'i*. 164 *mæ'i*. 166 *mæ'id*. 169 *wen*. 179 *wot*. Æ'- 182 *sei*. 190 *kéi*. 194 *ani*. 200 *wéit*. Æ': 209 *nev*. 213 *iidhv*. 214 *müdhv*. 218 *ship* [not (*shíp*)]. 219 *sléip*. 223 *dhíiv*. 224 *wíiv*. 227 *wéit*.

E- 233 *spéik*. 241 *ra'e'n*. — *péev* [a pear]. E: 256 *stretj*. 261 *sæ'i*. 263 *æwæ'i*. 265 *street*. 276 *thiik*. 278 *wensh*. 281 *leqkth*. E'- 290 *éi* [is as nearly as possible the sound]. 292 *méi*. 293 *wéi*. 294 *féid*. 299 *gréin*. E': 311 *ten*. 312 *iiv*. 314 *iüd*. 316 *neks*.

EA- 320 *kéev*. EA: 322 *laeuf*, *laaf*. 324 *æ'it*. 326 *óudd*. 330 *oold*. 332 *tóudd*. 338 *kaalz*. 340 *jaud*. EA'- 348 *æ'i*. — *léip* [leap]. 349 *fiu*. EA': 357 *aldhoo*. — *æfe* [heifer]. 359 *neebe*. — *kréim* [cream]. 360 *téim*. 366 *gréit* [but grate is (*greet*)]. — *díu* [dew]. EI- 373 *dhaa* [before (*e*) meaning they're]. EI: 378 *wéik*. EO- 383 *sev'u*. 387 *núu*. EO: 394 *jande*. 395 *jaq*. 399 *bráit*. 402 *laan*. 408 [*knœw*, replaced by present tense *know* (*nóu*)]. EO'- — *néi* [knee]. 411 *thréi*. — *tréi* [tree]. 412 *shéi*. 429 *fóov*. EO': 422 *sik*. — *wéid* [a weed, plant]. 425 *láit*. 426 *fáit*. 427 *béi*, *bi*. 430 *frænd*, *frenz*. 435 *juu*. 437 *træ'uth*. EY- 438 *dái*. EY: 439 *trast*.

I- 440 *wik* [not (*wik*)]. 446 *náin*. — *péiz* [pease]. 449 *gat* [got]. I: 452 *ái*. 455 *láii*. 457 *máit*. 458 *náit*. 460 *wéit*. 462 *sáit*. 465 *satj*. 466 *tráid*. 473 *bláind*. 477 *fáind*. — *shíp* [a ship]. 487 *jestudee* [(-*di*) in names of the weekdays, see 631]. — *siks* [six]. I'- 494 *táim*. 495 *wáin*. I': 500 *láik*. 502 *fáiv*. 606 *wamen*. 509 *wáil*. 510 *máin* — *wáit*. 517 *jín*.

O- 519 *oovv*. 524 *wæald*. — *rat* [to rot]. O: — *kraaft* [croft]. — *aa'i'n* [inclined to (*aa'i'n*), often]. 531 *daatu*. 535 *fóvks*. 538 *wad*. 541 *wauit*. — *tap* [top]. 550 *wæad*. O'- 557 *ta'u*. — *food* [food]. 562 *moon*. 564 *soon*. O': 571 *gud*. — *saaft* [soft]. 579 *æa'i*. 586 *dæ'u* *dóunt* [don't]. 588 *noon*. 592 *sáuv*. 594 *boot*. 595 *tot* [very, never (*it*)].

U- 604 *sæmv*. 605 *sæn*. 606 *dáua*. U: 609 *tol*. 611 *bolek*. 612 *sæm*. 615 *pæ'und*. 616 *græ'und*. 619 *fæ'und*. — *ænded* [hundred]. 631 *thæazdi*. 632 *ap*. 634 *thruu*. U'- 640 *kæ'u*. 641 *æ'u*. 643 *næ'u*. 651 *wiæ'ut*. U': 658 *dæ'um*. 663 *æ'us*. 666 *æzben*. 667 *æ'ut*.

Y- 673 *matj*. 674 *did*. 675 *drai*. 676 *lai*. 682 *lit'l*. Y: 690 *káind*. 691 *máind*. 692 *jaqgist*. 701 *fæast*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 *taak*. — *skæmp* [scamp]. I and Y. — *trái* [to try]. O.

— hab [a hob]. — dag [a dog, never (dæg)]. — fag [a fog]. — hag [a hog]. — lag [a log]. 767 nō'iz. 776 gud báí. — pat [a pot]. 781 bōdhe. 791 ba'i. U. 804 dræqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 822 mæ'i. — pæ'i [pay]. 824 tjiéu. 833 péev. 835 réiz'n. — péev [to pare]. 862 seef. E.. 867 théi. — pæ'in [pain]. 885 veri. 890 héist. 891 féist. I.. and Y.. — kráí [cry]. 900 præ'i. 901 táin. 910 dja'ist. O.. — dja'in [join]. 920 pa'nt. 925 vóis. 938 kaane. 939 thos. — roost [roast]. — toost [toast]. 940 kroot. 942 botje. 947 ha'il. 950 sarp. 955 de'at. U.. — wæ'it [wait]. 963 kwaint. 969 sháue+r. 970 djist.

HANNINGTON, Np. (5 nw. Wellingborough), dt.

pal. by AJE. from indications given and the io. of Miss Downes, daughter of the Vicar, written 1878.

1. sóv a'i sêi, méuts, ju sii nō'u dhut aa)m ra'it ebō'u't dhat līt'l gæl kamin frum dhi skuul dhéu.

2. shì)z v)gō'in dā'uēn dhe róvd dhiu, thriú dhe riūd géut ɔn dhe left ant sa'id v)dhe wéi.

3. shōv enō'u dhe tja'ild v bin en gan stréut ɔp tē dhe da'v v)dhe rəq ə'us.

4. wiv shì)l hap'n ɔn dhat drəqk'n def sniv'ld felē v)dhe nēem v :mabət.

5. wī a'el nōu im veri wel.

6. wōent dhi ōuld tʃap sūen lən)v nət tē dūv it vge'n, póov thiq.

7. lūek! eent it tríu.

Notes to the Hannington dt.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. (də'uēn) for (də'vən) is doubtful. | 4. <i>snivelled</i> used for <i>shrivelled</i> , (<i>shr-</i>) initial becomes (<i>sr-</i>). — <i>Mabbutt</i> was written in by Miss D. in place of Thomas. |
| 2. (<i>riūd</i>) is doubtful, written <i>re-ad</i> . — <i>left</i> . This word was left unmarked. | 5. <i>do it</i> , (<i>dūv it</i>) is suspicious. |
| 3. <i>straight</i> , this is conjectural, written <i>straiert</i> . | |

Miss D. also gave me the following words, which I have pal. as well as I could. The italics mean received spelling.

A nēem *name*, sēek *sake*.

A' léen *lane*, ôets *oats*, gu *go*, vlōen *alone*, bōenz *bones*, maa'v *more*, ôek *oak*.

Æ spēed *spade*, lâet *late*, rət *rat*, sət *sat*.

Æ' wīet *wheat*, kêi *key*, ladhe *ladder*, shi *sheep*.

EA gāet *gate*.

EA' gret *great*, bīenz *beans*, bīem *beam*, biēst *beast*.

EO laan *learn*.

I sītj *such*.

O haal *hole*.

U təq *tongue*, dāa'v *door*.

U' bu,t *but*.

A. bēubi *baby*.

O. bwa'i boy [written *buoy*], duug *dog* [written *doog*].

U. srəb *shrub*.

A.. kēvdj *cage*, lēvba *labour*, stēvb'l *stable*, ēvb'l *able*, wēvsted *wasted*.

E.. téi *tea*, kunsaa'n *concern*, saavis *service*, saatin *certain*, and gave the plurals housen placen closen postes crustes brere, the last pl. of briar.

The words strong long wrong, she possibly meant to be pronounced with (ə) or with (u_o).

HARRINGTON, Np. (5 w. Kettering), dt.

by Miss Tollemache, daughter of the Rector. The numerous words marked to be in rec. pr. are here given in ordinary spelling and inclosed in square brackets []; no doubt the peasants pronounce slightly differently.

1. [so] a'i [say], mêts, [you see] ne'u æz a'i)m ra'iet [about that little] gal bk_omiq throm [the school yonder].

2. ə)z vgoin de'am [the] roud [there through the red] gêt [on the] left and sa'id [of the] roud.

3. shúuv unú, [the] tja'ild)z bin en gan [straight up to the door of the wrong] e'us.

4. wêv [she]'l tjaans fa'ind [that there drunken] diif wiz'nd feler [of the] niem [of Thomas].

5. [we all know] im [very well].

6. wóent [the old chap soon] laan)e [not to do it again, poor] thín.

7. [look], éint [it] tríu ?

Notes to the Harrington dt.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>I</i> , "very much drawled." | 3. <i>up</i> must have been (<i>u_cp</i>). |
| 2. <i>road</i> , at the end, is repeated because <i>way</i> would not be used. | 4. <i>chance</i> or (<i>mebi</i>). |
| | 7. <i>ain't</i> or aren't (<i>aant</i>). |

The Rector himself added a wl. as follows :

HARRINGTON cwl.

by Hon. and Rev. H. T. Tollemache, Rector, conjecturally pal. by AJE.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 36 thaa. A: 55 eeshiz. A': 102 haks [occ.]. 105 [always 'he ridden']. 113 wool [occ. *w* sounded and *h* omitted]. 127 hóust [written *hourstt*]. Æ- 188 fiedhe [written *farther*]. 152 weete [written "wäter, not *worter*"]. Æ: 155 thak. 174 eesh. 181 pad. Æ'- 190 kee. 195 meeni. E: 287 bez'm. EA: 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 343 waam. EA': 355 diif. EO: 402 laan. 407 faad'n. EY- 438 da'i [occ.]. I: 468 tild'n. 486 jest. I'- 494 ta'im. I': 500 la'ik. 501 wa'id. 503 la'if. 504 na'if. 505 wa'if. 508 ma'il. 509 wa'il. 511 wa'in. O: 533 du_l. — AAS [written *orse*]. O'- 559 muudhe ['as in *bloom*']. O': 569 buuk. 572 bluid. 579 ein. 593 mu_ost. U- 600 lu_ov ['as in *push*, that is, with (*u*), but I have used (*u_o*) as TH. heard in Np.]. 603 ku_om. 607 bu_ote. U: 638 u_ogli. 609 ləl ['as in *hull*']. 618 wə'und. 622 u_ondr. 629 su_on. 632 u_op. 633 ku_op. 632 du_ost ['as in *push*']. U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 643 ne'u. 647 he'ud. 653 bu_ot. U': 658 de'am. Y- 673 mu_otj. 676 la'i. 677 dra'i. Y: 684 brig. 621 ma'ind. Y- 705 ska'i. 706 wa'i.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gəəl ['as in *whirl*']. O. 767 na'iz. U. 808 pət ['as *hut*'].

III. ROMANCE.

A. 841 tjaans [written *chānce*, which should be (*tjæns*), but Miss T. wrote *charnce*]. 843 braantj. 848 tjøndj. 850 daans. 854 baal [written *barrl*].

E.. 878 saleri. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dja'ist. O.. 915 stu'f. 916 inæn. 919 a'intment. 920 pa'int. 926 spa'il. 942 batje. 943 tu'j. 947 ba'il. 948 be'ul. 950 sa'pu. 953 ka'z'n. 954 kesh'n. 958 kive. U.. 965 a'il.

Notes.

(u_onkid) lonely, dull, frequently used; for *very well* they often say 'deadly well'; 'chilled' for 'warm' water; (friz) froze frozen; (frit) frightened; (wed) weeded; (ka_omdj) came; housen placen; (eld'n) elder tree; (wiu) our; (wiuse'n) ourselves; *them there* = those;

(sin, sid) saw, *was took*, he *ta'en*, he *given* it, *it was gave*, more frequently (gəv). 'I am read that book' usual for 'I have, etc.': *a few broth*; *his'n whos'n theern*; he *hadn't used* to do so. Many of these provincialisms are gradually disappearing.

LOWER BENEFIELD, Np. (3 w.Oundle), dt.

pal. in 1881 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. C. H. Wykes, national schoolmaster there, native of the county, but not of the place, who believed himself, and was stated by Mr. Reade, of the Oundle Grammar School, to be perfectly well acquainted with the pron. of the district.

1. sóu ái se'í, tjaps, jə)sií ne'u ez ái)v [ái)m] ráit vbe'ut dhat lit'l wentj kəmín frəm)dhə skuul dhév.

2. shi)z gù'in de'un dhə rôud dhév thruu dhə)red gjá'it ən dhə left and sá'id v)dhə wá'í.

3. bi aq'd, if dhə tjá'ild ènt gá'n strá'ít u_op te)dhə rəq dóuv [rəq e'us],

4. we'v shi'l veri lá'ík [mè)bi, praps] fáind dhat dru_oqk'n def skjím) tjap [felv] v)dhə néim v :tom.

5. u_os aal ná'u ìm veri we'l.

6. wu_ont dhə óuld tjap suun làn)v nət te)du'ít egjɛ'n, pòe thi'q [wentj].

7. luk)jə! ènt)ít triù.

Notes to the Lower Benefield dt.

This pronunciation agrees on the whole very well with that of the Islip group, including Thrapston and Oundle, and is therefore sufficiently accurate, though it is somewhat uncertain. In a previous correspondence with Mr. W. he said that the four cardinal points of the local pronunciation are the treatment of 1. long *ā*, 2. long *ō*, 3. short *u* in *but*, 4. long *i* in *mine*. Now these were heard by TH., in the dt. as follows. 1. long *ā* (se'í, gjá'ít, wá'í, strá'ít, néim ènt), and in words subsequently given (pleez'n grèit, ná'im sá'í), so that he used (á'í, e'í, èi, è, ee) for this sound. 2. long *ō*, in the test (sóu rôud dóuv ná'u óuld pòe), and in subsequent words (óuts) oats, labourers (úts), (gu'in) going, (ná'u) no, (á'uld) old; so that the sound is represented by (óu, á'u) sometimes in the same word. 3. short *u*, (u_op,

dru_oqk'n u_os wu_ont) and in subsequent words (du_ol, u_odhəz, shu_odn't, nu_othi'q, vnu_ot, nu_ot, bu_ote, d'èn, mu_ok) that is, always (u_o), which Mr. W. said was pronounced with pouted lips. As this is a native sound to TH., and as it is the regular M. vowel of this part of the country, there can be no doubt that these words were correctly heard. But Mr. W. considered it to be the first element of his long *i*, which greatly perplexed me before TH.'s visit. 4. long *i* in *mine*. In the test this occurs in (ái ráit sá'id tjá'ild lá'ík), and in subsequent words (ái) frequently (máind sá'id fá'íl fáind, ná'ít táim), from which we may conclude that (ái), as in other places, is the regular form, and the rest are slips. In no dialect could (á'í) represent both long *ā* and *i*, which must be differentiated in speech. Mr. W. did not dwell on *ou*.

This, in the test, is (ue''u vbe''ut de''um e''us), and in subsequent words (e''uz'n fe''und, that is, (e''u) regularly. Hence the district has the regular E. forms, (e''i, e''i, a''i) for long *ā*, (ô''u) for long *ō*, (â''i, a''i) for long *ī*, and (e''u) for *ou*, but being beyond the n. *sum* line 1, has the M. form (*u*₂) for *ū*.

In transcribing TH.'s version I have, as usual, put (*i*) in unaccented syllables for his (*i*, *y*), a mere matter of appreciation, and have omitted the (*r*) when not before a vowel, as, if Mr. Wykes

meant to pronounce it, other speakers shew he was wrong, and even when before a vowel it is probably no more than (*r*₀). I attach no weight to Mr. Wykes's medial vowels, which TH. observed, and have, as usual, omitted to note his occ. lengthened final consonants. TH. was not able to interview any natives, but a boy who shewed him the way to Mr. W.'s said (*jis i dū₂z*, *u₂p dhat le''in*), yes he does, up that lane, thus verifying two points.

MID NORTHAMPTONSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. in three groups, distinguished by the initials I, N, Y.

I words from Islip (:A'islip), with Lowick, Thrapston, Sudborough, Stanion, Oundle, and Lower Benefield, a group adjoining Hu., all lying n. of the n. *sum* line 1, and hence in the pure (*u*₂) region.

N words from Northampton, with Nether Heyford, Great Houghton, Hardingstone, Brixworth, and Wellingborough, a group adjoining 'Bd., all lying s. of the n. *sum* line 1, and mostly n. of the s. *sōom* line 2, and hence in the mixed *sum*, *sōom*, and *som* regions.

Y words from Yelvertoft, with Clay Coton, Welford, and Sibbertoft, a group adjoining Le., visited by TH. in 1886, all n. of the n. *sum* line, and hence with U = (*u*₂). In Yelvertoft one instance of verbal plural in *-en* was observed (*dhⁱ kaan it ier*) they call-en it here. In Sibbertoft was heard (*a'mni flooz'n*) how many closes = fields. In Welford (*dhur z e wu₂ndertel dil e diures v taakin in dh^e shⁱurz*) there's a wonderful deal of difference of talking in the shires.

Final (*r*, *r*) are written in where TH. so appreciated. I should myself have most probably omitted the signs altogether. They indicate a real trill made with the tip of the tongue, and my feeling is that natives are quite unable to utter such sounds. See introduction to M. div.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Y *bék* *bek* *béik*. 4 I *tek*, Y *téik*. N *miste''ik* [mistake]. 5 Y *mêik*. 6 I *méid*. 20 Y *lém* *lém*. 21 I *nâim* *ném*, [between] *ne''im*, *ném* : *ne''im*, N *ném*, Y *ném*. 23 Y *sém*. 33 Y *rédher*. A: 56 Y *wash* [old], *wash* [new]. A: *or* O: 60 I *lu₂q*. 61 Y *mu₂q*. 64 I *roq* *roq*. N *roq*, Y *roq* *ru₂q*. A' - I *â''i* [name of the letter A]. 67 I *gôu* *gur'in* *gor'in* *gôu'in*, N *gur'in*. 69 YIN *nôu*. 73 I [between] *sôu* *sô'u*, N *sôu*. 76 Y *tûd*. 81 IY *lém*, N [between] *lém* *lô'in*, *lém*. 84 Y *múr*. 86 INY *óuts*, NY *úets*. 92 I *noo*. N *nôu*. 93 I [between] *snôù* *snâù*, N *snôù*. 94 I [between] *krôù* *krâù*, N *krôù*. 95 N *thrôu*. A': 104 I *rood*, N [farmers *rôud*], *rûd* [from men from the country], *rôud*. - I *lâidi* [lady]. 109 I *lôu*. 110 I *kânt* *shânt* *dônt* [can't shan't don't], N *kent* *kiént* *shént* *shient*. 115 INY *ôum*, N *ôm*, Y *oom* *oôm* *wôm*. 117 I *wâ'n* *wâ'n*, N *wâ'n*. 118 Y *bôen* *bûen*. 121 I *gâ'n*. 122 I *nôu* *nâ'n*. 123 IN *nu₂thi₂q*. 124 I *stôm*, N *stôm* *stâ'n*, Y *stôm*. 128 I *dhôuz*.

Æ- - I *éiks* [aches]. 138 YIN *faadher*, Y *faedher*. 139 I *drêi*. 152 IY *waat₂r*. Æ: 160 N *ég*. 161 I *dâ''i* *dâi* *de''i*, [between that and *dêi*], YN *de''i* *dêi*, Y *dee*. - N *téip* [tape]. 171 Y *bârl₂i*. 172 Y *gras*. - I *d₂lâs* [glass]. - I *kât* [cart]. - *lêit* [late]. Æ'- 183 Y *tâit₂*. 193 N *kl₂ien*. 194 Y *oni* *ani*. 200 IN *wiit*, N *wiit*, Y *wiit* *wit* *wiit*. Æ': 209 IY *n₂iv₂*. 223 I *dhêie* *dhêe*, N *dh₂ie₂r*, Y *dh₂ier* *dhê'ier* *dh₂ie₂r*. 224 I *wêie*, YN *wiê₂r*. 226 I *môust*.

E- 233 I *sp₂ik* *spi₂ik*. 241 N *rêin* *reen*. 243 I *pl₂e''i*. 248 Y *mêur*. E: 251 Y *me''it*. 261 N *se''i*, Y *see* *sai*. 262 I *wâi*, N *wæ''i*, Y *wee*. 263

IY eweⁿi, N [between] bwá*i*, bwà*i*. E'- 295 I bréd. 299 I grin, Y grín. 300 Y kíp. E': 305 I aⁿi. 312 IN íe. 314 IN íe[r]d ə'v[r]d, [between] əd, əd.

EA: 322 I láf laaf. 324 I áit, Y e'itiin [18]. 326 I [between] ə¹uld, INY əuld ədd. 328 I kóuld. 329 I fíand. 333 N káf [pl.] káyz, Y kjáf. 334 Y aaf. 343 Y WAAM [? new]. 346 I gje'its, Y gjet gjet. EA'- 347 INY əd. EA': 350 Y de'ed. 353 IN bréd. 360 NY íim. 361 NY búnz. 366 I gréit grət, N gréit grət grát. EI- 373 N dhâ*i*. EI. 382 N dheⁿen. EO- 383 IY sev'm. EO: 395 INY u_oq. 402 I lə'rn lərn, N læn, NY laan, Y [between] lern lərn. EO'- — I trii [tree]. 413 N dev'l. 420 Y tóer. EO': 425 N la'it. 428 I s*i*, Y s*i*. 431 N bíer, Y bíer. 435 N jón [your'n]. 437 I [between] trə'uth, trə_outh [first element of diphthong very peculiar in one speaker's mouth]. EY- 438 IN daⁿi, N d*i*, Y [between] d*i*, daⁿi.

I- 446 I naⁿin. — N shíur [shire]. — I jis [yes]. — N peⁿiz [peas]. I: 452 I aⁿi ai, N aⁿi ai. 458 INY naⁿit, NY náit, n*ó*it. 459 N raⁿit r*ó*it. 465 N suⁿti, Y s*í*ti. 469 N w*u*l. 481 N íiqv. — I r*o*n r*u*n, N r*o*n r*o*n r*u*n. 482 I e'int [ain't, are not, have not]. I'- — I aⁿi [name of the letter I]. 492 N saⁿid. 493 N draⁿiv. 494 I taⁿim [and between that and (t*ó*im)], N taⁿim. I': 500 I l*á*k, N laⁿik. 502 N faⁿiv. 506 I w*u*men, N wumen. 508 I maⁿil. 509 N waⁿil, Y wáil. 514 Y áis.

O- 519 I óav. 522 N óap'n. — I baⁿrn [born]. O: 527 Y baat. 529 Y braat. 531 IY daater, Y dá_uter [occ.], N dáute. — I teⁿal [toll]. — Y krap [crop]. 551 Y staⁿim. 554 N kraⁿis [nearly (kroos.)]. O'- 555 I shuu. 559 IN modhe, m*o*dhe, NY madh*u*r. 562 Y [between] m*ə*'un m*o*un, muun. — I m*u*nth [month]. 566 I u_odhe. 568 I br*u*dhe, Y br*u*d*h*er, N br*u*d*h*er. — I gr*o*u [grow]. O': 571 Y g*u*d. 578 Y [between] plá*u*, plá*u*. 579 IN v*u*f. 586 IN d*o*unt [don't], dá_unt. 587 I d*ə*n. 588 Y nuun. 595 N t*u*t.

U- N w*u*d. 603 IN k*ə*m. 605 IN s*u*n s*ə*n. 606 IN d*u*er, N d*u*er. 607 IY bu_oter, N [between] bu_oter boter. — N n*ə*t [nut]. U: — N [between] d*ə*m d*o*m [dumb]. — I t*ə*mb'l t*ə*mb'l [between] t*ə*mb'l t*o*mb'l. 613 N [between] dr*u*qk dr*ə*qk. 615 Y páund. 622 N u_onde. — I th*u*nde. 632 YI u_op, N u_op op əp. 633 I [between] k*ə*p k*ə*p; k*u*p k*o*p, N k*u*p k*o*p k*ə*p, Y k*u*p. 634 Y thraⁿu. 639 Y d*u*st. U'- — I [usual pronunciation (eⁿu)]. 640 N k*á*u, k*á*us [cowhouse]. 641 I eⁿu, N əⁿu. 643 I neⁿu, N náⁿu n*ə*u. — N plomz [plums]. 648 IY áⁿu, N əⁿu. 650 I eb*á*ut. U': 658 I deⁿu d*ə*un, IN d*ə*un, N d*ə*un d*ə*un, Y dáun. 659 N t*ə*un. 661 Y sh*á*er. 663 I eⁿus əⁿus áⁿus, N əⁿus, Y áⁿus áⁿuz, áⁿz'n [Sibbertoft]. 667 I áⁿet, N eⁿat əⁿut.

Y- 673 IY m*u*ti. 679 Y t*í*rti. Y: 691 N maⁿind. 699 N [between] ráit raⁿit. — I sh*ə*t [shut], N sh*ə*t. Y': 709 I fáiv.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 I bad. I. and Y. 758 IN g*ə*l. O. 773 N d*ə*k*i*. U. — I [between] t*ə*b t*o*b [tub], N t*u*b t*o*b. 794 I d*ɪ*u_g d*ɪ*o_g [and between the two]. 803 INY d*ɪ*u_omp, I d*ɪ*əmp d*ɪ*əmp. — N f*u*n*i* [funny]. 808 IN p*u*t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 N pl*é*s, Y pl*é*z'n. 814 I m*é*s'n. 822 I m*é*i. — N pá*i* [pay]. — I pl*é*m [plain]. 830 I tr*é*m. — N pl*é*z [please]. 836 Y s*é*z'n. 851 N aant. E.. 867 Y t*é*ⁿi t*i*i. — N pr*é*'it*i* [preach]. — N kl*à*r*k* [clerk]. — N paas'n [parson]. I.. and Y.. 898 N [between] naⁿis náis. — I kraⁿi [cry]. 900 N pr*é*'ierz [prayers]. 901 IN faⁿin. 903 IN d*í*ne. — N praⁿis [price]. O.. 916 N ə*n*en, Y u_on*en*. 920 N p*ə*'int. — IN p*u*o_omp pomp. — N u_oq'l [and twice] əq'l. — N reⁿand. 933 I fr*u*nt fr*ə*nt. 939 I tl*ó*s, N tl*ó*s [pl.] tl*ó*z'n. — brash [brush]. 940 N [between] k*ó*ut k*á*ut. — I bot'n [button]. — I m*u*t'n [mutton]. U.. — N p*u*bl*í*k [public]. 965 N é*í*. — N əⁿrt [hurt]. 970 I d*ɪ*u_s, Y d*ɪ*u_ost, N d*ɪ*s d*ɪ*u_ost.

Usages. I (á*i*)m d*ə*n I have done. N (gu'in :k*ɛ*t*ə*ri*n*) going to Kettering, regularly. No euphonic *r*.

VAR. V. ESSEX.

Coming s. again, we proceed from Ht. to Es., where the E. characters are most marked. But the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining information. And after all, most of the information obtained failed to bring out the chief peculiarities. Hence, until I had obtained the Maldon specimen, and TH. had made a special journey through the nw. of Es., I could feel very little confidence in the meagre accounts I obtained. But the result is that the ME. characters are all identified.

A- becomes (e'i e'i) and even (â'i, âi), so that it seems at first hearing to displace i, and as an alphabetical letter is called by some form of (a'i).

A'- is variously treated: (áu) and (óu) seem to be lost, but the latter survives in a few words as (óu ôu). TH. heard (sóu) so, at Stebbing (11 n-by-w.Chelmsford) and (uón) know at Braintree (11 n-by-e.Chelmsford), but on the other hand home, oats, appeared there as (óm, óts) mixed with (ám, áts uts), and so on. The transition to (óu) seems therefore not to have taken place, and there is an occasional reversion to (oo, ó). This applies also to O when usually lengthened.

I' and I usually lengthened, as generally in E.div., is much broadened and falls into (a'i, ai, a'i, a'i). Most writers of the dialect use oi, oy, as *toime, soide*, but I think that (a'i, ai) are really the most common pronunciations. TH. gives (ta'im ma'il) from Braintree, (láikli kwa'it) from Gt. Shalford, between (ma'i, mói) from Stebbing, (má'i má'i, láikli) from Great Easton, and I got (da'ik dáik, móin) from Gt. Dumow, but quite (l'áikli f'áind) from Maldon. I do not, however, entirely trust any one of my own authorities on such a delicate point.

As to the U' and the U usually lengthened in S. sp., that is, the usual (a'u) sound, there was much uncertainty. TH. gives (e'us te'um de'un e'ut) house town down out, from Braintree, (re'um é'uz'n ne'u) and between (d'áun de'um), round houses now down, from Panfield, with (é'uz'n néu) and the intermediate (ub'ut vbe'ut, gré'und gré'und) from Gt. Shalford. This intermediate sound causes the difficulty, as also the occasional prefix of (u) as (me'u) Maldon; but as (e'u) was frequently heard, and I got it from Gt. Dumow and Maldon, I think that (e'u) must be taken as the general sound. This will be found to harmonise with the other varieties of D 16 and with D 9.

As to the U sounds, they are regularly (ə, ə), but some exceptions seem to occur. The Vicar of Panfield stated that the following words had "German u" (u), "dust, love, above, hanger, tongue, under, some, bat, butter, cup, ran, roof, enough, drunken, coming," and even "about." It was principally for that reason that TH. spent some time in Panfield and the neighbourhood, but he could find no trace of this pronunciation. The same vicar gave "ew as in new" for the sound in "school threw sure too soon do poor true," and said that French u was not heard. TH. found no confirmation of this in the neighbourhood, nor did I from Gt. Dumow or Maldon, though the Vicar of Rayne (3 s.Panfield) gave me a similar list, just reversing ordinary usage, which I attributed to his exactly misunderstanding the signs I asked him to use. I therefore conclude that U is treated as in received speech.

Another salient point is the use of (w) for (v). TH. got (wit'lwinegu) victuals vinegar from Braintree, (veri wit'lz winegu) but (váis) voice, from Panfield (where the Vicar had acknowledged *verry*), but (veri winegu wóis) from Gt. Shalford, and (wit'ls wineger vóis) from Stebbing. On the other hand, an inn-keeper and an old man at Gt. Dumow assured him that (w) was not used for (v) there, but my Gt. Dumow authority, a native, gave (w'áis) voice, and my Maldon authority gave (veri), and from Southend I obtained (westri waeli) vestry value, from Paiglesham (6 nne.Southend) and Stanway (3 w.Colchester) and Brightlingsea (7 sse.Colchester) (veri), while from Bradfield (9 ene.Colchester) came (wes'lz) vessels, with the remark that the people could not pronounce (v). In Clark's Glossary to his "John Noakes and Mary Styles," the classical Es. dialect specimen, I find "wark wáird warmin wárses wársley" (I believe a corruption of *universally* that is, *altogether*, for Clark used "I shudn't wársley loike to

trov," I should not altogether like to try, compare the 'Varsity for University in the boat races), "wentersome werry weskit wis-it." Hence we may conclude that (w) is generally used for (v), and that where in isolated cases (v) is heard, it is a modern refinement. But does (v) ever occur for (w)? Dr. Charnock in his Glossary has *vae ven vite rot* = way when white what, but I have had no confirmation from any of my authorities. Compare D 9, p. 132.

As in E. div. generally, *r*, when not preceding a vowel, becomes (v) or disappears altogether. Every dialect writer puts in the *r*, however, even where it never was and never could have been sounded, as Clark's *baccar* (bæke) tobacco, *bargun* (began) begun, *bellar* (belv) bellow, *boarnt* (bóont) bonnet, *carl* (kaal) crawl, *chamber* (tjaambv) chamber, *darter* (daate) daughter, *fellar* (felv) fellow, *hort* (haat) hot, *loss* (laas) loss, *master* (maaste) master, *morra* (mørv) morrow, *naarbour* (naabv) neighbour, *o'tan* (aafv) often, *scrawl* (skraal) scrawl, *squarls* (skwaalz) squawls, *thurra* (thørv) furrow, *uster* (juus tv) used to, was accustomed to, *yallar* (jælv) yellow. And in addition I find in Charnock *arrar* (ærv) arrow, *arter* (aatv) after, *harve* (haav) a haw, or small piece of land by a house, *snarth* (snaath) snath, long handle of a scythe. The acme of this mode of writing was reached by my Southend authority, who described the clerk's pronunciation of *amen* as "men rmon, rrrmon," that is (aaa'men) with the first (aaa) very prolonged. In my phonetic printing-office at Bath with London compositors the confusion between the names of the types for (aa, r) was so great, that I was forced to have the latter called (éev) or (rœ). The writing in of *r* in such cases shews that the writer habitually neglects it in speech, but its insertion is very confusing to the reader occasionally. It serves only as a diacritic to modify the meaning of the preceding vowel, and when such modification does not occur it is omitted by the writer. Thus we find in Clark *coos* (koos, kóvs) course, *foce* (foos, fós) forced, *fast* (fæst) first, *gal* (gælv) girl, *hoss* (høs) horse, *hull* (hølv) hurl, *suppas* (sepaa's) surpass. *turnips* (tønips) turnips, *wasser* (wæsv) worse-r. What the precise sound of *r* was before a vowel was not recorded either by TH. or myself. It was certainly a light *r*, but whether lightly trilled (r̄) or lightly buzzed (r̄) I cannot say; theoretically certainly the latter as a degradation of (r), but (r) alone has been written by both of us. When (aa, aa, ææ, v) precede a vowel, a euphonic *r* is always added, even in the same word, as (saa-r-ig) saw-r-ing, (draa-r-ig) draw-r-ing, whether the syllable or word did or did not originally end in an (r). Hence the country people were accused of adding on an (r) in places where they could not pronounce it!!

Clark gives (Aaldoo') although, which would be remarkable if certain. Other slighter peculiarities will be found in the following word list.

Of constructions the only striking usage is putting the plural verb to the singular subject, as: he *do* (i doo), my head *swim* (ma'i ed swim), usual in all the E. div. But I have no example of the reverse, or putting the singular verb to the plural subject as: we *does*. *Be* is apparently occasionally used in *he be*, not in *I be*. Without *he*, belong to *we*, a S. construction, is sometimes heard. Of peculiar words which are not also found in D. 19 there are few or none. *Mawther* (maadhv) is here used in a depreciatory sense, as a coarse wench. *Together* is a common form of address to several persons. Come to *mine*, means to my house, and so in other persons. But all this is more developed in D 19. At Brightlingsea *master* is used in the sense of *very*, an intensitive adverb. *Snace* (snees) the snuff of a candle is (sniis) in Cb.

Illustrations.

GT. DUNMOW (10 n.w. Chelmsford).

Abridged es. pal. in 1873 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, a native of Great Dunmow, who when it was made had been several years absent, and had been endeavouring to forget his dialectal tendencies. But the uncertainty which would therefore cling to it has been mostly dissipated by TH.'s investigations in the neighbourhood.

1. wɛl, neev, jɛ'u vɪn ii mɛ booth laaf, uu kéevz ?

2. wi noo, dóoet wi?
3. dʒɪst ooldɔv rɛ'ʊ, tɪl ái dæn.
4. ɔ'i)m saatɪn ái ɪəd ɛm séɛi, dhæt ái ded, séif ɛnəf.
5. dhæt dhe ʒəq'gest sən ɪself, v gret buɔ'i ɛv nɔ'in niú iz faadhɛz wɔ'is ɛt wəns, ɛn ái ud trəst ɪm tɛ spiik dhe triúth ɛni déi, éi, ái ɪud.
6. ɛn dhe ɛ'ud ʊmɛn ɛrself ul tel ɛni ɔn)ɪ if ʒɛ'ʊ)l ɔni æks)v, oo woont shi?
8. ɛ'ʊ, wɪɪ ɛn wɛn shi fɛ'ʊn dhe drɛqk'n biist shi kaalz ɛr ɛzben.
9. shi saaf)ɪm wɪdh ɛr ɔon áiz léi'ɛn strɛtɪt ɔn dhe grɛ'ʊnd, ɪn iz gud sændi kóoet ɛgi'n dhe daaf)ɛv)dhe ɛ'ʊs, de'ʊn ɛt dhe kaanɛr ɛv dhæt)ɛɛ léin.
11. dhæt ɛp'nd ɛz shii)ɛn)v daatɛr)ɪn)laa kɔm thriú dhe bæk ʒaad frɛm ɛqɛn ɛ'ʊt dhe wɛt klóoɛz tɛ drɔ'i ɔn v wəshɛn de'i,
12. wɔ'ɪl dhe kɪt'l wɛz bɔ'ɪlɛn fɛ tii.
13. ɛn dʒɛ noo? ái niɪv laant ɛni maa dhɛn dhɪs, ɛn ái doont wənt ɪt ɛɛdhɛ, dhɪɛ nɛ'ʊ!
14. ɛn soo ái)m gu'ɛn ɔom tɛ sɛpɛ. gud nɔ'it.

Notes to Great Dunmow cs.

2. don't (dóoet) for (doont) is doubtful, compare don't, par. 13. 3. *hold your row till I done*, possibly *I've done*. 5. *youngest, great*. I am not quite sure of having correctly separated (ɛ ɛ, ə ɛ) at this early period of my work. 9. *saw him* with euphonic (r).—*eyes, (a'i ɔ'i)* seem to have been confused.—*door of the*, the (r) is euphonic, (dAA'v) might be said if no word followed, but

(dAA) would be most usual before a consonant, compare (maa) par. 13. 11. *daughter-in-law*, euphonic (r). 13. *do you know*.

Mr. Roderick, see Ware, Ht., told me he heard at Great Dunmow (shu dʒaad ái, ɛn ái dʒaad ɔæ bæk ɛgi'n), she jawed I, and I jawed her back again.

MALDON (9 e.Chelmsford) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of Miss Wing, a native of Hornsey, six years at the National School, Maldon, as pupil teacher, at the time of dict. a student at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea.

1. sóu ɔ'i sɛ'i, mæ'its, ʒɛ'ʊ sii niɛ'ʊ dhɛt ɔ'i)m rɔ'it ɛbɛ'ʊt dhæt lɪl ʒɛl [gɛl] ɛ-kəm'ɛn frɛm dhe skuul ʒɔn'dɛ.

2. ɛt bi ɛ-giɪn de'ʊn dhe róoed dhɪv thruu dhe rɛd ʒɛ'it ɔn dhe lɛft a'nd sɔ'ɪd v dhe wɛ'ɪ.

3. shúɛr ɔnəf dhe tʒɔ'ɪld ɛz ʒaɪn strɛ'it ɛp tɛ dhe dúɛr v dhe roq ɛ'ʊs,

4. wɪɪ shíɪl lɔ'ɪk'li fɔ'ɪnd dhæt drɛqk'n def srɪv'ld fɛlɛr, v dhe nɛ'ɪm ə :tɔm'ɛs.

5. ɛs aal noo ɪm wɛr'i wɛl.

6. ɔont dhe oold tʒa'p suun tɛɛtɪ [laan] v not tɛ duu ɪt ɛgɪn, pɔoɔ thiɪ!

7. lək, ɛɛnt ɪt trɪú?

Notes to the Maldon dt.

1. *so*, this is one of the very few instances collected of this pron.—*I am* most usual. *I be* is used more than *I are*, but *I are* is also used. Never heard *we is*, or *thou*. *He do*, *we was*, and *theirselves* are used.—*now*, this inserted (i) was given me in (fiá'vnd griá'vnd piá'vnd tiá'vnd kiá'vnd shiá'u'vnd miá'vnd miá'vnd tiá'vnd iá'vnd priá'vnd) by the Vicar of Panfield, but he also gave me (əbu'rt) about, and reiterated it, though it was not heard or known in the place when TH. visited it.—*yonder*, probably an error for (inde),

an E. form, possibly *hinder* used in place of *yonder*. As to the final *r* I felt uncertain, as Miss Wing being from Hornsey might have imported the London use; but it has been fully confirmed.

3. *enough* (vná'u) was not known.—*door*, this (dúv) is suspicious, the (r) is euphonic.

4. *shrieked*, *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (srək) shrieked. Generally, the voice is pitched high with a final rising inflection, which runs very high in questions.

ESSEX cwl.

As the dialect seems homogeneous, I have not distinguished the places whence the words came. Those obtained from TH. are placed first or are unmarked, and those from other sources are preceded by —.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 *máik meek*. 10 — *haa*. 13 — *naa*. 14 — *draa*. 21 *nêim ne'im*, — *néerm náim*. 33 — *reedhe*. 34 — *las*. 37 — *klaa*. A: — *kjéint* [can't]. A: or O: 64 *rəq*. A': 67 *g'u'm* [going], — *gə'u*. 73 — *səu se'u*. 76 — *təud*. 86 *ots əts u'ts*, — *əvts*. 91 — *mə'u*. 92 *nəu*. A': 104 *rood rəud*, — *rəvud re'ud*. 110 — *nat*. 115 *əm ʌvəm*, — *həm əm*, — *həəmli* [homely]. 117 *wə'n wən*. 118 — *bon*. 121 — *gəən*. 122 — *nə'vən*. 123 — *naathən*. 124 *stoon*, — *stə'vən*. 125 — *onə*.

Æ- 138 — *faadhe*. 140 — *há'ð*. 141 *ná'ð*. 143 — *tə'vnd tēvnd*. 152 *waate*. Æ: 158 — *aate*. 161 *dəi de'i*. 171 *baali*. 179 *vət* [this, 224 and 266 are the only examples of (v) for (w) actually heard from an innkeeper at Panfield, and they are very doubtful as he was merely stating his opinion]. Æ'- — *retj* [reach]. 183 — *tiitj*. — *arənd* [errand]. 199 — *bleet*. 260 *wéit wīt*. Æ': 213 — *cedher*. 217 — *etj*. 219 — *shəp*. 224 *və'r* [see 179].

E- 241 *rēin rā'vən rā'vən*, — *ra'vən*. 252 — *kā'l*. E: 261 *səi sá'v se'i*. 262 *wá'v we'v*. 263 *əwá'v*. 265 *strēt stre'it strā'it*. 266 *və'l* [once given, see 179]. — *fīl* [field]. 273 — *mā'n*. 278 — *iind* [end]. 282 — *gəən* [grin]. E': 305 — *hə'v*. 306 — *hekth*. 307 — *nə'v*. 312 *iv*. 314 — *haad*. 315 — *fīt*.

EA- 319 — *gaap*. 320 — *kūv*. EA: 322 *laaf*. 324 — *a'it a'vət*. 326 *á'vld*, [between] *əvnd ə'vld*, — *ə'vld*, *əvld*. 327 — *bə'vld*. 328 — *kə'vld*. 329 — *food*. 330 — *hood*. 331 — *sood*. 332 *tá'vld*, — *təvld*. 333 — *kíuf*. 334 — *heef*. 346 — *gə'it*. EA': 355 — *díif dā'v*. 359 *nə'və nā'və nā'və ne'və*. 361 *bā'vz biinz*. 369 — *sləv*. 370 — *raab*. 371 *straa*, — *straab*.

EO- — *sev'm*. 384 — *hev'm*. EO: 388 — *melk*. 393 — *biə'vnd*. 394 *inde* [see top of this page, col. 2]. 396 *wak wək*, — *wək*. — *aal* [earl]. 400 — *aanest*. 402 *laan*. 406 — *aath*. EO'- — *frā'iz* [freeze]. EO': 430 — *frā'n*. 435 *jaa* [your]. 437 *trə'vnd trə'vnd*. EY- 438 *də'v*.

I- 444 — *stə'v*. 446 *nā'v*. — *piiz* [pease]. — *iis* [yes]. I: 452 *ái*. 458 *nə'v*. 459 — *rə'v*. 468 *tə'vnd* [approaching (tə'vnd)]. 469 — *wul* [will]. 477 — *fā'v*. 483 — *hiz* [not (hiz)]. 488 — *it*. — *dət* [dirt]. I'- 491 — *sá'vth*. 494 *tā'v* *tā'v*, *tā'v* [verging to *tā'v*]. — *rep* [reap]. 499 — *biid'l*. I': — *dā'v* *dā'v* [dyke]. 500 *lā'v*. — *hā'v*. 501 — *wə'v*. 502 — *fə'v*. 505 *wā'v*. — *há'v* *hee* *hee* [hay]. 508 *mā'v*. 510 *mā'v*.

O- — *smək* [smoke]. 524 *wə'v* *wə'v*. O: 527 — *boot*. 528 — *thoot*. 529 — *broot*. 531 — *daate*. 533 — *də'v*. 535 — *fək*. 541 *ənt*. — *əs*

[horse]. O': 560 skául. — gums [gums]. 562 muun. O': 583 t'ául. 586 dóoz [he does], — doo [does]. 587 dā'n. 588 nūen n'áun. 593 mās-t. U: 602 — sia'n. 603 kām. — kīm. 605 sē'n. 606 dōu. U: 614 — he'an. 616 grā'and. 623 — fa'un. 632 əp əp, — əp [at Stanway]. 634 thrúu thre'u, — thrú. 636 — fəde. U: 640 — kia'u. 643 nē'u [varying to nō'u]. 650 vba''ut vbe''ut, — vbia'ut. U': 658 dā'un dā'un de'un [between] (de''un, dā'un), — diāun. 659 te'un. 663 ə'us ə'us e'us. 667 e'ut. Y: 674 — ded, dent [did not]. — hiiv [hive]. 679 — tjaatj. 682 — liit'l lid'l. Y: 684 — bredj. 690 kjáind. 691 — mō'ind. Y': 711 — liis. 712 — miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 — driin. 737 me'it. I. and Y. 758 — gæl. O. 761 — lod. 767 — na'iz. 790 — ga'und. 791 bōi, bōi. U. — mæg [mug]. — gən [gun]. — kaal [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. pāil [pail], — pæ'iel pēil pēel. — plāin [plain = dialectal]. 840 — tjaambe. 845 á'inshent. 849 strá'indj. — skees [scarce]. — sle'it [slate]. 862 sēi. E.. 885 weri veri. — kensaa'n [concern]. 888 — saatin. — saavis [service]. I.. and Y.. — wiledj [village]. 901 fā'in. — winege vinguu [vinegar]. — wā'iz vā'ls [victuals]. O.. — kotj. — dja'un [join]. 925 wōis wōis vāis. 926 — spa'il. — re'an [round]. 940 — kot. 947 — ba'il. — draani [journey]. — māv [move]. 956 — kive. 963 kwa''it kwā'it. 965 — a'il. 970 — djes.

D 17 = SE. = South Eastern.

Boundary. To the s. the Thames R., being the b. of the S. div. To the n. a sweeping semicircular line, from the b. of Ox. from 10 s. Aylesbury, Bu., s. of Wendover, Bu., and of Hemel Hempstead, Ht., of Hatfield, Ht., and Hoddesdon, Ht., and just n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., and then passing through Epping, Es., and w. of Brentwood, Es., to the Thames R. at Tilbury, opposite Gravesend. This line is, of course, very roughly and conjecturally drawn, the parts of Bu., Ht., and Es. to the north, not being perceptibly different from those immediately south of it. But to the n. of this line the speech of the people seems to be really dialectal, while within there are so many causes for interference with the natural development of speech, and the population is so shifting, that it would be misleading to suppose that there was any real hereditary dialect or mode of speech. But there is a decided tendency to E. as distinguished from S. feeling, and hence the district is considered to be a mixture of Metropolitan and Eastern.

Area. The whole of Mi., the se. of Bu., s. of Ht., and sw. of Es. D 17 SE. and D 8 sBS. are the two halves of the Metropolitan Area, n. and s. of the Thames R., where the enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible. Nevertheless, D 17 is even more distinctly E. than D 8 is S. Almost all the so-called "vulgarisms" of London are of E. and more especially metropolitan E. origin. And this form of speech has become prevalent also in Australasia (see p. 236).

Character. This must be collected from the following sections, especially the first.

§ 1. *Mr. D'Orsey on London Town Speech.*

The Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, B.D., Professor of Public Reading at King's College, London, with large experience in correcting errors of speech and defects of utterance, in writing to the School Board for London, 4th December, 1882, said:

“Such words as *paper, shape, train*, are pronounced *piper, shipe, trine*,—the very first letter of the alphabet being thus wrongly taught. *Cab* is *keb*, *bank* is *benk*, *strand* is *strend*; *light* is almost *loyt*; the short *i* is made *ee*, e.g., ‘second edeeshon;’ *no* is *now*; *mountain* is *meowtain*; *stupid* is *stoopid*, and many more. The final consonants are so feebly uttered that it is sometimes impossible to tell whether the pupil says *life*, or *like*, or *light*. ‘H’ is constantly transposed. ‘G’ is dropped in such words as *coming, going*, etc., or is turned into *k* in *nothink*. Most pupils cannot trill the *r*, burring it in the throat, or making it a *w*, as *drivink* for *drink*. In many cases *r* appears improperly at the ends of words, thus *Maida-hill* as *Myder-el*, *Maria Ann* as *Maria ran*.”

In *piper, shipe, trine*, the *i* probably means (ɛ'i) or (æ'i), and only rarely (á'i); if so, this is only a fully developed Es. form. It is found all over Ht. and Es. as already shewn, and is strongest in East and North London, being as yet comparatively little developed in North West and West London. But it is recent, as will be shewn in the following sections. I was myself born in North London in 1814, and cannot recall it.

We have seen that when long *a* has developed in (ɛ'i, æ'i, á'i), long *i* develops into (á'i, á'i), but in London I have not myself observed anything beyond (á'i), and that very rarely. This is perhaps the sound which Mr. D'Orsey alluded to by saying “*light* is almost *loyt*.”

The correlative of the change of long *a* into (á'i) is that of long *o* into (á'u), but to my ears it seldom reaches this in London, though I have heard ‘ladies in a boat’ in Hyde Park spoken much like (la'idiz in)ə ba'ut), but I think it did not go beyond (læ'idiz in)ə bóut). This is common ME. D 16, etc. For London it is not mentioned in Walker or Smart (see § 2), or in the ‘Errors of Pronunciation 1817’ (see § 3), or in ‘Pickwick’ 1837 (see § 4), or Thackeray 1845 (see § 5), and must therefore be recent. For the received (oo'w), which is quite different, see Part IV. p. 1152. But when *o* tends to (óu), the *ow* diphthongs tend to (éu, é'u) as in the whole of the E. div., and this is most probably the sound meant by Mr. D'Orsey's *meowtain*.

The use of *keb, benk, strend*, probably (keb beqk strend) for (kæb bæqk strænd), may be growing. The use of *edeeshon*, often heard as (idiishun), seems confined to newsboys, and is merely emphasisism.

The use of (uu) for (iú) in *stupid news*, etc., is by no means confined to London or E. div. The ‘transposition’ of “H” is very common, though its simple omission is still more common, everywhere. The use of *comin' goin'* etc. in the participle is historically preferable to the received *coming going*, and is almost universal

dialectally, but becomes (-iŋg) in s.La. and (-iŋk) in Ch. The received sound is (-iŋ), which of course is what Mr. D'Orsey meant. We find nothin^k (næthiŋk) in several dialects. The London treatment of *r* belongs not merely to the whole E. div. but to the whole e. coast of England from Kc. to Nb. The feebleness of the pron. of final consonants is so far as I know insufficient to characterise London.

Mr. D'Orsey's examples, therefore, do not seem to characterise a peculiar mode of speech, but merely show a grafting of some E. habits on our received speech.

§ 2. Walker (1792-1807) and Smart (1836) on London Speech.

These two well-known authors of *Pronouncing Dictionaries* have each given a section on Cockney Pronunciation. I quote Walker from the stereotype edition of 1814. He enumerates four faults only. 1) postes, fistes, mistes, etc., for posts, fists, mists [mentioned in § 3 under P, p. 228]; 2) interchange of *v*, *w* as weal, winegar, vine, vind, for veal, vinegar, wine, wind, the two latter are spoken of as common; 3) not sounding *h* after *w* to distinguish while wile, whet wet, where were [now firmly rooted even in educated speech]; 4) interchange of *h* as art, harm, for heart, arm. There is no hint at pronouncing \bar{a} , \bar{o} as \bar{i} , *ow*.

Smart in his *Hints to Cockney Speakers* finds it almost unnecessary to remark on the interchange of *v*, *w*. But notes wōōld cōōld shōōld, would could should, [now never heard]; chick'n, Lat'n, no'el, par'e'l, but swivel, heaven, ev'd, dev'd, [the last of which is scarcely heard now but in the pulpit]. Other errors he notes as arithmetic, character, writin', readin', spile sile for spoil soil, toosday, dooty, perpat-rate, affinat-y, providence, education; boar'd fo'm co'd for board torn cord, lawr, sawr, 'and, 'eart, honour, honest. There is no hint of sounding \bar{a} , \bar{o} as \bar{i} , *ow*. But he says that the \bar{a} of "a well-educated Londoner . . . finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound of *e*" (ii); and that \bar{o} "in a Londoner's mouth is not quite simple . . . finishing almost as *oo* in *too*." These are the *ee'*, *oo'w* of rec. sp. which are quite different from the \bar{i} , *ow* sounds.

§ 3. Errors in London Speech in 1817.

In an anonymous book called "Errors of Pronunciation and improper expressions used frequently and chiefly by the inhabitants of London" (Lackington), 1817, not one example of the pronunciation \bar{i} , *ow* for \bar{a} , \bar{o} is adduced. As this little work is probably not accessible, the following extract may be of service. Wrong pronunciations only are extracted, the author's orthography is adopted, and any explanations are given in []. The order is alphabetical, arranged by the initial letter.

A advertisement, a'ter, airy [area], alabla'ter [alabaster], ally [ally'], angola [angora, now usual], any-think, archangel [ch=(tj)] archetype, architect, architecture, architrave, archives, aristocrasy, arnt [aunt ant], arrac [now usual], arrant [errand], arer [arrow], ast [ask], attainer [attainder], axe [ask].

B babby, baggonet [bayonet], balcony [now usual], basilicum [basilica], beadle [beetle], bile [boil], Bishergate St. [Bishopgate], botherdash [balderdash], brachygraphy, brile [broil], breach [brooch, now generally with *oo*, not *uu*], broccofo, Brummagem, Burgamy [Burgundy], burnfire [bonfire], berrin [burying], buzzum pronounced boosom [seemingly meaning (buuz m) bosom].

C chaneey [China-ware, obsolete], cha'mber [obs.], chimley [chimney], chisscake [cheesecake], comforts [comfits], crow'd [crew], curossety.

D democrasy, drugs [dregs], dysentery.

E eddication [observe not edjication] i-thur [oldest form, still in use], -er for -ow in arrer beller feller holler narrer piller swaller willer, ere pronounced are [not clear], ewe is pronounced yeo [this must be common provincial (*foo*) now unknown in London].

F feater [feature], Febberwary [February], fígary [vagary].

G gaap [gaap] gape, common prov., genus [genius], geográfhy, gobble [cobble], gownd [gown], Gracious St. [Gracechurch St.], grassplat for —plot [both usual].

H omitted in 'eart, put in in 'harm, etc., hankechur 'harbour [arbour], have rhyming to eave, 'hedge, 'heir [*h* with abnormal aspirate], Herkerlis [Hercules], his'n, holler [see -er].

I idear Mariar Louisar, ile [oil], imminent [eminent], Ingia [India], ingenious [ingenuous], instid [instead], irrepárabl.

J janders [jaundice], Jamiwery, jessamy [-mine], jest [just], jine [join].

K kittle [kettle, common provincial].

L la'n 'larning, least [less], leef [sub. leave], leeftenant pronounced levtenant [leutenant, now usual], lectle [very little], liekerish [licorice], line [loin], lingo, live for lief, lozenger [lozenge].

M manifaeter, manifaeterer, marrew [marrow], massacree, materals [materials], meller [mellow], Mepomené [Melpomene], meracle maracle for miracle, mercántile, mezéream, mischévous, muckenger [muckender, obs. for mockadour, Fr. mouchoir].

N narrer [narrow], nater [nature], necessitate, nevy, noways [no wise].

O obstroperous, oman "this error is constantly committed by the ordinary class of people," otherways [-wise], otter of roses, our'n.

P pantomime [-mime] peashuks [peashells], Penelopé, pertikalar, piller, pint [point], pi-son [poison] post-es persist-es and other words in -ist, preambulate, prejudiciary [prejudicial], pronouciation, pudden [pudding].

R redikerlous [ridiculous].

S salary [celery], salitary [salutary], sartin, sarve, sarvice, sawder [solder], sentry [century], set [sit], shay [chaise], shemmy [chamois, applied to leather], sliet [shut], should, could, would, sitteation [situation], sparrow-grass [or grass only, asparagus], spear [sphere], sperrits [spirits], spile [spoil], statute [statue], stenográfhy, substraction, successsully [successsively], sich [such], suddun, to summons, superflúous, supperate [suppurate], surgeon for Sir John, to swaller.

T taller [tallow], Terpsi-chore in three syllables, terrestrial [terrestrial], Thália, Toosday, topográfhy, towáreds, trow [trough, a common provincialism].

U umberella, 'um [one], uvola [uvula].

V & W constantly confused, weal, winegar, vine, vind.

W warnt, Wensday, willer [willow], winder [-ow], wurt [wart].

Y your'n.

Z called izard in place of zed.

It is observable that in this list the great number of cases are not at all dialect, but are false appreciations of unfamiliar words. Sometimes they are genuine survivals, as *arrant* ags, a'rende, in place of *errand*, falsely derived from *errandum* in imitation of *errant*. On the whole these are not Londonisms of the present day and are in that respect noteworthy.

§ 4. *Dickens' London Speech, 1837.*

We do not find the peculiar pron. piper for paper in Sam Weller's speeches in Dickens's "Pickwick," 1837, where it would have been immensely picturesque, and we may therefore infer that Dickens did not then know it. Indeed 11 years later in his *Haunted Man*, p. 66, 1st ed. 1848, where there was a splendid opening for it, it never seems to have occurred to Dickens. Adolphus Tetterby, the news-boy, varies his calling out of Paper! by changing "the first vowel in the word *páper* and substituting in its stead, at different periods of the day, all the other vowels in grammatical succession." The effects are written as "pa-per, pepper" not pe-per, "pipper" not pi-per, "popper, pupper." All this is natural supposing (*pe-pe-pa, pe-pe-pa, pí-pa, pá-pe, pá-pe*) to be used, the second and third being regular degradations of the first, but (*pa'i-pe*) would not come in anyhow. We may thus conclude that the pron. *pi-per* was not known 40 years ago in London.

In Sam Weller the principal fun is made out of the interchange of *w* and *v*, and while (*w*) is constantly used for (*v*) in D 9, Ke. and D 16, Es., and also D 19, Nf., I have not found a certain example in the provinces of (*v*) being used for (*w*), and though I have for many years been on the look out for it, have never heard (*v*) used for (*w*) in *earnest* in London (see p. 132). Now Dickens's Sam Weller, who calls himself Veller, and says he spells his name with a *wee*, is full of this. I have noted the following examples of *v* for *w*: *vaggin*, *vouldn't*, *vy* [why], *vos*, *vruth*, *vrhite*, *vrider*, *vriddler*, *veskit*, *ve*, *vay*, *vile*, *vun*, *vunce*, *vich*, *Pickvick*, *Veller*, *Valker*, *vide*, *vhen*, *ven*, *vheel*, *Barnvell*, *Vellingtons*, *vorn*, *svear*, *vare-ever*; and the following *w* for *v*: *dewotion*, *wery*, *inwest*, *conwert*, *reverse*, *wictim*, *wisit*, *wessell*, *invention*, *woter*, *wentilation*. Sometimes, but rarely, *w* is preserved, as in *well*, *widder*, *washus* [wash-house].

The other words of S. and T. Weller have no great peculiarity, as: *babby* [incompatible with *bibby*], *feller*, *I des-say*, *fort'nit*, *biled* [boiled], *'ooman*, *see'd*, *hollering*, *bustin'* [the *g* not by any means always lost], *nothin'*, *anythin'*, *a'nt*, *ha'nt*, *'ansome* [handsome, Hansoms did not exist], *rayther*, *natur*, *imperence*, *dooties*, most of them common in all dialects. Most of these are merely conventional literary cockney, and it is only the absence of *ī*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō* which is of any importance.

§ 5. *Thackeray's London Footman's Speech*, 1845-6.

In *Punch* for 1845-6. W. M. Thackeray first published his *James's* [not *James's*] *Diary* in highly picturesque spelling, founded, of course, principally on phonetic habits, or it would have had no point. Now here I find no hint of *ā*, *ō* being called *ī*, *ow*. He uses *y* for unaccented *a*, that is, (*i*) for (*e*), in *gyzett*, *myjestick*, *jyponica*, *myommida* [Mahometan], and also *nybobb* (*nbobb*), the accentuation (*nee'bobb*) for *nawawb* being quite modern, and from an Indian point of view incorrect. For *ā* he either uses *a*, as *infamation*, *gave*, *able*, *place*, *pane*, *hate* [eight], *chasely* [chastely], *phamously*, *shampone*, *fate* [fête], *lazy fase*, *grasefly*, *labor*, *istate*, *gacing* [gazing], *sitawashins*, *A* [=hay], *taty taty* [tête à tête], or employs *ai*, *ay*, as *awaled*, *hordays* [his], *plait*, *payges*, *happix* [apex], *gayv*, *layt*, *brayv*, *sayle*, *straymger*, *say*, *beayviour*, *sayber*, *fainted*, *narrait*, *gaytors*, *layborer*, *rayge*. For *ō*, which occurs seldom, he has *oa* in *roag*, *pouker*, *noas*, *toan*. The *w* for *v* is not very conspicuous in *wery*, *vulgar* [but also *vulgar*], *inwite*, *wisit*, *conwussing*, *weakle* [vehicle], *prewents*, *divine*. Of *v* for *w* I have found only one instance, *visper*, twice repeated. The euphonic *v* is common, *porring*, *pawring*, *hideer* of, *droving*, *sor'em*; and the interchange of *or* and *ow*, as *por*, *lōs*, *drov*, *enawmons*, *spawting*, *taun*. The use of *j* for *d*, and *ch* for *t* is conspicuous in *hojons*, *juice*, *treemenjeeous*, *assijuously*, *jewties* [but also *dooties*], *enjurance*, and *coschewm*, *ereechurs* [costume, once spelled *costewm*, and *creatures*]. The *ī* for *oi* occurs in *pint*, *adjining*, *enijy*. Thackeray seldom marks *-in'* for *-ing*, but this was mere carelessness. Much more might be cited, but the above will suffice to shew the common errors then, and to prove his ignorance of *ī*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*.

§ 6. *Mr. Tuer's Cockney Almanac*.

Returning to recent times, in 1883 Messrs. Field & Tuer published "The Kaukneigh Awlmineck, edited by 'Enery 'Arris, down't-tcher-now," in which what are supposed to be cockneyisms of pronunciation are for fun conspicuously exaggerated. It is therefore worth while examining these.

The principal fun of the book is made from the *ā* and *ō*, which become (*u*ī, *u*'u). Thus we have for *ā*: *sy* [say] *tyken* *even't* [ain't] *nyke* *engyged* *operyted* *relytions* *adjityting* *lydees* [ladies] *grytis* [gratis] *pygis* [pages] *ible* *wy* *plize* *dize* [days] *fital* [fatal] *fyver* [favour] *stytmins* *risin'* [raising] *dy* *sitoovshun* *pytient* *edooeytion* [education] *brines* [brains] *py* *myde* *pice* [pace] *nyked* *wites* [waits]

gryte waist [? an error for wyste] nyture rite [rate] 'a-penny ipnee [both half-penny] tyste ilyver [flavour] stairkise pline pint [paint] vyper [vapour] pypers pline sime fyth [plain same faith]. Then for *o*, I find: knou own'y [only] tould moust ould now [no] stoun noutice [notice] gous gows [both meant for *goes*] down't sou grous bouth sowp [soap] nowsiz [noses] sowl oun lown [loan] bouns own [home] smouke jonke wows [woes] Ow'b'n [Holborn] spouken. But the author, partly perhaps for lack of a convenient spelling, does not notice the corresponding changes of *i*, *ow*, but writes: minds lie eye fires nice, and thousand pound 'ow [how] down out cloud round, with the usual spelling of the diphthong.

Two vowels *ā ā* are both represented by *e*. The first must be (E), but I am not at all sure what the second is, as different from my own (ə). These both occasion strange combinations. Thus for *ā*: bed men bellencc edjityte [agitate] ket peck ven etteckin' [attacking] rets [rats]. Ellbert medder leshir év [have] et [at] then execly beck kebbijez pession tremwize [tramwise] smeks kebs eccidints kerrijez Clep'em [Clapham] fet begs 'ets [hats] metches enxiety grend veccinitid fect gremmer. And for *ā*: sembdy [somebody] kentry [country] metch [much] dezzin [dozen] nethink trenk Lendin [London] yeng nethir eneff enkemiterble ether [other] shevving [showing] tetch ekkempneed sem [some] entil screbbled bleddy ren 'besses [omnibuses] Jengshin [Junction] glevs teng [tongue] semmers inset frent [also spelled front] themb enderstands metherly epstairs kezzin [cousin] brether pelycytion pesshed [pushed for (pəst)]. But either by accident or design *u* is written in: wuz [was], uv [of], drunk, 'ungry, 'unts gun 'underd gluttid, and *i* in sitch. I do not recognise the sound at all. It is, however, quite a novelty so far as neighbouring dialects are concerned. But see TH.'s owl, p. 232, Nos. 632 and 633.

The *ō* before *s, f* becomes *aw* [AA], a common Es., form as: crawss auf [off] auf'en kauffey lawst craus-in's tauss, to which the writer adds: dawg [dog, common], faugy [toggly, unknown] daunkey kaukneigh and faund [fond]. On the other hand short unaccented *ō, ōw* become *-er* [v], as innercent serciety: widder winder yellor [? yaller] sparrer barrer [barrow], which is common in every S. and E. dialect.

The use of (uu) for (ū) is quite customary everywhere, as: dooly greddool doo [due] accoomoolyte [accumulate, evidently inferred] noozpyper [newspaper, one of the commonest words] amooz valoo [value, ? valley].

H is of course regularly omitted, in fact it is now so universally omitted, and has been for so long a time in old literary English, that its retention has become a mere artificial mark of breeding, so we expect: 'eard 'orses 'int 'evin [heaven] 'ow 'arf [halt] 'ed 'i [high], and again: wot wair wite [what, where, white], these last being admitted in polite S. speech.

The *R* is of course not pronounced except before a vowel, thus: fust cowardly wuth wuss [first cowardly worth worse] and paw yaw [poor your], but it is euphonicly introduced after (AA) as in all the E div. as: sawr-a, draw-ring, jawrache [jaw-ache], straw'et [straw hat]. Of course *-ore* (óov, óov) becomes simply (AA).

H, V. These are not interchanged at all in the *Cockney Almanac*, though *w* is put for *v* in one passage, apparently for the sake of a pun. It runs thus: "Veccinité from the calt direct if yer walue yar infant's weal (veal)." In no case is *v* used for *w*. The contrast, then, between Mr. Tuer's and Dickens's Cockney is complete and very curious. In Dickens's the fun is made out of the interchange of *v* and *w*, and there is no hint of using *i, ow* for *ā, ō*. Here the fun is made out of the latter, and the former is ignored. This shews a change in London habits as viewed by humourists in the last 50 years. Still more curious is it to note that the American humourists examined in Part IV, pp. 1224-1230, namely, Mr. Davis (Major Downing 1835), C. F. Brown (Artemus Ward 1860), Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick), and Bret Harte, make no fun at all of either interchange.

§ 7. Mr. Baumann's Londonisms.

Mr. Heinrich Baumann, head-master of the Anglo-German School, Brixton, a German who is thoroughly acquainted with English,

in 1887 brought out his book called "Londinismen, Slang und Cant" (Berlin, Langenscheidt), which, besides being exhaustive on Slang and Cant, gives the pron. of every word on the Lagenscheidt'sch system of notation. On pp. xc-xciv Mr. B. gives a summary of popular London pron., which I have still further abridged, adding brief observations in [].

A. *Consonants*. 1. *h* omitted and inserted [general dialectally]. 2. *r* vocalised and inserted [all the east coast]. 3. *ng* for *n* in a few words, *kitching*, *golding*, *certing* [frequent in literature, but I have not heard it, probably at most a misappreciation, not dialectal], and *n* for *ng* in participles [regular in dialects]. 4. *nn* becomes *nbl* in *chimbley* [frequent provincially]. 5. *ni* becomes *ng* in *ungans*, *ingans* onions [which Mr. B. pron. (æggenz, iqggenz) in place of (iq·nnz), I do not know (æq·nnz)]. 6. *gn* reduces to *n* in *reckonise*. 7. *w* often omitted, as *old 'ooman*, *west'ard*, *innard* [to which he adds *hot'un* hot one, whereas here the *w* was the insertion] and used for *v* [as in all the Land of Wee, see D 9, D 16, D 19]. 8. *v* final omitted in *have* [general when unaccented]. 9. *l* omitted especially before *m* and *n*, *on'y*, *a'most*, *certain'y*, *Lor'A'mighty* [common everywhere]. 10. *d* final nearly inaudible, as *ole husbin'* [common after *n*] and *dreffle* dreadful [a special word, common in literature, merely assimilation]. 11. *dia* = (dji) in *Injee* India, *sojer* soldier [both common everywhere]. 12. Final *t* lost in *brekfus*, *fue* [breakfast, fact] and medial *t* in *gen'lman* [the old *gemman* of literature is not named]. 13. *tian* = (tjæn) in *Christian* [common educated, as in *question*]. 14. *th* initial omitted in '*em* for *them* [old English *hem*] *more'n harder'un*, more than harder than [quite common], *th* final omitted *wi' sou'wester* [common everywhere], *th* medial becomes *d* in *further*, *farden* further farthing [common everywhere], "isolated *th* becomes *r* in *wirrou't* without" [*arout* known provincially, but not the other], "with old people becomes *f'* as *nuffin* nothing" [also common]. 15. *k* occ. for *q* as *ekal* equal [I have heard this, but take it for an old and not London pron.]. 16. *y* added in *yearn* earn, omitted in '*ears* years [common].

B. *Vowels*. 1. Long vowels shortened, *agen*, *babby*, *craddle*, *mebbe*, *thripund*, *fpence*, *tuppenny*, *I dun know*, again baby cradle may-be three-pounds five-pence, twopenny, *I dou't know* [common, except *craddle*, even among better speakers]. 2. *e* for *a* in *keb*, *ketch*, *Stendard*, *cab*, *catch*, *Standard*. 3. *per* in *partickler* particular, (*i*) for *a* in *extry*, *bony fide* [misappreciations of foreign words]. 4. *jest sech*, *jist sich* just such [common]. 5. (*ee*) is very commonly (*éi*), [already discussed], *ea* becomes (*i*) in *airey* area [this is merely an abbreviation, like *ide'* (*e'idii*) for *idea*, final *a* omitted, belongs to No. 3]. 6. *ar* for *ear*, *er* in *arn sarve* earn, serve [still common, but going out]. 7. *a* obscured to (*ə*) in (*məm*) for *ma'am* [merely unaccented obscuration, common]. 8. (*i*) for (*ə*, *ə*) in *kiver kimplete* [not confined to London]. 9. *heard* for *heard* [common]. 10. *ile*, *pint*, *hist*, oil, point, hoist [common old]. 11. "ō [the *o* in *born*] is very common for *au* (AA) as in *cort* (kəʊt) for *caught*" (kəʊt) [this I do not quite understand], "conversely *aw* (AA) is used for *ō* (*ə*) as *dawg* for *dog*" [not confined to London]. 12. (*oo*) becomes generally (*oo-ə*) as *road*, pronounced (roo-əd), unaccented *o* becomes (*u*) as *pertato* [ʔ: pertater, tater] potato. 13. *doo* for *dew*, *insivariate*, *coveumber* [the last old]. 14. *oo* for *ū*, *Rooshan*, *Proossian* [old], (*oo*, *shoo*) poor sure [unknown, but (*paa*, *shaa*) known].

This is sufficient to shew that although these pron. may have been heard in London, they generally did not arise there, but were importations, or misappreciations of non-Saxon words common throughout England.

§ 8. Mr. T. Hallam's London Observations.

When TH., a Derbyshire man resident in Manchester, on different occasions visited London, he noted, as usual, differences of pro-

nunciation which he heard from the middle and lower classes. His notes are not complete, but they possess the value of observations made by a phonetist who was not a Londoner, and therefore I collect the examples without distinguishing the different speakers or occasions, as he has done in his notes. It will be found that his experience is far from yielding such pronounced results as the *Awlmineck*. The *ā* becomes (*éi*, *éi*, *ɛ''i*), the *ǣ* yields only once to (*è*), the *ō* is (*ôu*, *ə'u*), the word *road* as shouted at railway-stations by porters (who were very possibly not Londoners) giving a singular variety of forms, the *ī* becomes generally (*ái*), but once reaches (*á'i*) (I heard a very near approach to (*ó'i*) from a boy in Kensington today, 30th March, 1886), the *ū* is generally (*ə*), rarely reaching (*ɶ*), and the *ow* varies from (*ə'u*) to (*æ'u*). These pronunciations are, however, such as ME., D 16, would lead us to expect.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *téik*. 5 *méik* *mé'ik*. — *místêik* [*mistake*]. 24 *shéim*. 31 *le''it*. 34 *laast*. A: — [between] *hæ'm*, *hɛ'm* [*ham*]. — *stënd* [*stand*]. — *kjæ'n*, *kaant* [*can't*]. A'- — *ôù* *ə'u* [*oh!*]. 67 *gô'ù*, *gə'u* [*long o seems often to be (ə'u) perhaps (ɶ'o)*]. 69 *nə'u*. 92 *nôu*. A': 104 [between] *rôud*, *ráud*; *rôud* *rô'úd*; [between] *rôud*, *rə'ud*; [between] *rô'ud*, *rə'ud*; *rə'ud*; *rə'ud*. 117 *wən*. 122 *nôu*. 132 *ət*. — *rə'u* [*row rank*]. Æ: 160 *èg* [nearly (*èg*)]. 161 *dɛ''i*. — *bæ'g* [*bag*]. — [between] *əp'l*, *ɛp'l*. 172 *grâ's*. — [between] *æt'ət* [*hat*]. 179 *wɔd* [*what, before (du)*]. *wɔt* [*before a vowel*]. Æ'- 195 *men'i*. Æ': 223 *dhêv*. 224 *wêv*. — *strit* [*street*].

E- 231 *dhe*. E: 261 *se'i*. — *bed* [*bed*]. 262 *wɛ'i*. 263 *Ɂwéi' Ɂwɛ''i*. 266 *wel*. — *fîelz* [*fields*]. — *sell'i'n* [*selling*]. E'- 290 *ii*. 300 *kiip*. E': 311 *tèn*. EA: 324 *éit*. — *shaant* [*shan't*] *shæ''l*. 334 *aaf*. 335 *AAL AA''l* *wi'z* [*always, (AA'') "with a peculiar pursed rounding"*]. 340 *jaad*. — *paak* [*park*]. EA'- 347 *ɛhèd* [*a-head*]. EA': 352 *red*. 364 *træp*. 365 *níer* [*near, ? (r)*]. EI- 373 *dhe*. EO- 387 *nú*. EO: 388 *míelk*. 396 *wɔrk* [*the (r) doubtful, possibly (wærk)*]. EO'- 420 *fôu*. EO': 428 *sii*. 431 *biv*.

I- — *liv* [*live*]. 446 *náain*. 448 *dhiiz*. 449 *gít* [“even middle class people say (*gít ən*)”]. 450 *tí'úzdi*. I: 452 *ái* [on one occasion, long *i* like (*ái*), nearly *ái*], [between] *ə''i* *ái*. 459 *ráit*, [between that and (*ráit*)]. 465 *sət*. 477 *fáind*. 482 *ɛnt* *ɛnt* [*ain't*]. I'- 494 *ta''im*. I': 500 *líik*. 510 *máin*. O- — *smə'uk'i'n* [*smoking*]. 520 *:bə'u* [*the town*]. — *bi'fôv* [*before*]. O: 525 [off], *AA''t*, *AAf* *ɔt*; [of] *ov*. — *moo,ni'n* [*morning "the analysis for these depressed vowels seems to be, tongue for (o), lips for (o) pursed"*]. 554 *kroozs* [*or kroozs*; [between] *kra's*, *kròs* [“say (*kròs*) with pursed lips”]. O'- 556 *tɛ* [*unemphatic*]. 557 *tù*. 559 *mádhur* [“*r*”]. O': 571 *gùd*. 576 *wenzdi*. 586 *dó'ant* [*don't*]. 587 *dən*, *du'i'n* [*doing*].

U- 603 *kəm*. U: 612 *səm*. 631 *tharzdí* [“*r*”]. 632 [between] *əp*, *ɛp*; *əp*. 633 [between] *kəp*, *kɛp*. 634 *thə'ru:fɛ''l* [*thoroughfare*]. U'- 643 [between] *náae* *náa'ə*; *ná'ə*, *nə''u*. — *pləm* [*plum, when intensive (pla'm)*]. 650 *ɛbáət*. U': [(*ə'u*) was heard as (*áə*) approaching *áae*]. 656 *ruum*. 658 *dæ''m*. 663 *áa'əs*. 667 *áa'út*; [between] *áaət*, *áa'ət*; *áa'at*; [between] *ə'út*, *á'út*; *ə'út*. Y: 689 *bi'ldi'nz* [*buildings*]. — *i'l* *íal* [*hill*]. — *shə'tɛrz* [*shutters*].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 *djæ'm*. — *sændwi'tj*. — *bærə* [*barrow*]. — *éist*, *ɛ'ist* [*haste*]. I. and Y. — *táivri'n* [*tiring*]. O. — [between] *oof'n* *AAf'n* [*often*]. U. — *fəni* [*funny*]. — *krəsh* [*crush*]. — *shə'tɛrz* [*shutters*].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 *pléis* *plɛ'is*. 822 *méi*. 833 *tréin* *trɛ'in*. — *êar* [*air*]. — *palis*. —

pal'mal [Pall Mall, generally (:pel :mel)]. 841 tʃans. — bæænd [band]. — [between] maATɪn, maati:n [marching]. — dʒe'kɪt [jacket]. — gɑ:rd'uz [gardens]. — kjarɪdʒ [carriage]. — paast [past]. — plæt'fɔ:m [platform]. — ste'i [stay]. E.. 869 viil. — ek'ɔ:ɪ [Echo]. — vtend [or (-end)]. — kententɪd [contented]. — tɛnt [tent]. 885 veri. — gæze't [gazette]. — ʌa'ʌu [hour], ʌa:rz [ʔ r], æ'ə'rz [ʔ Londoner]. I.. and Y.. 898 [between] nɑ:is, nɑ:is. 903 [between] dʒi:ni:n, dɑ'ni:n. — mɪ'ni:ts [minutes]. O.. — grɔ:mbli:n [grumbling]. — mɔ:ni. — ɔ:ɪrɔ: [order, ʔ both (r), possibly (AAB)]. — fɔ:ɪst. — poʊshn [portion]. — trɔ:spɔ:z [transpose]. — grɔ:ser [grocer, at Bermondsey, no (ɔ:), ʔ (r)]. 942 butɪr [ʔ (r) at Bermondsey, must have been (r) almost]. — kɔ:ɪr [ʔ (r)]. — tɜ:n [turn, ʔ (r)]. U.. — vkeɪri:əm.

§ 9. Mr. J. G. Goodchild's East London Pronunciation.

Mr. J. G. Goodchild (:gʊtʃɑ:ɪl'd), who is an East Londoner by birth and education, has been at the pains to write a very long wl. of *his own* 'colloquial' as distinguished from his 'studied' pronunciation, as in lecturing, and as distinguished from low East London talk. As this was carefully written in pal., it is a document of considerable interest to shew the middle-class pron. of the district. It is not, however, dialectal, as is shewn by the same pron. being regularly assigned to vowels of very different origin. Hence it seems better to give it in classes founded on received pronunciation.

1. Long *ā* is always (ɛi) except before (v), where (eɪ) is deeper than (e) and more like (e) or (ɛ) even, than (e), the circumflex shews the diphthong and medial length of the first element. But JGG. does not consider even the first element to be uniform: he thinks rather that beginning with (eɪ) he glides to (e) and thence to (i); all this is, however, avoided before (v) representing final written *v*, and the vowel is then (ee) simply as in (eev) air. This long *ā* occurs in A- (bɛi:k) bake, etc., A: (kɛi:m) came, ɛE- (drɛi) dray, (uɛi:l) hail, etc., ɛE: (dɛi) day, etc., ɛE'- (nɛi) neigh, etc., ɛE': (klɛi) clay, etc., E- (brɔɛi:k) break, (sɛi:l) sail, etc.; E: (bɛi) lay, (sɛi) say, etc., EA- (flɛi) flay, EA: (ɛi:t) eight, EA': (grɛi:t) great, etc., EI- (dhiɛi) they, etc., EI: (stɛi:k) steak, etc. I: (wɛi:t) weight, etc. A. (trɛi:d) trade, etc. A.. (ɛi'b'l) able, etc. E.. dɪɛi, etc., where the etc. refers to other words in the class in the wl. thus headed, which have *ā* in rec. sp., but not to those otherwise treated. This long *ā* is evidently of E. origin. Before (v) = *r* we have A- (uev) hare, ɛE- (teev) fair, ɛE'- (weev) were, ɛE': (neev) hair, (weev) where [but (dhaev) there], E- (meev) mare, (weev) wear, (swɛv) swear, EA- (keev) care, [but EA: (dɛv) dare], EI (dhaev) their. A.. (meev) mayor, (peev) pair, E.. (eev) heir. [Observe (eev) and not the rec. (éev). My own pronunciation has been subjected to so many influences in different parts of England, and abroad, and has been so artificially cultivated, that though I am a North Londoner, I refrain from citing it; but refer generally to Part IV. pp. 1090-1157, 1168-1173, 1206-1207, where Bell's, Haldeman's, Sweet's, Smart's pron. are also considered.]

2. Short *ā* is sometimes (ah) [which JGG. considers to occur in the local pronunciation of Bath (baath), where I hear (bæath), a difference of appreciation simply, for both of us are well used to hear the name from natives], and sometimes (æ). Thus he has A- (uahv) have, A: (thahq hahn'd lahu'd, thank hand land, etc., A: and O: (lahm) lamb, etc. A. (bahd bæd) bad, etc., A.. (bær'l) barrel, (kahrət kærət) carrot, etc.

3. Long *ē*, ɛE'- (si) sea, etc., ɛE': (diid) deed, etc., E- (niid, knead, etc., E: (jiil'd) yield, etc., E'- (ji) ye, (fiid) feed, etc., E': (niil) heel, etc., EA' (tiim) team, EO (bi:th) beneath, EO'- (bi) bee, etc., EO' (si) see, etc., I- (dhi:z) these, etc. E. (skr:iim) scream, etc. E.. (ti) tea, (viil) veal, etc.

4. Short *ē*, E: (edɪ) edge, (men') men, etc., EA' (ded) dead. E. (beg) beg, etc. E.. (sens) sense, etc. Observe always (e) and not (ɛ): this is metropolitan.

5. Long *i*, diphthong, is always (ai) which is broad, but not nearly so broad as

in Ht. and Es., EY (dái) die, I- (áivi) ivy, etc., I: (ái) I, (máit) might, etc., I'- (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skái) sky, etc., Y': (máit) might, etc., I'- (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skái) sky, etc., Y': (máís) mice, etc. I. (táini) tiny. I.. (nás) nice.

6. Short *i* is regularly (i), I- (gít) get, occ. I: (wít) witch which, etc. Y: (bríd) bridge, etc. I. (píg) pig, etc. I.. (síst'en) eistern.

7. Long *o*, this is invariably (ôu), except before (v)=*r, s, f* and *th* occ., in which case it is (aa, a'). But this (ôu) includes at least three sounds (as in the case of long *ā*), it "begins with (o) and goes on through (o) to end in (u)." This occurs in every case, thus A'- (gôú) go, (môum) moan, etc., A': (ôak) oak, O- (ôap'n) open, etc. O'- (nôuz) nose. O. (pôum) pony, and it even occurs unaccented as (telôu) tallow—before *r, s, f, th* it falls into (A, AA, the (r) becoming (v) when final and being omitted before another consonant, as A'- (laad) lord, (ma've) more, (sa've) sore, A': (gaa) gone, (haas) hoarse, (kla'th) cloth, EA: (wa'm) warm, EO: (saad) sword, EO'- (fae) four, (fat) forty, EO': (faath) fourth, O: (ka't) cough, (ba't) bought, (tha't) thought, (br_ea't) brought, (r_ea't) wrought, (da'te) daughter, (baad) board, (faad) ford, (haad) hoard, (staam) storm, (kaan) corn, (haan) horn, (kr_eas) cross: O': (sa't) sought, (flaav) floor, (maav) moor, (swaab) swore; U- (daav) door. O. (efa'd) afford. A.. (paav) poor; O- (ka's) course coarse course.

8. Short *o* is almost always (o), as O: (hóli) holly.

9. Long *ā* is regular (juu), and is so written after a consonant, as (njuu) new.

10. Short *ū* is regularly (ə), but becomes (v, v') before suppressed *r*, as EO: (v'en) learn, (v'th) earth: O- (wæld) world; O: (wæd) word; U: (wæth) worth, (fædhu) further. E. (pæ't) pert; I. (gæ'l) girl, while all the unaccented final *-ar, -er, -ir, -yr, -or, -ur* become (v) unless a vowel follows and determines (v_).

11. Incidental *ah* seldom arises [as in A- (r_ádhu) rather, ÆE- (tádhu) father], without a suppressed *r*, but it is the regular form of *ar*, as in EA: (jaad) yard, (aam) arm, EO: (staav) starve, (faa) far, (staa) star, (naath) hearth, (faadhig) farthing.

12. Incidental *aw* is regular for *or*, as in the examples to No. 7, but sometimes occurs otherwise, as EA: (fa't) fought, (wa'k) walk, (faal') fall, (waa'l) wall; EA': (r_eaa) raw, (str_eaa) straw. A. (baal'd) bald.

13. Diphthongal *oy* is regularly (A'i) or (A'v').

14. Diphthongal *ow* is regularly (áu), excluding the cases in which it belongs to No. 7. It is curious that diphthongal *ī, ow* have a different first element, (a) in the first and (a') in the second, the first apparently to distinguish the sound from (áí), and the second as a reaction against the common (éu).

15. The sounds (l, n) are lengthened before a following consonant, as (baal'd lahn'd) bawled land, and often when final, as (Aal') all. This of course is most conspicuous when the words are taken singly, and less so in connected speaking.

16. The *r* is at most (r_) when preceding a vowel, or between two vowels. This imperfect (r_) when vocalised and made syllabic as (r_) is very difficult to distinguish from (v), and when no vowel follows is regularly suppressed: but on a vowel following, either in a new or the same word, it recovers its power. Now as the *r* when suppressed converts *ar, or, ur* into (aa, AA, vv), it follows that when these sounds have otherwise arisen, the speaker inserts an (r_) before a following vowel, thus saw, sawing, saw him, become (saa, saar_eiq, saar)im). This has been here termed "euphonic *r*," and it produces an unpleasant effect, which JGG. avoids, but the natural "East-End" and Eastern Counties man regularly introduces. The unaccented (v) usually written *er* ought not to insert a euphonic *r*, but even persons of high cultivation will often talk of (dhia'idi-er_vveth_eiq) the idea of a thing.

§ 10. Rural Speech.

For the rural portions of the SE. district, I have very slender information. My informants find a shifting population, and nothing distinctive to record. They imagine that if there is nothing different

to their hearing than uneducated London speech, there is nothing to report.

In *Bu.* the late vicar of Henley-on-Thames after 60 years experience had nothing to say. From Penn (se. High Wycombe) the Vicar after 17 years writes, "It would be useless to attempt to go systematically through the following list [wl.], as the dialect of this neighbourhood is of a very natural character, *i.e.* apart from a few vulgarisms there are very few (if any) pure provincialisms or archaisms. The only instance of the latter that occurs to me is *housen* for houses, and that is fast dying out." But he marks I, we, you, they *be*; I, he *were*; they, we, *goes*, *those* not used, *he do*, *he live*, *theirsell*, didn't *ought*, which shew a mixture of provincial *Bu.* With regard to the use of *I be* it disappears gradually s. of Penn (10 nw. Eton); it is occ. heard between Beaconsfield (7 n-by-w. Eton) and Denham (7 ne. Eton), but further s. it seems lost.

In *Ht.* the late Rector of Bushey (2 se. Watford) says: "This place offers no opportunity of assisting your work. The inhabitants come and go, from various places, and remain but a very short time, but chiefly from London. I will not call this place a *colluvies omnium gentium*, but very much like it, and hence has no special language or dialect." But from Rickmansworth (3 sw. Watford and hence very near Bushey) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte obtained a few notes. *I be* is not much in use, *I are* is more common, and *we am*, *am you?* *I, we knows* are heard occ., *I says* frequently, *w* for *v* rarely if ever heard. The National Schoolmaster, who gave this information, kindly wrote a dt. for me where some ruralisms occur, as (3) *ra't kam'n ski'ul gur'in roud aand sa'id gur'in ti'u we'e to'nd weri wal want 'gin bent trin* I right coming school going road hand side gone to where find very will won't again be-not true. He notes also *on*, *wrong* nearly like *an*, *rang*. All these have a stronger provincial tinge than might have been expected, but this does not represent the general language. From St. Albans, *Ht.*, which I place on the borders, my informant after 8 years had only noticed *tile pr.* as *tile*. From *Es.* I could get no information beyond the borderline marked. Even at Brentwood very little was obtained.

In *Mi.* from Harmondsworth (7 w. Brentford) the Schoolmaster gives me (*aate want fil sa'il hil hiz'n a'uen juun dhiceen mi'un ni'un spi'um di'u bin ee waa kat'l va'is*) after won't feel soil heal his ours yours theirs moon noon spoon do been have was kettle voice, and the phrases, I or we *wants*, or *does*, make *they* come, we *bin* [have been], I *is* [very doubtful], we *was*, I, he, *were*, they *is*, *for* to do it, *-in* for participial *-ing*. And he says that "*leasiny* is used for *gleaming* exclusively," which is the only strict ruralism in the list.

From Ashford (7 sw. Brentford) the Vicar writes: "The inhabitants of this locality are *mainly* strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent *any* and *no* special pronunciation."

From Hanwell Rectory (3 nw. Brentford) I am informed that "the people speak what is commonly called the cockney dialect, the chief peculiarities of which are inability to pronounce *a* or *o* correctly. The former is turned into *ah-ee*, (*á*), the latter into *a-ow* (*e'u*) and a tendency to add *r* to words ending in *aw* (I *sawr* a man, the *lawr* of). These defects are common in the lowest class, particularly the boys, but are less observable in the better educated."

At Willesden (5 ne. Brentford) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte made attempts to find native pronunciation and construction from the Vicar. He found *be* not used, but *I are* as well as *I am*, *I wur*, *we was*, *I loves*, *they loves*; *day say hay may eake gate home*, with the vanishes, he even writes "eike gite"; *wiper*, *winegar*, vocalised final *r*; euphonic *r*; *I seen* for *I saw*, better *nor* me. Hence there was nothing distinctive, nothing rural. It was common London SE., as was to be expected.

From "the chief mason at Enfield" [(5 e. Barnet), sometimes called (:e:nf'ud, :e:nf'l)]. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte notes that *I be*, *I is*, *I are*, *we am*, are not found, but only *I am*, *I loves*, *we says*, *they gives*, *they was a goin*; *I got 'em*, *he do* (rarely, better *nor* me; and, as pronunciations, (AAK'ʊrd shAAʊ) awkward sure, (l'isem, géit kéik déi séi méi héi) lithesome, gate eake day say may hay, (kit'l

tj'mbli kettle chimney. Hence this has fully the London SE. character, with no distinctive rurality.

As South Mymms (3 m.w. Barnet) lies in a corner of Mi., projecting into Ht., I hoped to find more of a rural character, but no perceptible differences from Entfield were found. The Vicar, however, noted that the village being on the old high road to the north, "the population has a large proportion of families originally from a distance."

This examination will shew that in so far as this northern part of the Metropolitan Area has any dialect at all, it is essentially ME. in its character. Even the (a'i, a'u) forms of long *a* and long *o* have an Eastern origin and are comparatively modern, within the memory of persons now living. They have of late years rapidly advanced in all the SE. district and in our Australian colonies. They threaten to become predominant in received speech, for habits of pronunciation work upwards, and in another hundred years the 'polite' pronunciation of *ā*, *ō* may become (a'i, a'u), while *ī*, *ow* sink to (ɔ'i, ɛ'u), just as our received (*ee*, *oo*) have ousted (*a*, *â*) and our received (a'i, a'u) have replaced (*ii*, *uu*). It is only quite recently that in such words as *boil*, *joint*, the present (ɔ'i) has replaced Pope's (a'i). We now think (ɔ'i) "polite" in *join* and (a'i) "vulgar." Pope thought just the reverse. And to all old people, like myself, of all generations, modern changes such as those just noted are simply excruciating.

AUSTRALASIAN SOUTH EASTERN.

English colonies, including the United States, whose independent government has of course not changed their origin, necessarily at first speak the English which they carry with them. That might have been originally any one of the forms of English contained in this book, or else of Irish English. This English alters in generations, and is much interfered with by constant immigration from the mother country. And now, when education is so prominent both in the mother country and the colonies, the speech of the colonists is modified artificially by teachers aiming at what each considers a "good" pronunciation, and the test of this "goodness" must necessarily be the habit of persons of "consideration," that is, social position, first in the mother country and secondly in the colonies themselves. Now the centre of English is London, which, as far as pron. is concerned, lies in the E. div., and, as we have seen, is at present, at least in its middle and lower strata, distinctly modified by the habits of the Eastern Counties. The habit of speech among the educated classes in London may be looked upon as the basis of "received speech and pron." It is, therefore, to be expected that the pron. of the colonies would, as a whole, tend to resemble it. On examination we find that the colonies speak generally such a form, with modifications belonging to a less artificial stratum. Thus, in the eastern United States, New York and Massachusetts, there is a tinge of Norfolk. In the Australasian colonies, that is, those in Australia, Tasmania (or Van Diemen's Land) and New Zealand, there is more than a tinge of what is

commonly called "cockney," as exhibited in pp. 239-248. On the whole, therefore, a visitor from England to Australasia finds great resemblance to the mode of speech he has left behind him, and, struck by that, does not much observe the differences. So Mr. Froude says (according to the *Australian Daily Telegraph* of 29th March, 1886) that Australian English is "free from provincialism, not Americanised, of soft tone, good language and correct aspiration." And a letter in the same paper on the following day says that "after listening to the 'colonial' of various degrees of education in all parts of Australia, in the street, the coach, the steamer and the train, and particularly in the schoolroom, Mr. Sala's opinion is confirmed that their only peculiarity of speech is a very slight drawl in the school-attendant, which wears off and becomes imperceptible in manhood."

After such opinions from such well-known literary men, one might almost stay any further inquiry and put Australia on a par with London. But it must be remembered that, as just shewn, there are marked peculiarities at present in London among the mercantile and labouring classes at least, and the question arises whether these peculiarities exist in Australasia and to what extent. Persons who have visited Australia declare that there is a marked "cockney" element in its speech. Mr. Samuel McBurney, who was for several years principal of the Ladies' College at Geelong, Victoria, and has travelled much about the Australasian colonies, where he has had the opportunity of examining schools and large classes of Tonic Solfa singers, is decidedly of the same opinion, and he made numerous observations in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland and New Zealand, from January to November, 1887, for the purpose of ascertaining real Australasian usage. The result of these observations he tabulated and sent to me in Dec. 1887, from St. Francisco, so that I received them in Jan. 1888, on purpose that I might insert them here. They are so full of condensed original information that I feel unable to do better than present them almost in their original form, transliterating the Glossic into palaeotype. His plan was to take a number of test words, and record the pron. in glossic, and then mark by symbols whether these were general, in the majority or minority, about half, or sporadic. In some cases he has even found it expedient to separate the habits of boys and girls in schools.

The following extracts from an article by Mr. McB. in the *Lyttelton Times*, Christchurch, New Zealand, will form a fitting introduction to these tables, and will explain their general tendency. I have introduced a few words in [], and given some pron. in pal.

" . . . It is generally supposed that two main influences affect pronunciation—*parentage and the teacher*. In the bush, where children hear only their parents, we may find broad Scotch, Irish, or provincial English, but in almost all other circumstances the influence of parentage is very slight, and generally acts by modifying the *general* usage, not by conserving the original type of speech. This decided variation from the parent speech is easily accounted for in some cases, as the universal tendency of all speech-alteration is towards what may be called 'the line of least resistance.' . . . Where the young colonial finds

himself understood by half the oral exertion necessary, he forthwith abbreviates. . . . 'Do you hear me?' becomes *jeer me*; pudding, *puđu*, etc., and the strong trilled final *r* is avoided as an unnecessary exertion, when it is noticed that the majority of arrivals habitually neglect it. It is therefore quite common for the children to call farther *fakthü* (*u* of *but*) (*faadhü*) when the parent says *farthurr* with a very loud trill (*fa.rdhü.r*); world, *wü'ld*, (*wäld*) instead of *würuld* (*wä'ruld*), and so forth. The insertion of *r* where it is not wanted, as in *idou-r-af*, is also explicable, as it is easier than to make the necessary hiatus between the two tongue positions of the several vowels. But why there should be a general tendency, as there undoubtedly is in Australia, to a Cockney pronunciation . . . is a mystery still to be explained.

"The modern Cockney . . . is of comparatively recent date, and is, I think, not to be found in Dickens [see p. 228]. Its leading features are—(1) The omission of the aspirate, and its occasional wrong insertion; (2) clipping *ing*, as *singin'*, *shillin'*; (3) alteration of *a* in *fat*, to nearly *i* in *bite*; (4) alteration of *o* in *hope*, to nearly *ow* in *how*; (5) alteration of the first factor of *ow* in *cow*, so that it is written *kyow*, or *caow* (*kjē'u*, *kā'u*); (6) a general drawing of the vowels, so that *dog* becomes *dawg*, *coffee*, *kawfy*, etc.; (7) insertion of *r* between the vowels, *I saw-r'im*.

"In Australia and parts of New Zealand, (1), (2), and (7) are of frequent occurrence, as in all parts of England, but they are decidedly less frequent in New Zealand, where (1) and (7) are rarely to be met, at least in flagrant positions. *Idea-r-af*, however, is pretty general. (3) and (4) are to be heard pretty often in Australia, but seldom in New Zealand. . . . (5) has nearly naturalised itself in Australia, and is extremely hard either to express or to get rid of. The first part of the diphthong is often so short that it is difficult to fix it. The ordinary English *ow* begins with *a* of *sofa*, *u* of *nut*, or *a* of *father*, tapering off to *oo* of *iron* (*ē'u*, *ā'u*, *ā'u*). The Australian begins with *a* of *cat*, or *e* of *get*, prolonged (*æ'e'u*, *ēē'u*), while the New Zealanders give all sorts of varieties, but are, I think, settling down to a sharp *a* of *father*, followed by *oo* (*ā'u*). One has only to hear "down town," "around and around," said by Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Colonials, to notice at least that there is a difference. The tendency to draw the short vowels is noticeable in parts of Australia and Tasmania, *har'ud*, *daw'ug*, etc. (*hæ'ænd* *dAAg*), but not, so far as I can discover, in New Zealand.

There is a strange development in the *oo* in *food*, *school*, *room*, to be found in Australia, the true sound being introduced by something like the French *eu*, forming a diphthong [*é'u*, *æ'u*] or possibly [*ē'u*], but this is quite absent in New Zealand, although there is in its place a peculiar shortening of the sound—of Scottish origin—*good food* being both given with the short *u* of *pull* [*gud*, *fud*], the first rightly, the second wrongly [not at all uncommon in London].

One thing in common with Australia is the broadening of *i* in *die*, which is a diphthong formed by a very broad *ah*, tapering to *ee* (*āi*). This in Tasmania and parts of New Zealand even approaches *oi*, *I die* sounding *oi doi* (*ā'i* *dā'i*). There is also in some places a peculiar final *r*, with introverted tongue modifying the previous vowel, especially *e* and *u*, as *fern*, *furnish*, taking the place of the rough Scotch *r* [apparently reverted (*u*)].

The only point that has struck me in New Zealand as peculiar is the short *u* in *but*, *tub*, etc., which has a much more open sound than I have been accustomed to, approaching the *a* in *father*, but difficult to describe [between (*ā*) and (*a*)].

Throughout the schools a fair amount of attention is being paid to pronunciation, and I am told by the teachers that common errors eradicated in the lower classes, give very little trouble among the older children, and that the good habits formed in school are generally retained afterwards. I think, therefore, that we may hope for a very fair average pronunciation throughout the colony, which will compare favourably with that of any home district."

These conclusions are established in the following Table, itself a mere condensed abstract of many observations which it would be too lengthy to give in full. After the table will be found full explanatory notes relating to the separate entries and pronunciations.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AUSTRALASIAN PRONUNCIATION

Containing the results of observations on the pron. of each particular school with different classes, examined where possible in every town visited. These results have been condensed, and the main features of each district only are given. Where the pron. is *normal*, i.e. *received* in England, no note is made except where it is contrary to colonial usage.

The arrangement of the table is as follows:

In the first column in each page is a numbered set of words used as types, in *Italics*, the different pron. as estimated by Mr. McBurney being added in *pal.* in separate lines below each type.

The seven other columns in each page refer to the districts examined, and each column is headed by an abbreviation of the name of the district referred to.

The seven columns on the left-hand page refer to districts or towns in Victoria, the first two relating to Melbourne. Mr. McBurney drew up a smaller table of observations in this colony in Gippsland, made in July, 1886, for the towns of Sale, Maffra, Stratford, Travalyon, Wallhallal, Warragul, and afterwards Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, Castlemaine, and Sandhurst, which he had visited, or resided in, and examined. But this table is superseded by the left-hand page of the present one.

The last seven columns of the right-hand page contain notes of the two Australian colonies of Queensland and New South Wales, as represented by Brisbane and Sydney, and general observations in Tasmania, with particular observations in New Zealand, in which the districts examined were large, occasioning the necessity for marking variations. In the W., Na. (Wellington and Napier) column, notes inclosed in () refer especially to Napier. In the Ne., Ch. (Nelson and Christchurch) column, notes in () refer to Christchurch, but those in [] to other unnamed districts, and in the Sydney column notes in [] refer to similarly unnamed districts in New South Wales.

The notes shew about the proportion of those school children examined who used the pron. in the given line. As a rule boys and girls are taken indiscriminately, but are sometimes distinguished.

Notes used in the columns.

- B boys { boys and girls frequently vary much; in some cases the G were *finer*, as
 G girls { (E) for (æ), (éer) for (á'w), (áai, á'í) for (áhi), in other cases they
 were broader.
- g* general or almost all, more than three-quarters.
m many or more than half.
e equal proportion, and hence if only one or two pron. are mentioned, half.
s some or several, but less than half.
f few, two or three, less than a quarter.
 ? doubtful if the proportion is rightly estimated.
 indicates no note made, and serves to guide the eye across the page.

Contraction of names of places at the head of the columns, in alphabetical order.

A. Auckland, New Zealand.	Me. Melbourne, Victoria.
Ba. Ballarat, Victoria.	Mo. Mornington, Victoria.
Br. Brisbane, Queensland.	Na. Napier, New Zealand.
Co. Collingwood, Me., Victoria.	Ne. Nelson, New Zealand.
Ch. Christchurch, New Zealand.	S. Sydney, New South Wales.
Dn. Dunedin, New Zealand.	T. Tasmania, general.
Dy. Dunolly, Victoria.	W. Wellington, New Zealand.
F. Frankton, Victoria.	Y. South Yarra, Me. Victoria.
Ma. Maryborough, Victoria.	

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	Dy.	MA.	BA.
1. <i>please</i>							
pliz	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
2. <i>here</i>							
hiir	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
iir	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
ia ¹	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
r	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. <i>simplicity</i>							
-i	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. <i>city</i>							
siti	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
siti ₁	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
si ₁ ti ₁	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. <i>now, tune</i>							
nuu, tuun	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. <i>day say</i>							
dei dei	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	B <i>e</i>	.....	B <i>m</i>	B <i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
déi	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	G <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>
dæw'i	.....	.....	G <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
7. <i>dure</i>							
déur	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
déur	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8. <i>die</i>							
dái	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g m</i>
dá'i	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>
9. <i>my might</i>							
mái	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
mái má'it	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
má'i má'it	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
mái má'it	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. <i>no</i>							
noo	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	? <i>g</i>
ná'u	.....	.....	.....	G <i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
11. <i>toe</i>							
too	B <i>g</i>	.....	B <i>m</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
tá'u	G <i>g</i>	.....	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	.....	.....
12. <i>tore</i>							
tAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
tAA'v(r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
tóov(r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
tóov	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13. <i>now, town</i>							
éeu	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
ææ'u	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	B ? <i>g</i>	.....
áá'u	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
á'u	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
á'u	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. <i>woman</i>							
u _o	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. <i>pull</i>							
u _o	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....
u	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>m</i>	.....
16. <i>pool</i>							
p'uul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
puul	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
pul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TYPES.	T.	Br.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DN.
1. <i>please</i>							
pliiz	f	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. <i>here</i>							
hiie	? e	e	e	m	s	e	g
ie	e	e	e	s	m	s	.....
ia ¹	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	s	.....
r	.....	.....	.....	e	.....	.....	.....
3. <i>simplicity</i>							
-i	.....	g	m g	g	g	m	g
4. <i>city</i>							
siti	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
siti ₁	f	f	f	.....	f	.....	f
si ₁ ti ₁	.....	f	.....	.....	.....	.....	f
5. <i>new, tune</i>							
nuu, tuun	f	.....	.....	f	.....	f	f
6. <i>day, say</i>							
dée déei	e	? e m	e	B g, G e	[G] m	g	g
déei	e	s	e	e	s	G s	G s
dææ'i	e	s	e	.....	f	.....	.....
7. <i>dare</i>							
déer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	f
déer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	f
8. <i>die</i>							
dai	s	g	g	G g	G m	G g	see
da'i	m	.....	[s]	B g	B m	B m	Note
9. <i>my might</i>							
mai	s	.....	g	G s e	e	G e	.....
mai má'it	s	.....	s	.....	G e	G m	.....
ma'i má'it	m	.....	[s]	G m	B e	B m	B g [G s]
mai má'it	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	G m
10. <i>no</i>							
noo	m	g	e	g	g	g	g
na ¹ a	s	.....	e	.....	f	G s	.....
11. <i>ta</i>							
too	m	s	s	s	f	(g) e	m
tá'u	s	m	m	m	g	G m	s
12. <i>toe</i>							
tAA	g	g	g	g	e	g	.....
tAA'æ(r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	e	.....	.....
tóæ r)	? s	.....	? s	.....	e	.....	g
tóæ	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	B m
13. <i>now, town</i>							
éeu	g	e	g	s	m	m	(? G m) f
ææ'u	.....	e	f	s	s	e f	f
áa ¹ a	.....	e	f	s	f	e f	(B) m
áu	.....	.....	.....	s	f	e f	s
é'u	.....	.....	.....	s	f	e f	s
14. <i>woman</i>							
u _o	f	f	s	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. <i>pall</i>							
u _o	s	s	s	f	.....	f	.....
u	m	g	m	g	g	g	g
16. <i>pool</i>							
p'uul	e	e	m	f	.....	G f	.....
puul	e	e	s	g	g	g	g
pul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	f

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	DY.	MA.	BA.
17. <i>rule</i>							
ruul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
réul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
18. <i>food</i>							
fuud	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
fud	.....	.....	.....	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
f'und	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
19. <i>law paw</i>							
pAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pAA'B	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
20. <i>floor</i>							
fAA	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
fAA'B	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
fóob	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
fóob	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—r	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. <i>poor</i>							
pAA	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
púue	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
púue	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
púuer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
22. <i>pure</i>							
pJAA	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	? <i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
pJúue	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
pJúuer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
23. <i>sure</i>							
shAA	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
shúue	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
shúuer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
24. <i>more</i>							
MAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
moo	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
móob	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
móob	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
MAA'BR	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25. <i>morning</i>							
MAA-	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
MAA'—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
MAAR—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
26. <i>dance</i>							
deENS	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
dens	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	G <i>g</i>
da'ns	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
d:ens	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>
27. <i>hand</i>							
heEND	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....
hend	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	B <i>m</i>	G <i>g</i>
h:nd	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>
hand	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
28. <i>saw him</i>							
SAAjim	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
SAA-r-im	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
SAA-R-im	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
29. <i>drawing</i>							
AA)iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
AA-r-iq	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DN.
17. <i>rule</i>							
ruul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
r�ul	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
18. <i>food</i>							
tuud	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	(<i>g</i>) <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>
fud	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
f'uuud	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	(<i>f</i>) <i>s</i>	.....
19. <i>law paw</i>							
pAA	<i>m g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	[<i>m</i>] <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pAA'�	<i>s</i>	.....	[<i>m</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>s</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
20. <i>floor</i>							
flAA	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>m</i>] <i>e</i>	.....	(<i>m</i>) <i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	.....
flAA'�	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>m</i>	.....
fl���	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
fl���	<i>f</i> [<i>s</i>]	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>
—R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
—r	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. <i>poor</i>							
pAA	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>e</i>] <i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
p���	[B s]	.....	.....	.....
p���	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
p���R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[<i>f</i>] <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
22. <i>pure</i>							
pJAA	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
pJ���	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pJ���R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[<i>s</i>]	.....
23. <i>sure</i>							
shAA	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f s</i>	G <i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	.....
sh���	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	B <i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
sh���R	.....	.....	.....	[<i>f</i>]	.....	[<i>s</i>]	.....
24. <i>more</i>							
MAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
MOO	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
M���	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
M���	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>
MAA'�R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....
25. <i>morning</i>							
MAA—	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>
MAA'—	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
MAAR—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
26. <i>dance</i>							
d���S	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....
d���S	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>
d���S (? a ¹)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>g</i>	(<i>f</i>) <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
d���S	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>m</i>
27. <i>hand</i>							
h���nd	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....
h���nd	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>
h���nd	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>
hand	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
28. <i>saw him</i>							
SAA)im	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
SAA-r-im	<i>s f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
SAA-R-im	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
29. <i>drawing</i>							
AA)iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
AA-r-iq	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	DY.	MA.	BA.
30. <i>Ada has</i>							
dɛ:hæz	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	G <i>g</i>
ɛ-r-æz	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>
ɛ-R-æz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
31. <i>idea of</i>							
a'idiɪəv	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
—ɛ-r-əv	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	G B <i>g</i>
—ɛ-R-əv	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
32. <i>pearls</i>							
pəʊəlz	.....	.....	G <i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
pərlz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
33. <i>ferns</i>							
fœænz	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	B <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	? <i>g</i>
34. <i>—ing</i>							
—iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>m</i>	.....	.....
—in	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
35. <i>anything</i>							
—thiq	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—thɪqk	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
36. <i>dog</i>							
dɔg	<i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
dAAG	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	B <i>s</i>	B <i>g</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
dɔhg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
37. <i>H omitted</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
38. <i>wh—</i>							
wh—	.....	<i>e</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	.....
w—	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>
39. <i>wet</i>							
wət	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
40. <i>s</i>							
th ₁	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
41. <i>tub</i>							
tab	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
42. <i>water</i>							
ɔh	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
43. <i>star</i>							
ææ	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
44. <i>boy</i>							
ói	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Notes to the above Table.

The numbers refer to the numbers of the word types. The columns are, when necessary, indicated by the initial letters at their head, the pronunciations referred to are given in palaeotype.

1. *please*, (pliiz) was only heard from a few children, and I think always in singing, when it is much easier to take (ii) than (ii). There was a line to say that *ee* was (ii) generally.

2. *here*, three sounds are entered, of which (iiv) seems the most popular, though (iiiv) is not unfrequent. In rs. only (iiiv) is acknowledged, but (iiiv) is

more frequent. The sound (iia¹, iia), which is given only in Ne. and Ch., is well known as either an affected or vulgar sound in London, as *heeah!* for *here!* from a "swell," who has a difficulty with his *r*'s. The appearance of reverted (r), if rightly observed, here and in 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, is highly interesting,

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DU.
30. <i>Ada has</i>							
dʊhæz	s	g	m	g	g	m	.....
ɛ-r-æz	m	f	[g] s	.....	f	s	.....
v-r-æz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
31. <i>idea of</i>							
a'idiuəv	f	? m	.....	e	e	s	g
—v-r-əv	g	s	g	e	(m) e	[g] m	G s
—v-r-əv	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
32. <i>pearls</i>							
pəʊlɪz	f	e	f	.....	s	.....	.....
pərlz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	e	m
33. <i>ferns</i>							
fɛənz	m	e	g	g	g	(g) e	G m
34. <i>—ing</i>							
—iq	m	m	g	g	g	g	g
—in	f	s	f	.....	f	[m] f	.....
35. <i>anything</i>							
—thiq	(?) e	.....	.....	.....	g	.....	.....
—thiɪk	(?) e	f	f	.....	f	[m] f	f
36. <i>dog</i>							
dɒg	s	g	m	g	g	g	m
dAAg	m	f	f	.....	f	B m	.....
dɔhg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	e
37. <i>H omitted</i>	m	? f	? f	.....	?	.....	.....
38. <i>wh—</i>							
wh—	f	s	f s	f	(G g) e	[f] m	G g, B m
w—	m	m	m	g	(B g) e	[m] s	B s
39. <i>wet</i>							
wət	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40. <i>s</i>							
th,	.....	.....	.....	f	B s	B s f	f s
41. <i>tub</i>							
tab ta'lb	.....	.....	.....	f	.....	.....	.....
42. <i>water</i>							
ɔh	.....	.....	.....	f	.....	.....	.....
43. <i>star</i>							
ææ	.....	.....	.....	f	.....	.....	.....
44. <i>boys</i>							
bóiz	.....	.....	.....	.....	(f)	.....	.....

but is possibly due to some colonists from our D. 4 or 11. See note on 24 floor, col. Dn.

3. *symplicity* with final *y* as (-i, -ii) and not (-i). This was not tested by Mr. McB. till he came to Br., and there he found it very common in Br., S., A., W. and Na., Ne. and Ch., and Dn. His attention had been drawn to it by two Englishmen as a colonial peculiarity.

4. *city*. There is a schism among English speakers as to the pron. of the *i*. *y* in this word. My (*i*) here is used for a sound between (*i*, *e*), which I am

loth to identify exactly with (*y*), the equivalent of the symbols Mr. M. Bell and Mr. McBurney use. Hence the observation on the great predominance of (*siti*) is interesting.

5. *new, tune*, the pron. (nuu tuun), which was found with comparative rarity by Mr. McB., is very common in London.

6. *say day* includes all the words usually having (*ee*) sounds, see p. 233, and forms one of the chiefly "cockney" tests, No. 3, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The sound given as (*éei*) in the table may be, Mr. McB. says, (*EE'i*) or

probably (ɛ'i). In England certainly the sounds so vary. Mr. McB. also gives from Ba. (dææ'i grEE'v) day grave, with (i), and in all cases long first elements. In England they are heard with the first element quite short, as (dE'i, dæ'i, dā'i, dāi) as shewn in D. 16. Mr. McB. says the (ee) is purer in New Zealand, although the (ééi, ææ'i, EE'i) are still to be heard. In Napier Mr. McB. did not notice any strong tendency to make (ee) into (a'i), but two Scotch teachers there told him that the children used to be very bad, reading (dhi a'ikaan gra'uz on dhi sta'itli a'uk) the acorn grows on the stately oak.

7. *dare*, on the (r) see 2.

8. *die*, under Du. he notes G seem to have more (âi), perhaps (â'i), B (âui). At Ba. the *g m* for (dâi) probably refer to different classes. The (dâi) of G was frequently (dAA'i) or (dah'i), Mr. McB. could not be sure which, but at any rate more (A'i) than (âi).

9. *my might* contrasts the treatment of (a'i) in open and close syllables, from which it appears that the latter generally have the finer sound.

10. *no*, and 11. *toe*. Mr. BeB. considers that the forms (nâ'u, tâ'u) which he wrote were uncertain, and that they may have been rather (âu) or something else. In *no, go, home* as a general rule it seems to be some form of (a'u); but in 11. *toe* there was generally a marked change, especially with G.

12. *torc*. About final *r* see 2.

13. *now town*, this is another test diphthong (a'u), see No. 5, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The first element in (éeu) may be rather (EE), as in No. 6. *say day*. "In New Zealand," says Mr. McB., "this diphthong (a'u) was very varied. You never could guess how the next child would pronounce it, and (æ'u, âau, âau, â'u, ææ'u, EE'u, éeu) I think were all to be heard, but not, or rarely, (ôou, ôu), which I have heard from Americans here [St. Francisco, Dec. 1887]. In New Zealand the (ææ'u, éeu) were not so marked as in Australia. They did not dwell on the first syllable with a drawl, but went rather quickly to the (u)." [In reference to this drawl Mr. McB. says: "A young intelligent American, who had travelled a good deal and walked 2000 miles through Europe, etc., told me that no Englishman could pronounce the *a* of *nasty*

properly — *laugh fast*, etc.!!! He pronounced it (mæc:stî) to the best of my hearing, with a nasal (æ) well drawn out."] "The American [meaning the St. Franciscan] (a'u) is totally opposed to the colonial (éeu). I hear (háuus, háuus), and perhaps (hææ'us) around me, but nothing like our Australian (hEE'us). I am so far utterly bewildered in my attempt to analyse and localise American pron. People from all parts of the States and every nationality are here, and I feel thoroughly in a foreign land. I have a difficulty in understanding the people, and they evidently in understanding my simplest questions." On the east side of the continent in the States of New York and Massachusetts the case would have been different.

14. *woman*, and 15. *pull*, with (u_o). I almost fear that Mr. McB. got his notion of (u_o) from my *Pronunciation for Singers*, where it is written [û] in glossic and described as the result of "giving the tongue a mid-back position and rounding the lips as for (u)." This I have subsequently found to be slightly in error, the tongue is still high-back as for (u), and the lips are placed as for (oo). See the introduction to the M. div., where it is fully considered. Hence I do not feel sure about this vowel, and it may be (u₁) rather than (u_o). To find this peculiar transitional vowel (u_o) in Australia is more than could be expected, although according to TH. it exists n. of the s. *sööm* line 2 in the n. of Cb. Hu. and Nf. in the E. div., but quite out of ken of London.

16. *pool* (p'uul) and 18. *food* (f'uud). Mr. McB. writes the sound (æ'u) with (æ) short but accented, for which I have substituted (ø), which is the finer form of (æ). He says that it is common in Australia, especially in the word *food* (although not in all *oo* words), and was very marked in a Paramatta school (Sydney), but almost disappears in New Zealand, and becomes replaced by (fud) or (fud). This shortened form is not unfamiliar to me in London. The longer form (ø'u) I suspect to be one of the forms of my (æ'u) discussed in the introduction to M. div., which seems to have generated the Nf. (y₁). In its mildest form I hear it not unfrequently in London, especially in the words *too, afternoon*, where it is apt to generate (iu). At Ba. Mr.

McB. notes (féuud) singing in a large collective class. The sound is always difficult to analyse and necessarily unstable.

17. *rule* (re'ul), and hence one of the forms of (a'u) in place of (iu). The form is remarkable, and does not occur very widely. I do not know it in England, but (riul) is common.

18. *fool*, see note on 16.

19. *paw*, the only thing to be noted is the form (paa'v), which immediately suggests, perhaps occasions, a euphonic (r) as in 29. *drawing*.

20. *floor*, here we have both (flAA, flAA'v), where instead of (v) having been developed from the (AA), the latter was obtained by throwing off an (v), which replaced an (r), probably through (R), which still occurs occ. At Dn. Mr. McB. notes "final *r* throughout (R, r, v), each from several speakers." We have similar cases in Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24.

21. *poor*, the pron. (pAA) is known in London. The title of Mr. Burnand's burlesque of (pAA :klAA'diæn), poor Claudian, written *paw Claudian*, was, however, little understood, and had to be explained in the newspapers.

24. *more*, 25. *morning*. Mr. McB. says "final (r) or (R) is common, especially in Dn., and the difference between *more* and *morn*, *oar* and *aur* and *au*, is quite distinct, while they are almost indistinguishable in Australia and Tasmania. In Ne. district final (r) was very marked with a peculiar vowel preceding, perhaps *u* in *fur*, *pearl*. I have heard it before from Birmingham and elsewhere." This may have been merely (v) as modified by the following (R).

26. *dance*, 27. *hand*, both (E) and (æ) were frequently nasalised in the colonies, as (de ns diæ ns, hæ nd hæ nd), but the two words belong to entirely different categories, *dance* is French and *hand* Ws., though the (n) has affected both alike.

28 to 31 are cases of inserted euphonic (r) which may be (R), the insertion of (r, r_c) is regular at many places in the E. div. and often heard in London.

32. *pearls*, 33. *ferns*. Mr. McB. has apparently appreciated the two vowels differently, but they may be only two different attempts to figure the same vowel. Probably I should have written (pælz fænz) or (pærlz,

fænz) as he writes for the first at Ne. and Dn.

34. *-ing*, and 35. *anything*. Mr. McB. did not hear (-in, -thiŋk) himself, but took it on trust from the teachers in Ba., who gave both as used by several.

36. *dog*, 42. *water*, the writing (dɔhg) is rather an uncertain attempt to symbolise the sound heard. Mr. McB. calls it "an open *o* in *hot dog*, and sometimes also in *water*—like the Irish and American." He thinks it must be (ɔh), and says "it is quite a marked difference." It approaches (a), and he was about to write it (á¹) at first.

37. *H omitted*, as he heard in singing *God save the Queen* at Ba., "on 'er be pleased to pour."

39. *wet*, written in the table [e + u] glossic. But Mr. McB. says: "In some cases it seemed to lie between (e, a), perhaps (wa't), at another between (e, ə), perhaps (wət), as his 'Scotch ear,'" he says, "inclines, perhaps, to the broad (æ) for (ə)." But I know no such English sound for *wet*.

40. *s* (th), Mr. McB. says: "A peculiarity in the *s* struck me frequently in New Zealand, which I write *s'* but without certainty. The natives have no *s*, and they also produce frequently a strange *s* more approaching (sh), while the other *s'* approaches (th)." I have therefore written (th), the symbol for the Spanish *z*, which becomes (s) in Spanish America. He goes on to say, "The Maori *o* is, I think, in reality (o). The *t*=(t) or (t) generally, although some districts have the English (t). *wh* was at times decidedly (î), and at times, I think, a lip -f" = (ph). Although, as he says, this is *not* English dialect, it is worth preserving.

41. *tub*. "The *u* of *tub* struck me as very open, almost (a), in a large area of New Zealand, probably (a¹), as (ra¹b v da¹b), *rub a dub*." The Germans find our *u* in *tub* the nearest approach to their *a* in *mann* (man), and so, possibly, they hit this sound in saying *tub*.

42. *water*, see note on 36.

43. *star*. "A strange (a) was to be heard in Auckland. The boys calling the *Evening Star* shouted out *stu* . . . , perhaps (stææ). It had a strange effect."

44. *boy*, *voice*. "oy most unfortunately escaped my notice, I know not how, but I have not heard anything

peculiar except in rare cases. Two teachers (Scotch) in Na. said it was habitually pronounced (*óoi*), as (*bóoiz* *vóoisiz*), boys' voices. I have noticed (*óoi*) but rarely."

This examination, conducted entirely by one man over such a large range of country, is entirely unprecedented, and furnishes the first trustworthy account that has been rendered of Australasian English. Mr. McBurney is a Glasgow man, but his parents belonged to Dumfries and Edinburgh; he lived in the Isle of Man for some years, and on his voyage to Australia studied Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, and, subsequently, my *Pronunciation for Singers*, adopting my glossic-writing in his reports, as most convenient for writing and pointing. This phonetic training was, of course, indispensable, and adds much weight to his testimony. I feel under great obligations to Mr. McBurney for his kindness in enabling me thus unexpectedly to complete my account of South-Eastern pronunciation.

D 18 = NE. = North Eastern, so called in opposition to D 17 = SE.

Boundaries. Begin at the sw. angle of Rt., near Rockingham, Np. Go ene. across Np. s. of King's Cliffe to the nw. angle of Hu., near Wansford, Np. Pass along the b. of Hu. to Peterborough (in the map, the line has been accidentally drawn a little s. of this border). Go all round Cb. to the ne. angle of Np., then proceed along the n. b. of Np. to the entrance of the inlet of Li. containing Stamford. Cut across that inlet to the opposite point of Rt., and then pass round Rt. to the starting-point.

Area. The whole of Cb. and Rt., ne. Np., and the Stamford inlet of Li.

Authorities.—See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in systematic spelling, ° in io.

Cb. *general (Mr. Perkins, Prof. Skeat), †Cambridge, †Chatteris, †Ely, °Haddenham, °†March, †Sawston, †Shelford, °Soham, †Whittlesford, †Willingham, °†Wisbech, *°Wood Ditton.

Li. †Stamford.

Np. †Ailesworth, †Castor, †Eye, †Peakirk, *†Peterborough, †Rockingham, †Wakerley, †Werrington, †Wryde.

Rt. *Cottesmore (:kɔtʃmooe), °Empingham, *Oakham, °Stretton, °Uppingham, °Whitwell.

Character. It is curious that Cb. differs from Hu., especially in the A- words, which are no longer (*éi*) as a rule, though of course there are exceptions near the b. of Hu., Bd., Ht., and Es., but are simple (*ee*), and this is also frequently the case for the ÆG, EG words, though these more frequently admit of (*EE'i*), or some such form. This astonished me very much when I first became aware of it, but it is an evident approximation to Nf. and Sf., across both of which Cb. lies.¹ The A' words have also (*oo*) rather than (*óu, óou*).

¹ It is, however, not quite uniform. (dɛ'i) day, at Ely (strɛ'it, pléis, wêi, TH. noted at Willingham (8 n.Cam-bridge), (dɛ'i rɛ'in, téib'l mɛ'ɛstɛ) made, letter A, because, and at Cambridge (ɛ'int) is-not?

The U' words take the general E. form (E'u) or thereabouts. The U, however, changes, for the n. *sum* line 1 runs across the n. part of Cb. in a straight line from Sawtry, Hu. (9 n.w. Huntingdon), to just n. of Ramsey, Hu., and s. of March, Cb. (12 n.w. Ely), and then, turning suddenly northwards, passes just w. of Wisbech and proceeds to the ne. point of Cb., whence it pursues the b. of Nf. to the sea. All n. of this line is therefore in the *sööm* region. But the s. *sööm* line passes from Hu., goes s. of Ramsey, Hu., and passes between Chatteris (9 n.w. Ely) and Ely, then passing ne. to Downham Market, Nf. (6 s. King's Lynn). The intervening part of Cb. is therefore in the mixed region, so that s. of the s. *sööm* line we have pure (ə, ɛ), in the mixed region (ə, ɛ, u_o, o) and other intermediate forms, and in the n. part pure (u_o). But this seems to have no effect upon the rest of the dialect.

Remembering this, I was struck by the great resemblance of Rt. to Cb. pron. There are the same A- (*ee*), A' (*oo*), I' (*ái*, *a'i*), the same U' (E'u). On the extreme of Rt. I noticed a slight tinge of M. in the use of (*shéi*) for (*shii*), as I had found in E. Haddon, Np., D 16, p. 213). This satisfied me that the portion of Np. intervening between Cb. and Rt. must present the same peculiarities. But my information from this region was far too scanty for me to judge till TH. at Easter, 1886, took a rapid phonetic survey of the country, and finding there the Rt. characters, I included it in D 18.

Cb. has many usages like those of the adjacent Nf. and Sf., such as 'together' as an address to several persons; 'come to mine,' that is, my house, 'he do' for he does. Also the words 'to do' are frequently (*tíu díu*), which is half-way to (*tíy₁ díy₁*), which will be considered in D 19. These do not appear to occur in ne. Np. and Rt. Hence we must distinguish three varieties, Var. i. Cb., Var. ii. ne.Np., Var. iii. Rt.

VAR. i. MID CAMBRIDGESHIRE dt.

pal. in 1879 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. John Perkins, of Downing College, Cambridge, who was very familiar with the peasant speech, but he could assign no particular locality.

1. *soo ái se*, meets, *JE'u sii NE'u dhæt ái)m ráit vE'ut dhæt lít'l gæl kámín fróm dhv skuul hándv.*

2. *shí)z v)go'ín dE'un dhv rood dhév, thríu dhv red gE'ut on dhv left hand sáid v)dhv wee.*

3. *shúv vno'f dhv tjáild)z gan street ep tE dhv d'v'v v)dhv rəq hE'as,*

4. *wév shí)l bi shúv tE fá'ind dhæt def wíz'nd félv v)dhv neem v :təməs, dhæt)s ələs táit v'z v drəm.*

5. *we aal noo ím vE'v'í wEl.*

6. *woont dhi óud t'pəp suun tiitj [laan] v nət tE duu ít [díu)t] v'gE'n.*

7. *luk! eent ít truu.*

Notes to m. Cambridgeshire dt.

1. *so*, noted as usual pron.—*mates*, no vanish noted here or in other cases.—*youder*, the aspirate is not usually dropped, but often wrongly inserted.

3. *child*, pl. (tjilden).

4. *wizened*, the word *shrivelled* not in use, the use of (shr-) seemed un-

certain. Mr. P. gave (shrimps srimps, ram srab, shruu me'us, srægd) shrimps, rum shrub, shrew mouse, shrugged.—*that is always tight as a drum*, the people object to the word *drunk*.

6. *teach*, 'learn' is much more usual.

s.CB., SAWSTON (6 sse. Cambridge), dt.

pal. in 1879 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Mullett, native, 18, and 3 years latterly in Nt., son of the foreman to a paper mill.

1. náu ái see, meetiz, jə'u sɪ ái wer_o ráit ebáut dhat lít'l gjal vka'mín frəm jon skuul.

2. shi)z egu'in dáun dhe rood dhév thruu dhat red gjeet v)dhe left and sáid.

3. wái dhe tjáild)z gən stre'it tɛ)dhe dóv v)dhe rəq áus,

4. wé'v shi)l praps fáind dhat óud drəqk'n def laqki tjap v)v :təmbz.

5. ju aal noo)im wɛl vɛə'f.

6. ónt dh)óud tjap suun tiitj)er nət tɛ du)it egjɛ'n, pòv thi'q.

7. lək jɛ ! it)s ráit, jɛ sɪi.

Notes to Sawston dt.

1. *now*, the diphthong (au) is very doubtful. It most probably should be (é'u) as in the surrounding districts.—*say*, no vanish written.—*that*, the (a) for (æ) is doubtful, and may have been a slip here and elsewhere.

5. *road*, observe the absence of vanish.

6. *won't*, the absence of (w) is noticeable.—*old*, the absence of (l) is suspicious.

se.CB., WOOD DITTON (3 sse. Newmarket, 13 c. Cambridge, on the b. of Sf.), dt.

pal. in 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Walker, native, daughter of the then vicar.

1. ne'u a'i diú see, tɛge'dhɛ, jə'u sɪi ne'u a'i bi ra'it vbe'ut dhæt éev lít'l gɛl [mɑdhɛ] kɛmən frəm dhæt éev skiúl [dhe skiúl jəndɛ, hɪndɛ].

2. shi bi goo'im de'um dhe rod dhév, thriú dhe red gáit on dhe left hæn sa'id v)dhe rod.

3. shiúv vne'u dhæt tjá'ild)z [dhe lít'l v)z] gòn strá'it [ra'it] əp tɛ dhe dóv v)dhe rəq he'us,

4. wév shi)l hæp'n fáind dhæt drəqk'n dif wiz'nd fɛlv, v)dhe nêem v :təməs.

5. wi aal noo vɛl vne'u [wɛr_oi wɛl].

6. oont dhe ool tjæp siún teetj [laan] shi not tɛ diú dhæt vgi'n, pòv thi'q !

7. lək, tɛge'dhɛ, beent it triú.

Notes to Wood Ditton dt.

1. *now I say*, (soo) as it is called would not be used here, they (siú a dres en sóu dhe kor_o'n) they sew a dress and sow the corn.—*together*, the regular address in Cb. to more than one, (meets) is also used.—*I be*, 'I am' is also used, 'thou' is not in use.—*girl*, *mauther*, the latter word imported from Sf., *wench* is not used.—*that there school* is the usual phrase.

2. *road*, with a short vowel certainly, but doubtful if (o) or (ɔ).—*gate* clearly dictated as (gáit), possibly due to adjacent Sf., but (gêet) is also used.—*of the road* or (WEE) way.

3. *enow*, 'enough' is never used.—

door, they say (pá'ue, fɛ'ue) pour, four.

4. *happen*, used for 'it may happen,' perhaps.—*find*, the (A'i) was dictated clearly throughout, (e sá'it e piip'l) a slight, great number, of people.—*name*, also pronounced (næe'iu). The alternative forms (gêet ga'it, nêem næe'im) recall the succession of (e'i) to (éu) observed in Ht. (p. 196 d).

5. *very well*, given as an alternative, is the only example of (w) for (v) I have found in Cb., and it may be like *mauther*, an importation from Sf.

6. *teach she* for *her* is a suspicious S. form.

Miss Walker also dictated the following sentences and words :

1. (hîndɛ bii e de'u), yonder is a dove.
2. (we'e e jóu e goo'in tíú, bə ?) [lad, man, a Sf. word].
3. (A'i bi glad tíú sii shii), I be glad to see she.
4. (heu shi 'diú gra'h), how she *do* grow, with an amount of wind following, like a guttural.
5. (diú ja'u goo ewee, doont ækt soo fiuulish), do you go away, don't act so foolish.
6. (shi)z dhæt bæd), she is so ill.
7. (te kop), to throw, (miz'n, miis), mice, the latter rare, (pee'z 'n beenz), peas and beans, (tæmets), turnips, (wəz'l), wurzel, (fɛst, bæst), first, burst, (kiɔɔ), only convalescent, in Nf. brisk.

n.Cb., MARCH (12 n.w.Ely), dt.

by the Rev. J. W. Green, Rector, pal. by AJE. from his notes; the words in [] were marked rp. and are retained in ordinary spelling, as the exact pron. intended could not be assigned.

1. [so I say, mates,] ja'u [see now that I am] r_oáit [about that little] gæl kəm'in fr_oum [the] skiúl jinder_o.

2. shi biz goo'in [down the] róoed dhaar_o [through the red gate on the left] hænd [side of the way].

3. [sure] eníu [the] tjá'ild hez [gone] stráit up tíú [the] dóoer_o [of the] r_oəqg [house].

4. waar_o shi)l tɛntɛ [to find that] ,dr_oəqk'n [deaf] ,dr_oiz'nd felb [of the name of Thomas].

5. [we all] noo [him] vær_oi [well].

6. uunt [the old chap soon teach her not] tíú díú [it] gin, póoer_o thiq!

7. lək, iint [it] tríu?

Notes to March dt.

1. *you*, rh. *now*.—*right*, “the tip of the tongue is merely raised,” this must be (r_c) in all cases before a vowel, otherwise it is probably omitted; hence as the Rector always wrote the *r*, I have inserted (r_c) always.—*coming*, “first syllable as in *hum*, second sounded *in*.”—*school*, “pronounced *skwɔl* as in *skewer*.”—*yonder* “*jin* is the word used, and *yinder*.”

2. *She is*, “*be* is mostly used, *she bees*.”—*going*, “*a* is prefixed when the first person is used before it, as *I'm a goin*.”—*road* “*roh-ud*.”—*there*, rh. *tar*.

3. *enough*, “one form *enew* always used.”—*child*, “the vowel ‘i’ has a diphthongal sound as if *ei* ‘cheild.’” I have taken the (*ai*) from TH.’s observations at March.—*has*, ‘hez’ as in ‘tez,’ ‘have’ as in ‘heav-en.’”—*straight*, “*ai* as in the Greek diphthong *ai*,” as pronounced in England.—*up*, “vowel as in *full*.” Mr. Green marked the following words as having *u* in *dull* (ə), *us* husband *dust* love *dove* above *hunger* tongue *sun* under but *butter* *up* cup jump gun tumble thunder, and with *u* in *full* (*u*) bullock *full*. Thus he gave *up* differently in the list and the dt.—*to* “as in *teu*.”—*door* “as in *oar*.”—*wrong* “sounded with double *gg*, and the vowel as in *rung*.”—*house*, “and *home* are not commonly used, the pronoun ours, yours, mine, being commonly employed alone, as ‘come to mine,’ instead of ‘my house.’”

4. *where*, “*h* not pronounced, the vowel sounded as in *far*.”—*she'll*, “if emphatic sounded as *wul*” (wəl).—*chance*, pr. *chanh*.—*drunken*, “*dr* sounded with the tongue against the

teeth, *u* as in *sunk*,” this dental *dr* must apparently be an error.—*shrivelled*, “the word used is *drizzend*: *shr* is sounded in words of that beginning.”

5. *know*, ‘we know’ is the form used, vowel as in *over*.—*very*, “like *Harry*,” this is a very remarkable form.

6. *teach*, “*learn*, used instead of *teach*, is pronounced *larn*” (lar_cn, laan).—*poor*, “as in *oar*.”—*thing*, “sometimes *k* instead of *g*, and sometimes *g* dropped, *somethin*, *anythink*.”

7. *look* “as in *luck*.”—*isn't* “as *ēnt*.”—*true* “as *treuw*.”

The treatment of U from the account of the Rector (except in the word *up* in the dt.) appeared to be the same as in rs. But TH. on visits made with the express purpose of verifying this point in 1881 and 1882, found generally (*u_c*) for short *u* and short *o* treated as *u*, as in *tumble* *stumble* *thunder* *gun* *up* *sun* *jump* *pump* *cup* *tub* *jug* *mutton* *some son* *crumbs* *couple* *another* *colour* *supper* *other* *sum* *duck* *brother* (mcu) [mutn't] *honey* *monkey* *trumpet* *plunder* *run* *stomach*. Once he got (o) in each of the words *tumble*, *cup*, *colour*, *others*, and once a vowel between (*u_c*, o) in *onion* (u_co_næn). Hence I have placed March on the n. *sum* line 1 itself.

With regard to other sounds TH. found *ai*, *ay* (= *ee*) in *way* *day* *say*, with no vanish.

i, *y* long (= *ai*) in *die* while time behind.

o long, *o-e*, *ow* generally (*oo*) without vanish.

ou and *ow* generally (ɛ'u), sometimes (ə'u), and sometimes an intermediate diphthong.

NE.CB., WISBECH, cwl.

Herbert J. Little, Esq., of Wisbech (:wɪzbɪtʃ), kindly filled up one of my old wl. He marked by far the majority of the words as having rp., and only those which follow had any indication of a dialectal change, except such minor points as *w* for *wh*, *g* and *k* omitted in *gnaw*, *know*, *knead*, etc., which are not distinctive. These now follow in the order of the cwl.

I. WESSEX AND NORSÉ.

A- 14 draa + r [before a following vowel]. 33 reedhr. 36 thoó. A: 47 wandé. 54 want. A': 102 æks. 105 ríd. 115 hám. 118 bæn. 123 nathiq [ʔ na-]. 124 stæn. 133 rit. Æ- 144 vgi'n. Æ: 155 thæk. 173 waa. 118 pæd. Æ': 218 shíp. E- 233 spæck. 236 fecv. 248 maa. E: 265 stra'it. 270 belez. 272 elém. 273 mín. E': 306 ha'ith.

314 hîed. 316 neks. EA- 319 gaap. EA: 323 foot. 324 a'it. EA': 355 diit. 366 gret. 370 riê [written *rear*]. EO- 386 ja'u. EO: 389 jêk. 396 wêk. 397 sûed. 400 énest. 402 laan. 406 êeth [written *airth*]. 407 faad'n. EO': 434 bet. I- 441 siv. 442 a'iveri [written *ivory*]. O: 537 ma'uld. U- [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 600 *love* [a very slight approximation of the *o* to (*u*), scarcely perceptible: this expression must refer to one of the sounds intermediate to (*ə*, *u*)]. 603 *come* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 605 *son* [rp.]. 607 *butter* [rp.]. U: [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 608 *ugly* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 612 *some* [very slight approximation to (*u*)]. 618 wa'und. 625 *tongue* [rp.]. 626 *hunger* [*u* approximates slightly to (*u*), not (*huuŋgə*)]. 629 *sun* [slight approximation to (*u*)]. 630 *won* [slight approximation to (*u*)]. 631 *Thursday* [rp.]. 632 *up* [rp.]. 633 *cup* [rp.]. 635 wêth. 636 fêde. 637 tash tōsh. 639 *dust* [rp.]. U'- 653 *but* [rp.]. U': 662 *us* [rp.]. 666 *husband* [the *u* approaches (*u*) sometimes]. Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 688 biuld [written *beuld*]. 696 bêth. 697 biuri [written *bewry*]. 700 wês. 701 fêst.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 767 na'iz. 769 mól. 790 ga'und. U. 808 *put* [rp.].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dja'ist. O.. 916 iqren [written *ingyon*]. 919 a'intment. 920 pa'int. 923 ma'ist. 924 tja'is. 925 va'is. 926 spa'il. 947 ba'il. U.. 965 a'il. 968 a'istu.

Usages. I am, I are, we you they are, I be, I is [this must be imported], they is, he do, he live there, I am a-going.

Note to Wisbech cwl.

Mr. Little says: "In a district like this, with very little dialect proper, one has to consider whether individual peculiarities are not often due to some connection with either Norfolk or Lincolnshire, which approach so very closely, and which have distinct modes of speech. I was much influenced by this consideration. I therefore dwelled (mentally) as much as possible on the speech of a typical labourer or two of my acquaintance, rather than marked the numerous peculiarities of those who, in my opinion, or to my knowledge, had borrowed accidentally from our neighbours." Mr. Little, however, kindly went once more over the words which have (*u*, *ə*) in rs., and the result is given under U- U: U'- U':. Here he frequently recognises a tendency of (*ə*) to pass, more or less, generally slightly into (*u*) and the consequent occ. generation of (*o*), see No. 637 *tusk*. This is the distinctive mark of the mixed area, in which therefore Wisbech is situate, the n. *sum* line passing just above it. TH., who visited Wisbech in 1882, must have fallen in chiefly with those who in Mr. Little's opinion were affected by neighbouring

Li. and Nf., both of which have (*u*_o), Wisbech being wedged between them, so that it could scarcely keep an (*ə*) in the younger generation. Thus from a boy of 13, a native, TH. heard (*u*_o) in jump [with at one time a blending of (*o*, *ə*)], pump, cup, tub, jug, tumble, mutton, sun, son, duck, crumbs: but in *some* he heard a mixture of (*u*_o, *ə*) and in *colour* a mixture of (*o*, *ə*) while in *couple* the sound was completely (*o*). From a man of 39, a native, he heard (*u*_o) in jump, cup, mutton, *some*, sun, son, duck, couple, crumb, but a mixture of (*u*_o, *o*) in tumble, and complete (*o*) in pump, tub, jug, colour. The phenomenon was almost the same at Chatteris, which is 15 ssw. Wisbech, and hence not exposed to the Li. action, and is 9 m. from the Nf. b. Here TH. from a native, a roadman of 73, noted (*u*_o) in nothing, tub, *some*, crush, wonderful: but also (*ə*) in nothing, just, a mixture of (*u*_o, *o*) in jump, cup, and of (*o*, *ə*) in crumble, crumbs, crumbly, but pure (*o*) in jug, tumble, mutton, gruffer, couple, colour, sun, son, scholar, and so on from others, shewing that Chatteris is in the mixed region, but just at the limit of (*u*_o).

Mr. Little says that "the fen country generally is the home of pure speech, by which I mean, of language but little differing from the ordinary literary English." It is an opinion held by many that "received speech is pure, and dialectal speech impure," forgetting that received speech has been highly "doctored" in the course of ages from some form of dialectal hereditary speech, and hence is really the impurest possible form of speech. Received English, however, probably descended from E. speech, especially the inland variety, and that would account for the marked resemblance between the two.

VAR. ii., ne.NORTHAMPTON cwl. containing:

Pt Peterborough, wn. by TH. at Peterborough and Werrington in 1881-2.

Pe those observed by AJE. from Miss Furness, student at Whitlands, and the following wn. by TH. at Easter, 1886.

A Ailesworth (5 w. Peterborough).

C Castor (4½ w.P.).

E Eye (3 ne.P.).

P Peakirk (5½ n-by-w.P.).

R Rockingham (8 n. Kettering).

S Stamford, Li., from a Rutland man.

Wak Wakerley (15 w.P.).

Wer Werrington (3½ nw.P.).

Wr Wryde, in parish of Thorney, Cb. (9 ene.P.).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 PWr *beek*. 8 ARE *ev*. 18 P *kjeek*. 20 PPe *leem* (with no vanish). 21 WakEPWrS *neem*. A: *or* O: 58 A *thram*. 60 AWerP *lu_oq*. 64 ARWr *roq*, WakEWerS *ru_oq*, R *ruq*, EP *roq*. A'- 69 WakREP *noo*. 74 C *tūu tuu*, R *tuu*. 76 Pe *tood*. 81 WakR *leem*. 82 A *wu_ons*. 86 Wer *oots*, AEPWr *ōts*, CE *ōuts*. 92 E *nooz*. 93 AWak *snoo*, P *snōu*. A': 104 AWak *rood*. 115 CP *ōum*, AWakREWerWr *oom*, Pt *ōm*, CPt *ōum*, P *ō_upm*. 117 C *wa'n*. 118 Wak *boon*. 122 WakREP *nō*. 124 WakP *stoon*.

Æ- 138 AWakREWerPWr *faadh_e*. 142 APWakE *sneel*. 152 ARE *waate*. Æ: 162 CA *dēi*, AWakREWerP *dee*. 172 Wak *grēs*, RE *gras*. 181 Wak *pad*. Æ'- 197 CAEPWr *tjūiz*. 200 CREPWr *wit*, AEP *wiit*. Æ': 209 WakPE *nēve*. 223 CWakREP *dhēv*. 224 REP *wib+r*, E *wēv* *wē'v*.

E- 233 CWakREWerP *speek*, A *spēk*, RP *spiik*. 241 C *rēin*, AR *reen*. 243 S *plec'in*. E: 261 A *se'*, WakREP *see*, R *sii*, E *see*. 262 WakREWerPWr *wee*, E *wee*. 263 P *ewee*, S *ewēi*. 278 A *wentjūz*. E'- 290 AREPWr *i*. 292 R *m'i*. 299 WakREWerPWr *grūin*. E': 314 A *ə'llrd*, E *ēllrd*, WakREP *īrd*, R *əd*.

EA: 322 WakREPPtWr *lāf*. 324 EP *e'it*. 326 WakREP *ōdd*. 328 Wer *kōdd*. 335 A *aal*. 338 A *kaal'in*. EA'- 347 AWakEPWr *ēd*, R *ēd*, Pt. *e'id*. EA': 361 AWakEWer *biin*. 366 WakPWr *greet*, E *grēt*. EO: 394 C *jōndv*, Wer *jōndv*, AEWak *jōndv*. 395 ARWerP *ju_oq*. 402 Wak *lā'lrni_un*, REP *lōn*, E Wer *laan*. EO'- 411 C *thrii*. 412 R *shī*, EPWr *shī*. EO': 428 A *sii*. 437 Wak *trūth*, PWr *trūth*. EY- 438 RE *dāi*, WakWer [between] *da'i dāi*, P *da'i dāi*.

I: 458 WakREWerP *nāit*, Wr *nō'it*. 465 WakES *sitj*. I'- — [name of the letter] A *āi*, Pe *ā'i*. 494 P *ta'im*, WakEPWr *tāim*. I': 500 AWakE *lāik*.

O: — Pe *sv_ob* [shrub, shr- never used]. 531 CAREWerPWr *daate*. O'- 555 AEP *shuu*. 559 PE *madhv*, A [between] *madhv modhv*, E *modhv*, Pt *modhv*, Wr *modhv*. 562 WakREWerPWr *muun*. 564 P *suun*. 568 AR

bru.dhe. O': 579 WakE enu_of, Pe uniu. 587 WakREP dñn, Wr dñ_n.
588 WakREWerPW_r nuun.

U- 605 WakREWerPS sñ_n. 606 AWakREWerP dñe+r. 607 R bu tv.
U: — P tu_omb'l [tumble]. 629 Wer su_n. 632 AWakRPS u_op. 633 Wr
ku_op. U'- 641 A E'u, Wr ə'u. 643 AE nāu. 650 S ebāut. U': 658
R dā_um, E dā_um, P dīE'u_n. 659 E tā_um, P tīE'u_n, Wr [between] tē'u_n
tə'u_n. 663 AWak ə'us, WakWerWr [between] ə'us, E'us, RE āus, P [[iE'us
[A E'u_z'n, Wak ə'u_z'n].

Y- 673 WakE mu_otj. Y': 712 AWak māis.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 Pe gjel [Miss F. had not heard *wench*]. O. 791 ARE
bōi, WakP bōi. U. 794 Pt dju_og. 803 Pt dju_omp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 A fēs. 866 Pe pōou. I.. and Y.. 901 AE fáin. O..
— CAPWr bif [beef]. 947 AR bóil, Wak bōil. U.. 965 A ôil.

VAR. iii., RUTLAND.

The short *u* as dictated to me in Ru. seemed to be rather (*u*_i)
than (*u*_o), due perhaps to the neighbouring Li., but as a com-
promise I have used only (*u*). Ru. is quite distinct from adjoining
Le., where according to TH. (*u*_o) prevails. See Introduction to
M. div.

COTTESMORE, RT. (4 nne.Oakham), dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, who resided there till 14,
but had been absent 14 years, and was then teacher at St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea.
The *r* was not particularly observed.

1. soo A'i see, butiz, jε séi nē'u dhet A'i)m rā'it eba'ut dhat līt'l
gēl kumēn frum jən [JEN] sk'i_uul.

2. shéi)z gō'vñ dā'un dhe rood dhēe thruu dhe rēd geet on dhe
left and sA'id v)dhe wee.

3. sh'i_uer enaf dhe tja'ild ez gon street up te dhe dū'vēr v)dhe
roq ə'us,

4. wīe shéi)l tja'ns to fā'in dhat dru₁qk'n def sriv'ld fēle v)dhe
nēem v : tōmūs.

5. wī Aal noo im wērī wēl.

6. wuunt dhe ool tja_p s'i_uun tiitj v not tē duu it vgi'n [age'n],
pōu thi₁qk!

7. luuk, eent it truu.

Notes to Cottesmore dt.

1. *so*, *say* without vanish; whether
(see) or (*see*) was said is not absolutely
certain, but I have generally marked
(ee), and so I retain it in preference to
(*ee*), as there was no trace of a following
(*i*).—*see*, both (séi, sii) seem to be used,
the (séi) is of course a M. encroach-
ment.—*girl*, (wēntj) *wench* is used
affectionately.

2. *she*, (shéi) was heard here, but in

par. 4 (shii) w_rs also given.—*on* rather
(on) than (ōn).

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not used.

4. *shrivelled*, the word is common,
and so is (wiz'nd) wized.

5. *know*, o_{cc}. *knows*.—*very*, inclined
to (wērī), but not very certain, (wit'lz)
victuals is the only instance of (w)
for (v) quite certain.

OAKHAM, RT., dt.

pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss Kemm, native, teacher at Whitelands, assisted by her wl. which had been corrected from dict.

1. *soo ai séei*, meets, *ju sii na'u dhut ai)m ráit ube'ut dhat-êv* li't' gel, *kam'in thran dhv skuul*.
2. *shii)z)ego'in da'um dhv rood dhév*, *thriu dhv red gééit en dhv* left and *sáid ev dhv wéei*.
3. *shúv enuf*, *dhv tja'ild iz gon stret up te dhv dôer ev dhv* *ruq 'us*.
4. *wiv shi)l tjaansh te fáind dhat dru,nk'n diif [def] sriv'id feler* *ev dhv neem ev :tóməs*.
5. *wi haal [ôvl] noo)im veri wel*.
6. *wuunt dhv hoold tjaþ suun laan)v not te duu it ege'n, pôe* *thiq!*
7. *luuk! eent)it triu?*

Notes from Miss Kemm.

R as Miss K. pron. was when initial a decided (r), when final it was untrilled and mostly like the vowel (v) as in London.

The cwl. is made up from Miss K.'s observations on old people, especially shepherds, which she had observed from childhood.

H. is generally omitted in the right and inserted in the wrong place, the latter especially when the speaker is emphatic and slow, and is anxious to speak well, as (*həv kooz*) of course.

Irregular (strong) verbs are often made regular (weak).

Th and F are not confused, we have neither (*thrəks*) frocks, nor (*fis'lz*) thistles [but observe (*thran*) from, par. 1].

Many is called (*meeni*) by old and antiquated people.

Cl, Gl initial become (tl, dl).

Old, well-educated people say (*fift sikt eet náint*) fifth sixth eighth ninth.

Noise is used for sound.

Proud is expressed by (*ai en lofti*) high and lofty.

Though *ointment* is not used, they speak of (*v na'nted raaskv*) a 'nointed rascal, one who has been well thrashed.

To *addle*, earn, is not common, but has been heard.

* * I cannot be sure of my notes for (*ee, ee*), as they were not distinctly separated, and hence have generally used (*ee*) even when perhaps (*ee*) or (*éi*) was said.

RUTLAND cwl.

C Cottesmore (:kətmôv) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell in 1882, as above.

O Oakham (:unkəm) wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE. from dict. of Miss A. Kemm, as above. This is town pron., and in some respects refined. Miss K. says: "The provincialisms are not glaring, they consist chiefly in the use of old Saxon words, and the peculiar sound of *u*" as (*u*). Oakham was celebrated for its holm-oaks, as at Ashwell (3 n.Oakham) there are beautiful ash-trees. S Stretton, as given by the then Rector, Rev. E. Bradley ('Cuthbert Bede').

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 O beek. 4 C tek. 5 CO mek. 6 O meed. 7 O sévik. 8 CO ev. 9 C bi,é:v, bi,ee:v. 10 O ôv. 12 O sôv+r. 13 O nôv+r. 14 O drôv+r. 17 O lôv+r [sometimes]. 18 O keek. 20 CO leem. 21 CO neem. 22 O teem. 23 CO seem. 24 CO sheem. 28 êv. 32 C bædh. 33 COS rædhv, O radhv. 36 O thôv. 37 O klôv+r. A: 39 O kuum. 56 C wesh, O wash.

A: *or* O: 58 C thram [has been heard from poor people], O thram thram. 60 C laq, O [between that and] laq. 61 CO vam^{uq}. 62 O [between] stra^{uq} stra^{uq}. 64 O [between] raq raq. 66 O [between] tha^{uq} tha^{uq}.

A'- 67 O *goo* + *u* [in the pause]. 69 O *noo* + *u* [in the pause]. 70 O *too* + *u* [in the pause]. 71 O *woo* + *u* [in the pause]. 72 C *oo*. 73 O *soo* + *u* [in the pause]. 74 C *too*, O *too* + *u* [in the pause]. 75 O strook. 76 O tōvd. 77 O lōvd. 81 C leen. 82 O wvns. 84 O mōr [like 12]. 85 O sōv [like 12]. 86 C oots. 87 C klooz, O flooz. 89 booth. 92 O noo. 93 O snoo. 94 O kroo.

A': 101 O ook [but old-fashioned people call *Oakhom* (:ukem)], 102 O aast [both pres. and pret., old people say 'aks']. 104 CO rood. 105 CO rood. 106 CO BRAAD, O brōvd. 107 C looi, O laf, laf. 108 O dōv [(peest) more common]. 111 O oet. 113 CO al [*hurl* is not so pronounced, as it is in Nf.], O hvl. 115 O v^m [with or without (h)], S wam. 116 O num [rarely used]. 117 O wan [never (wam)]. 118 C booon, O boon. 122 CO n^m [n^m] in Le.]. 123 CO noot, n^{thi}qk. 124 O stⁿ. 125 O ooni, oondi. 126 O o^v [like 12]. 127 C o^s, O osti [occ.]. 129 O goost. 132 O st. 134 O oth.

E- 138 C faadh^u, OS feedh^u. 139 O dree. 141 CO neel [no vanish]. 142 CO sneel. 143 CO teel. 147 C breen. 148 O fēv. — a^{nt} [ant, oftener (pismāiv)]. 149 C bleez. 152 C watv. E: 155 C thak thek thet^u. 158 O haatn^uum [afternoon, very common]. 161 CO dee. 163 O lee. 164 CO mee. 166 C meed. 171 G bēli. 172 C gres. 173 CO waa. 181 CO pad [regular form]. E'- 182 CO sii. 183 C teeti, O [laan learn, used]. 184 O liid. 185 C reed, red [pt.], O riid, red [pt.]. 186 O bredth. 187 C leev, O liiv. 188 C nee [(wini) more common], O nēi vini [both used]. 189 C wee, O wēi. 190 CO ki. 191 il. 192 C meen, O miin. 193 O kl^{uq} [heard from an old lady near Uppingham, who was 90 when she died]. 194 C oni, O eeni eni. 195 O meeni [old], S moni. 196 O ai waa, wi waa, dhe waa [I was, we they were]. 197 C t^uez, CO t^uiiz [C both used]. 199 O bliit. 200 C wiet, O wiit. 201 CO iidh'n, C eedh'n [C both used]. 202 O iit. E': 204 O diid. 205 C thrid, O thred. 207 O niid'l. 210 C klee, O klēei. 211 C gree, O grēei. 212 O wēei. 213 S eadh^u. 216 CO diil, C del [C both used]. 218 O ship. 219 CO shiip. 221 O fib. 222 O ēv. 223 CO dhēv. 224 CO wiv. 226 O moost. 227 O wet. 228 C swot, O swet.

E- 232 C breck. 233 C speek, O spēek, spok [pret.]. 234 C niid. 235 O wiiv. 236 O fiiv. 238 O ed^u [always, compare 257]. 239 C seel, O sēil. 241 C reen. 243 C plee, O plēi. 246 O k^uim. 247 O wiin. 248 O mēv. 249 O wēv. 250 O swēv. 251 C meet mēt miit [all used], O miit. 252 O ket'l [never (kit'l)]. 253 O net'l. 254 O iedh^u. 255 O wēdh^u. E: 257 hed^u [(h) frequent]. 258 O [ilagz] always used]. 260 O lēei. 261 C see, O sēei. 262 C wee, O wēei. 264 C eel, O ēeil. 265 C street, O stret. 268 O [(ooldest) used]. 272 O helm [in one syllable, not (helum)]. 273 O mēn. 276 O thi^{uq}. 278 O went^u [in a good sense for grown girls]. 280 O lēb'm. 281 O lēqkth. 282 O streqkth. 284 C thresh. 285 O kriis. 287 CO biiz'm. 288 O ket.

E'- 290 C i. O [(him) more frequent]. 291 C dhi, O [not used]. 292 O ni. 293 C vi, O wi. 294 CO fiid. 296 C bileev, CO biliiv [C both used]. 298 C fiil, O fiild. 299 O griin. 300 C kēeip, O kiip. 302 CO miit. 303 CO swiit. E': 305 C ha'i, O ai. 306 C ēeit. 307 C na'i, O nai. 308 CO niid. 309 O spiid. 310 C il. — O brāiv [and (briv about Belton (7 ssw.Oakham) = briar]. 313 O haak at. 314 O ied. 315 CO fiit.

E.A: 322 O laaf. 323 fōvt. 324 O et. 325 O waak. 326 CO ool. 328 O koold. 331 O soold, seld. 332 C teld. 333 O kaaf. 334 C aaf, O aat. 335 O oel [AALS always]. 336 fōvl. 337 O wōvl. 342 C aam. 343 C waam. 345 O dēv [pres.] dēst [pret.]. 346 CO geet. E.A'- 347 C jed, O ed. 348 O ai [almost (a'i)]. 349 O fiu. — O sriik [shriek]. E.A': 350 C diid, CO ded [last commonest]. 351 CO led. 352 O red. 353 CO bred. 354 O shiif. 355 C deth dēt [mixed], O diit [old and common]. 357 O dhōov. 359 O neev. 360 C tiim, O tiim. 361 C biin, O biin. 365 O uiv. 366 CO gret. 367 O thret. 368 O deth. 370 O rōv. 371 O strōv. EI- 372 O ai. 373 O dhev. 374 O nee. 375 O reez. 379 O beet. EI: 377 O steek. 378 O wiik.

EO- 385 O binii'th. 387 O níu. EO: 388 O málk. 390 O shud. 394 O índu. 396 CO wók, O wêuk. 397 O sónd. 399 O bráit. 402 C laan [used for teach]. 403 CO fæx. 404 CO staa [also to (staar ut piip'l)]. 406 C æath. 407 O faad'n. EO'- 409 CO bíi. 411 C thréi, O thríi. 412 C shéi. 413 O divil [jocular], dæv'l [angry], dævel [solemn]. 414 C flá'i, O flái. 415 O lái. 416 O div. 417 O tjiu. 418 O briu. 420 O fôv. 421 O fôuti, fæati. EO': 423 O thái. 424 O raf [(ruuf) roof]. 425 O láit. 426 C fá'it, fát [fought], O fáit. 427 CO bi. 428 C séi, O sii. 429 O fiind. 430 CO fíend. 431 O bív. 432 fôet. 434 i bet mi ut kriket [he beat me at cricket]. 435 O juu [usual], juo [from old people], já'u [in contempt]. 436 C truu, O tríu. 437 O tríuth. EY- 438 C dá'i, O dáii. EY: 439 O trást.

I- 440 C wik. 442 C á'iviri, O áivi, S ívi. 444 C stá'il. 448 O dhiis ív [always]. 450 O tíuzde. I: 452 C á'i. 455 C lá'i, O láii. 457 O máit. 458 C ná'it, O náit. 459 C ra'it [never (re'it)], O ráit. 462 O sáit. 465 O sáti. O sáti. 466 C tía'ild, O tpiáild. 467 C wa'ild, O wáild. 472 O sriqk. 473 C bla'in, O bláin [occ. (blá'in)]. 477 C fá'm, O fáin [occ. fá'in]. 484 O dhis ív [always so]. 485 O thís'í [not with (í)]. I'- 490 C ba'i, O báii. 493 C dra'iv. 498 C ra'it. 499 O biit'l. I': 500 C lá'ik. 503 C lá'if, O láif. 505 C wa'if, O wáif. 506 O [(oold wmm) old woman, rare]. 508 C má'il, O máil. 514 O háis. 517 O jiu.

O- 520 O bá'u. 522 CO ap'n. 523 CO oop, O hóp [also]. 524 wæald. O: 526 C kof káf [both used], O kof. 527 CO baat [O children say (bóut) at times]. 528 O thaat. 529 CO braat. 531 C daate, O daate. 532 O kool. 536 O goold. 537 O moold. 538 O wuuld [in reading]. 539 C bool. 540 C ali. 542 O boolt. 545 C óp. 547 O bôed. 549 O ôed. 550 O wæad wéud [not (wæd)]. 552 O kóvén, kaan. 553 O ôen. 554 kræs. O'- 555 CO shuu. 557 C tuu, O [(en aal) much used]. 558 CO luuk. 559 CO mædv. 562 C má'uun, O muun. 563 O mænde. 564 C sí'uun, O suun [more frequently 'after a bit']. 565 O nooz. O': 569 CO buuk. 570 O tuuk. 571 O gud. 572 CO blud. 573 CO flud. 574 O bruud [generally 'a hatch']. 575 CO stad. 576 O wenzde, C wenzdi. 577 O bá'u. 578 O plá'u. 579 O unaf, eniu [pl.]. 580 O táf. 581 O sôet. 582 O kuul. 583 O tuul. 584 O stuul. 586 CO duu. 587 O dan. 588 O [noon is always spoken of as 'dinner-time']. 589 C spá'uun. 590 O flóv. 592 O swóv. 594 O buut. 595 C fat, O fát. 596 O ruut. 597 C sät, O sät.

U- 599 O vbuuv. 600 O lav. 601 CO fá'ul. 602 O sá'u. 603 O kam. 605 CO san. 606 C dûv, O dóv. 607 CO butv. U: 608 O hugli. 609 C fal, O fál. 610 O wál. 611 C balék, O badek. 612 O sum. 613 O druqk. 614 O e'und [?: (á'u-)]. 615 O pæ'und [?: (á'u-)]. 616 C grá'un. 619 C fá'un, O fá'und [?: (á'u)]. 622 CO umde. 625 O tóq. 626 O uqge. 628 O nan [same as 122]. 629 CO san. 631 O thêurzde, thæazde. 632 C ap, O hóp. 633 CO káp. 634 C thruu, O thríu. 635 O wæath. 636 C fæde, O fædv. 637 O tusk. 638 O busk. 639 O dust. U'- 640 CO ká'u [not (ké'u), which was repudiated by C, and so throughout]. 641 C á'u, O á'u [?:]. 643 O ná'u. 644 O dav. 646 O bá'u. 647 O há'ul. 648 O á'uv. 649 O thá'uzend. 653 CO but. U': 654 C shrá'ud. 655 O fá'ul. 656 O ruun [sitting-room called *house*, bedroom *chamber*]. 657 CO brá'un. 658 CO dá'un. 659 CO tá'un. 660 O bá'uv. 661 O shá'uv. 662 O haz [when emphatic at the end of a phrase]. 663 CO á'us, O á'az'n [houses]. 665 O má'us. 666 O azbend. 667 CO á'ut. 670 O buudh [rarely used]. 671 C má'uth. 672 O sá'u west [south-west].

Y- 673 O matj. 674 O dan [done used for did]. 676 C lig, O líi. 679 CO tjátj, C tjetj [also]. 682 O hiit'l. Y: 686 C ba'i, O báii. 689 C bild. 690 O káind. 691 O máind. 693 O sin. 696 O bêuth bæath. 697 O beri. 698 O mævth mævth [that is, tongue for (æ), lips for (u)]. 700 C wus, O wase wêus wæus [that is, tongue for (æ), lips for (u)]. 701 C fás [(fog) first 'go' at marbles], O fás fêus fêus. Y'- C ská'i, O skáii. 706 O wái. Y': 709 O fáiv. 711 C lá'is [O uses *dicks*]. 712 C má'is, O máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 O treed. 722 O dreed. 723 O dëvri. 724 O baald. 725 O seel.

728 O sham. 733 O skiv. 734 O daan. 740 O weev. 741 CO meez, O miiz. 742 C leezi. E. 746 O brüidh. I. and Y. 753 O tit'l. 754 O pig ['swine' is not used]. 756 O srümp [no (shr-) used]. 758 O gel. O. 761 O lood. 767 O na'iz. 769 O mooldiwaap [moldywarmp]. 772 O bæmfáiv [? burn-fire]. 778 O efóud. 779 O ónts [rare]. 781 C bodhe. 782 C padhe. 787 O sa'us. 790 CO ga'und. — C te dra'und [to drown]. 791 CO bá. U. 793 O ug. 794 O djug. 795 CO srüq [no (shr-) used]. 799 O skid. 802 O ram. 803 O djammp. 805 O kéudz. 806 CO fus. 807 C pus [(päs) is purse]. 808 C pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. O heeb'l. 810 CO fecs. 811 CO plees. 812 C lees. 813 C bëk'n, O beek'n. 814 O mees'n. 816 O feed. 818 O eedj. 819 O reedj. 822 CO mee. 823 C bee. 824 CO tjev tje [both used, the latter by old people]. 828 O eegi [old]. 829 O geen. 830 CO treen. 832 O mèe. 833 O pèv. 835 C reez'n, CO riiz'n [both used]. 836 C seez'n, CO siiz'n [both used]. 838 O triit. 840 CO tjeembe. 841 C tja'ns, O tjaans, tjaansh. 843 O braantj. 845 C eenshent. 846 O tjaandje. 847 C deendje. 848 tjeendj. 849 C streendje. 850 C da'ns. 851 O aant. 852 O hepen. 853 O baagin. 857 O kees. 858 O brees. 859 O tjees. 860 CO peest. 861 O teest. 862 CO seef. 863 O tjeef. 865 O folt. 866 CO pòv.

E.. 867 C tee, CO tii [C both used]. 868 CO djee. 869 O viil. 874 C reen. 875 O feent. 877 O hèe. 878 O saleri. 879 C fiimeel. 880 O egzaampl [or pattern]. 888 O sèutin. 890 C biest biisez [pl.], O biist. 891 O fiist. 892 O nevi. 894 C disceev, CO disiiv [C both used]. 895 O risiiv.

I.. and Y.. 898 O náist. 899 O miis. 900 O pree. — C pa'int [pint]. 904 C va'ilet. — C wit'ls [victuals, about the only word in which (w) replaces (v)]. 910 O dja'ist. 911 O sistem. 912 O róis.

O.. 913 O kootj. 914 O brootj. 915 O stad. 916 C anjen, O unjen. 917 O roog. 918 C feeb'l, O fiib'l. 919 O [(saav) salve used]. 920 C páint, O pa'int. 922 C bash'l, O bushel. 923* O ma'ist. 925 O va'is. 926 C spáil, O spa'il. 927 O traqk. 928 O a'ans. 929 C ka'akembe, O kiukembe. 930 O la'in. 931 O [(kandperu) conjurer, used]. 932 O emáunt. 933 O frant. 934 O ba'anti. 935 O kanti. 938 O kóene. 940 CO koot. 941 O funl. 942 C batje, O batje. 943 O tutj. 947 C báil, O ba'il. 948 CO ba'ul [also used for to (ba'ul) bowl at cricket]. 950 O sape. 952 O koos. 953 CO kuz'n. 954 C kashun, O kashun. 955 O da'ut. 956 CO kive. 957 O implái [old].

U.. 961 O griujil. 964 O sinjit. 965 C áil, O a'il. 966 O fríut. 967 O siút. 968 O a'iste. 969 O shúv. 970 O djust. 971 O flíut.

Notes. C no euphonic (r), (naa)iq, draa)it) gnawing, draw it. I am, I are in answer to a question, I (waa) for was, we goes, he do, he live, theirsens. Intonation rough thick clear drawing, sinking at end. O in place of either they say 'one on em, one or t'other.'

D 19 = EE. = East Eastern.

Boundaries. Those of Nf. and Sf.

Area. The whole of Nf. and Sf., commonly known jointly as East Anglia.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

Nf. * County, † Ashill, † Binham, † Brancaster, ° Burnham, † Buxton, ° Congham, † Diss, ° Ditchingham, † Downham Market, ° † East Dereham, † Fakenham, † Gaywood, † Great Dunham, * Great Yarmouth, † Hardingham, † Heacham, † Hempton, ° Hemsby, † Holme, † Humstanton, ° Ingham, * Kimberley, † King's Lynn, * Kirby Bedon, † Marham, * Mattishall, † Middleton, † Narborough, † North Elmham, † North Tuddenham, ° North Walsham, ° * † Norwich, † Old Hun-

stanton, °Ovington, °Ringstead, †Snettisham, *† Stanhoe, †Stoke Ferry, †Stow, †Swaffham, †Terrington St. Clements, †Thetford, †Tivetshall, °Tuttington, †Walingham, °Warham, †Watton, †Wells-next-Sea, †Wiggenhall St. Germans, °Witton, †Wolferton, †Wymondham.

Sf. °Boyton, °Bradwell, * Framlingham, †Great Bealings, °Great Finborough, °Hemingstone, * Orford, * Pakenham, * Southwold, °Stowmarket, °Ufford, °Yaxley.

Due attention has also been paid to R. Forby's *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, whose prefixed treatise on Nf. pr., with all its examples, was revised with the help of Rev. Philip Hoste (see p. 264), and to Moor's *Suffolk Words* (p. 286).

Character. Every one has heard of the Nf. 'drant,' or droning and drawling in speech, and the Sf. 'whine,' but they are neither of them points which can be properly brought under consideration here, because intonation has been systematically neglected, as being impossible to symbolise satisfactorily, even in the rare cases where it could be studied. The next salient point is the French (y), of which every one speaks. This sound, whatever it may be, certainly replaces O' in: shoe, too (and also the Ws. A' in *two*), school, bloom, moon, soon, brood, cool, tool, stool, to do, noon, spoon, moor, boot, root. When habit has shortened the long O', this (y) effect is not produced, as in: look, mother, Monday, book, took, good, blood, flood, stood, done, foot, soot. Even when the vowel remains long, it is occ. unchanged, as in nose, floor. Shortening does not destroy a similar effect in L., hence the origin of this so-called (y) is probably different in the two cases. It has in neither anything to do with the old Ws. Y=(y). It is, indeed, of recent origin in Nf.

The author of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 1440, says: "Comitatus Northfolchie [or as another MS. has it, 'comitatus tamen Orientalium Anglorum'] modum loquendi solum sum secutus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenius perfectiusque cognovi," but he writes: schoo, scole, blome, mone, sone, brode (the same spelling for *brood* and *broad*), coolynge, tool, stool, doon (inf. form of *do*), noone, spone, moore, bote, rote. It is evident, therefore, that he still pronounced long (oo) here as well as in the words where the vowel is now shortened, as he writes: loke (the same spelling for *look* and *lock*), moder (the same spelling for *mother* and *mauthor*), booke (or boke, according to another MS.), goode, blode, flode, foot, soot. As oo was not used for (uu) till the xvth century, it is evident that 400 years ago the vowel in these words was (oo), and that even the change to (uu) had not then taken place.

Now I was very much struck by the fact that in the numerous words collected by TH. in Nf., not one case of the so-called French (y) occurred. He not only found the usual (muun, suun), but such forms as (môun, skôul), which remind us of the *Promptorium*. He, however, also found (ə'u) in (dæ'u, næ'un, mæ'uzik); see his owl, p. 262, under O'. Now this seemed to me the key of the whole mystery. This (ə'u) is a very common glide, arising from beginning to say (uu) with the mouth too open and closing it as the speaker proceeds. It is also unstable; it has a tendency to íu, ə'u, and to unpractised ears gives at times not a bad imitation of French (y). Then I reflected that all the authorities on whom I relied for the sound were educated people, and that TH. had been in direct communication with the uneducated, while he was, from his Midland antecedents, quite familiar with (ə'u). Also I remembered that the sound I myself heard in Nf. was certainly not (y), but

something much deeper, which I write (y_1). Again, this sound is apparently often fractured by beginning with the mouth too open, giving to my ear (iy_1), which, again, is readily confused with (iu). All dialect writers represent it by *ew* or long *u*, as *teu*, *shues*, too, shoes, and *sune*, *mune*, *skule*. In Sf. as well as Nf. I found this (y_1 , iy_1) from my authorities, educated natives, but in w.Sf. the vicar of Pakenham entirely repudiated it, saying it was a Norfolk pron. The exact analysis of this curious sound is still to be made.

When the drant and French (y) are passed over, there is very little left which distinguishes D 19 from D 18. The general characters of both are as follows:

The A- words are (ee , EE) in place of (e), and the $\mathcal{E}G$, EG words are ($EE'i$, eei), at least in ne.Nf.

The A' words have (oo) without the vanish, as (*boot*) boat.

Many of the E- words have (ee) as (*speek*) to my ear, others hear (ee).

The long I' words are uncertain, ($\acute{e}'i$, $\grave{e}'i$, $\text{æ}'i$, $\acute{a}'i$) being all found.

The long U' words also vary, as ($\text{è}'u$, $\text{é}'u$, $\text{æ}'u$, $\text{ē}'u$). See this discussed in the notes to the Stanhoe cwl., p. 268, where Forby's remarks are particularly considered, p. 270.

The *r* is treated as throughout the E. div. The *h* is generally aspirated. The *v* in Nf. at least becomes regularly (w), while the (v) for *w* appears to be a modern refinement, the speaker knowing that many of his (w) should be (v), but not knowing which they are. This (w) for *v* has been given me also from Sf., where it is generally repudiated, but as it exists in Ke., Es., and Nf., Sf. could hardly escape having had it, though it may now be 'corrected.' The illustrations, *cs.*, *dt.*, *cwl.*, with the notes, will tell the rest.

There are many peculiar words, of which ($maadh\ddot{u}$) contracted to (ma), especially when applied to little girls, and with a euphonic (r) before a following vowel, and ($ba+r$) applied to men and boys, and rarely to women, are remarkable. The (ma), written *mor*, seems to me a form of *mother*, here often pronounced ($m\ddot{a}dh\ddot{u}$), see p. 260, l. 35. The (ba) is usually written *bor*, and associated with *neighbour*. This is more than doubtful. There is no trace of (ba) in the *Promptorium*. It is amusingly said that 'together' used in addressing several people is the plural of (ba). 'Come to *mine*' for 'my house,' and 'he *live* there he do,' are, as we have seen, pp. 197, 222, 249, by no means peculiar to Nf., but are there very marked.

In this very large district there must be several varieties. We may assume two principal ones, Nf. and Sf. In Nf. we may take a ne. form and nw. form, and a s. or general form. It would, however, be difficult to draw lines of demarcation or to formulate the differences, except in the nw., where, thanks to TH.'s efforts, we know that U becomes transitional, from (ə) in the s. through (o) to (u_{O}) in the n. This is an entirely new discovery, not alluded to in any account of the dialect. Could it have escaped notice? Possibly. A woman of Middleton (4 se. King's Lynn) married a man of Narborough (9 se. K. L.). The woman called *cup* ($k\ddot{e}p$), the man ($k\ddot{u}p$), and they had never noticed that they spoke differently, so that TH. had the greatest difficulty in making the woman recognise the distinction. The *b.* of the nw. variety is, therefore, the s. *sööm* line 2 as determined by TH.'s personal observations. The ne. variety may be presumed to extend to about Buxton (9 n. Norwich), and the s. variety to occupy the rest of the county.

In Sf. it seems necessary to distinguish two varieties, e. and w., which appear to be tolerably distinct. At least the w. form, as

illustrated by the Pakenham specimen, differs materially from the e. form as contained in the Framlingham and Orford specimens and the Southwold owl.

The order in which these varieties will be treated and discussed is: Var. i., nw.Nf., as nearest related to the n. varieties of D 18; Var. ii., ne.Nf., of which I have the most complete account; Var. iii., s.Nf., where I first wrote dialect from dictation in 1868; Var. iv., e. Sf., of which I have three accounts; and Var. v., w.Sf., where I have only one example, but that is highly characteristic.

VAR. i. nw.NORFOLK FORM.

This was examined by TH. in 1882-3 from three centres, King's Lynn, Swaffham and Hunstanton. The dt. from Narborough, p. 263, gives the general character of the whole variety. As it seems unnecessary to distinguish the places in this limited variety, I have placed them in three groups, as marked by the letters L, S, H in the following owl. At first, of course, each place had to be carefully distinguished, in order to ascertain if there were any differences.

nw.NORFOLK owl.

formed from wn. by TH., in the neighbourhoods of King's Lynn, Swaffham, and Hunstanton.

H Hunstanton with Heacham, Holme, Old Hunstanton and Snettisham.

L King's Lynn with Marham, Middleton, Terrington St. Clements, Wiggenhall and Wolferton.

S Swaffham with Ashill, Downham Market, Great Dunham and Narborough.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 L *neem*. A'- 67 LS *gōen* [going]. 81 H *le"im*. 93 H *sná'u*. A': 104 LS *rood*. 115 HLS *oom* [Holme is called (tōlm)]. Æ- 138 HLS *faadhv*. Æ: 161 LS *dee*, H *de"i*. Æ'- 185 L *riid*. 200 L *wiit*, S *weet*. Æ': 223 L *dhe"v*. 224 L *we"v*. E- 233 S *spiik*. 251 S *meet*. E: 261 L *see*, S *se"i*. 262 L *wee*, HS *we"i*. E'- 299 S *griin*. E: 314 S *ied*. EA'- 347 L [between] *ed* *e'd*, S *e'd*. EA': 353 S *brèd*. 366 LS *grèt*. EO: 395 L [between] *joq* *juq*. 396 H *wæk*. 402 L *laan læn*. EO'- 419 L *jaa* [your]. EO': 437 L *trùth*. EY- 438 L *dái*, S [between] *dái da"i* *dái*. I'- 494 S [between] *táim ta"im*. I': 500 S *lák*. O: 531 L *daate*, LS *daate*. O'- 555 LS *shun*. 556 S *ta'u*. 557 L *túu*. 559 S *madhv*. 560 LS *skuul*. 562 H *móim*, S *muun*. 564 H *suun*. 566 S *adhv* *u dhv*. 568 L *brædhv* *brodhv* *bræ dhv*. O': — H [between] *grá'u* *grá'u* [grow]. 586 HL *dúu*. 587 S *dùn*. 588 H *na'un*. U- 605 S *sò'n*. 606 LS *dòv*. 607 H *botv*. U: 612 L *sò'm*. — L *tomb'l* *tomb'l* *tu mb'l*. 629 S *su'n*. 632 L *ap* *op* *u p*. 633 L *káp* *kóp* *ku p*, H *ku p*, S *káp* *ku p*. U'- 643 S *na'u*. U': 658 S *dá'un*, H *de"un*. 659 L *tə'un*. 663 LS *ə'us*.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 767 S [between] *náiz* *na"iz*. 790 L *gjä'und*. U. — L *təb* *tob* *tu b*. 796 L *ble'un*. 803 L *djəmp* *djəmp* *dju mp*. — L *tə'un* [tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — S *pleez* [please]. E.. 869 H *wiil*. — S *prætʃ* [preach]. 885 H *weri*. I.. *and* Y.. 901 S [between] *fə'in* *fə'in*. O.. — L *pəmp* *pəmp* *pu mp*. — L *mət'n* *mot'n* *mu t'n*. U.. — S *müzik*, LS *mə'uzik* [music].

Notes to nw. Norfolk ewl.

The uncertainty in the use of (ə, o, u) was very great, as shewn in several cases in the ewl. These pron. came generally from different people at the same place. See the case of the woman from Middleton (4 se. King's Lynn) and her husband, a native of Narborough (6 se. Middleton, 9 se. King's Lynn), on p. 261, l. 11 from bottom. In the following dt. from Narborough only (ǣ) and not (u) is used. From the same place TH. got the sentences (gʒi)mi v kǣp' v)ti) give me a cup of tea, (kǣt dhat tri dǣ'um) cut that tree down, (ǣi)l flǣ ʒǣ vǣ'iv) I'll flay you alive, (ʒǣ skǣ'undrel, ʒu)l kǣt um ǣǣ ǣp) you scoundrel, you'll cut them all up, (ʒǣ vǣr,ʒmen, ǣi)l kʒil)ʒǣ) you vermin [ob-

serve v not u], I'll kill you, (ǣ'i want ʒǣ'u tʒǣps tǣ ʒǣ v dǣ'ikem) I want you chaps to go a diking or ditching.

For the use of (w) for (v), TH. was told the following at Holme (16 ne. King's Lynn), (Nǣlsen wǣz v wǣri wǣliǣnt mǣn, ǣi wǣ'ù, i sǣild in v wǣsǣl kǣ'ld dʒǣ Wikterǣ) Nelson was a very valiant man, I vow, he sailed in a vessel called the Victory.

The omission of the s in the 3rd pers. sg. of verbs was shewn by (mǣ'i shù tǣ)mi) my shoe fits me, (i liv ǣp [ǣp] dʒǣ) he lives up there, (ǣ ekspekt it dǣ'u) I expect it does. The last word illustrates the treatment of O' as TH. heard it. It would be usually heard and treated as (dyɣ₁, dɣ₁, dɪɪ).

NARBOROUGH (9 se. King's Lynn) dt.

pal. in 1883 by TH. from dict. of Robert Cater, 70, native, who had lived there 30 years, and then at Swaffham 30, and at Norwich 10, farm-labourer, retired.

1. sǣ ǣ'i sǣ, tǣgʒǣdʒǣ, luk ǣv, ʒu)si nǣ'u dʒǣt)ǣ'i)m rǣ'it vǣǣ'ut dhat lit'l mǣǣdʒǣ kǣmǣn frǣm skuul ʒǣnde.

2. shi)z ʒǣbn dǣ'um dʒǣ rǣd dʒǣv trǣ'u dʒǣ)rǣd ʒjǣt ǣn dʒǣ left and sǣ'id v) dʒǣ)wǣ'i.

3. ǣ'i)l bi blǣud, dʒǣ lit'l mǣǣdʒǣ v)ʒǣn strǣ'it ǣp tǣ)dʒǣ)rǣq dʒǣ [ǣ'us],

4. wǣv shi)l vǣvǣ lǣ'ikli fǣ'ind dhat drǣqk'n def felv v)wi)ǣǣ kǣǣ ǣuld :tom, i)z ʒjǣt'n lǣ'ik v)skjǣlit'n, tǣgʒǣdʒǣ.

5. wi)ǣǣ nǣu [him vǣvǣ wǣl.

6. wǣnt dʒǣ ǣuld tʒǣp suun tǣtʒ)ǣrǣ fǣrǣ)nǣt tǣ)du)it ǣn' mǣv, pǣv mǣǣdʒǣ!

7. luk ǣv ! it)s trǣ'u wǣt ǣ'i sǣd.

The following words omitted from the dt. were supplied afterwards: 1. (mǣts) mates, (ʒǣl) girl. 3. (shǣ'uǣ) sure, (wǣǣ) enough; (tʒǣ'ild) child.

4. (tʒǣns) chance, and for shr-, (shrimps shrǣ'ud, shrimps shroud; (nǣm) name. 6. (thi)q). The (ǣ'i) seemed at times to tend to (ǣ'i).

VAR. ii. ne.NF. FORM.

For this I am principally indebted to the Rev. J. R. Philip Hoste, vicar of Farnham, Surrey, a native of Stanhoe (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea), from whose dictation I pal. the complete wl. in 1877, and the dt. in 1879, and with whom I went over all Forby's account of Norfolk pronunciation, which I have introduced in the ewl. Mr. Hoste was full of enthusiasm on the subject, and obligingly came up to London expressly on two occasions and worked with me many hours each time.

STANHOE (:stæ'ne) dt.

pal. 1879 by A.JE. from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native.

1. so ái see'i, MEETS, JÆ'u sii nu'u dhæt ái)m r_ov'it ebe'ut dha't lí'tl maadhé kámen fr_om dhe skíy₁l J_ondé.

2. shíy_z egóo'én dæ'am dhe r_oóo'd dhée'v t_ríy₁ dhe _oed gríet én dhe líft hánd se'id v₁ dhe we'i.

3. sy₁er éna_f dhe maadhé h_e gán stre'íqt ep te dhe dhúer_o v dhe r_osq v'ús,

4. wéev shí'l t₁aa_{ns} te fáínd dhæt dr_osqk₁'n de_f shr_ov'ld fále v dhe nééim v :tómás.

5. wí aal ná'u ím wer_oi we'l.

6. woont dhe óuld t₁æp sy₁m teet₁ er_o not te dy₁)ít ege'n, páuv thíq!

7. luk)v éent ít tríy₁?

Notes.

1. *coming*, but the *a-* reappears comes (ma'v) in calling. 6. *won't* in I see her a-coming (ái sii er_o (woont) becomes (óont) when not beginning a sentence. 3. *mauthor* (maadhé) be-

STANHOE cwl.

pal. by A.JE. 1877, from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, to which are added the words from Forby's account of the Norfolk pron. that Mr. Hoste acknowledged (* prefixed), or for which he gave with a different pronunciation († prefixed). I cannot always be certain of (ee ee) or (e e) or (æ, a¹). On (óu, æ'u), see p. 268. All the (r) are really (r_o). The frequent "gradual glottid [p]" seems to have been a personal peculiarity. I retain it, but it may be neglected. The (u₁) is a deeper (u), see Introduction to Midland div. Forby's name is contracted to F, and Mr. Hoste's to H. There are also

B words from Burnham (4 ne.Stanhoe, 5 w.Wells-on-Sea), given me in writing by C. H. Everard, Esq., native, acquainted with the dialect 28 years, then at Eton Coll., only the differences from Mr. H. are noted.

W Rev. C. T. Digby, long rector of Warham (2 se.Wells-next-Sea), gave a long wl. mainly agreeing with this, a few differences are inserted.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bee'ík. 4 tee'ík. 5 mee'ík. 6 meed. 7 see'ík. — †kreed'l [cradle, F has (kriid'l)]. 8 *hev *hez [bas; (híav) W]. 9 bi'heev [bihieev W]. 10 haa [hóizez, B, pl. only]. 12 saa [(saa'in) has no euphonic r]. 13 naa. 14 draaa. 16 daan. 17 laaa, laa+r [before a vowel]. 18 keek. 19 tee'il. 20 leem. 21 heem. 22 teem. 24 sheeem. 25 meen. 26 weel. 27 heev. 28 héev. — *staa [stare]. — *flaa [flare]. 31 leet. 32 deeth. 33 †radhe [radhe reedhe B]. 34 la'st. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 thee. A: 40 koom. — *swan [swan]. 41 *theqk. 43 hrend. 44 hend *íand [more gen. in St.]. — *sandi [sandy, more gen. in St.]. 47 *wa'ndé. — *kín [can, unemphatic]. 51 mén. 53 kien. 54 †wa'nt [(wáent, F and W)]. 55 es-hez. 56 wesh *wesh. 57 [(d₁akí) used for ass]. A: or O: 58 †trám [trám, F]. 57 kem. 60 lóq. 61 éna'q [éna'q B]. 62 stróq. 63 thróq [tróq W]. 64 róq. 65 sóq. 66 thóq.

A'- 67 góou. 69 nóou. 70 tóou. 71 wóou. 72 híyy₁. 73 sóou. 74 tiyy₁ [tíu B]. 75 str_ou₁k. 76 tuu₁d. 77 lóou₁d. 78 á'u. 79 á'un. 80 ó'edí. 81 leen. 83 moom. 84 móov. 85 sóov. 86 úets. 87 thooz. 88 thoo₁dh. 89 booth. 90 blá'u. 91 má'u. 92 ná'u. 93 sná'u. 94 króu. 95 thra'u [tra'u W]. 96 sá'u. 97 sá'uld [soold B]. 98 ná'un. 99 thra'un. 100 sóán. A': 101 óok. 102 áks. 104 róod. 105 rid W. 106 brood.

107 *hu*'f. 108 *də'u*. 109 *lə'u*. 110 **nət* [especially by the women]. 111 *v'ut* [(*s'ut*) F]. 113 **hu*'l. 114 **məl* [if it is mole in this sense]. 115 *uu*'m. 118 **bu*'n. 119 *gu*'n. 122 *nan*. 123 *nothin* [(*ná'ut*) F]. 124 **stu*'n [stan BW]. 125 *u*'ml̩ *wan* [only one, (əndlu) W]. 126 *oov*. 127 *hóovs*. 128 *dhooz*. 129 *guu*'st. 130 *boot*. 131 *goot*. 132 *hət*. 133 *root* [generally (*rit*) W]. 134 *úeth* [not (*wath*)]. 135 *flaath*.

Æ- 138 *taadh*. — †*ladhu* [ladder, F. writes *lutther*, which may be a misprint for *lutther*]. 140 *hee'*l. 141 †*nee'*l [(*náil*) F]. 142 [(*dodmen*) used for *suul'*]. 143 *tee'*l. 145 *slee'*in. 146 *mee'*in. 147 *bree'*in. 148 [i: (*faa+r*) F, see after 887]. 149 *bleez*. 150 *lest* [leest B]. 152 *waatu*. 153 *satedi*. Æ: 155 *thetj* [thak W]. — **sta'*f [staff]. 157 *reev'*n. — **gedhu* [gather]. 158 *aatu*. 160 *eg*. 161 *de'*i [(*dee*) W]. 163 *lee'*i. 164 *mee'*i [(*mii*) B, written *mē*]. 166 †*mee'*id [(*máid*) F]. 167 *baenhen* [(*dáid*) B (Burnham *Deepdale*)]. 168 *teu* [töu B]. 169 *wen* **wæn*. — **wasp* [wasp]. 170 *avest*. — **baa* [bare]. 171 *baali*. 172 *graas*. 173 *wəz*. 174 *esh*. — **gla*'s. 175 *faajst*. 178 *naet*. 179 *wət*. 181 *paath*.

Æ'- 182 *see*. — **blitj* [bleach]. 183 *tee'*tj. 184 *leed*. 185 *reed*. — **ridi* [ready]. — †*spriid* [(*spreed*) F]. 186 *braedth* [breth W]. 187 *leev*. 188 *nee'*i. 189 †*wee'*i [(*wái*) F, not known to H]. 190 *kee*. 191 *hi*'l. 192 *mee'*n. 193 *kleen*. 194 *eni*. 195 *meni* [(*menē*) W]. — **aerend* [errand]. 196 *wéev*. 197 *tjeez*. 199 *bleet*. 200 *weet*. 201 *hezd'h'n* [(*haedh'n*) W]. 202 *heet*.

Æ': 203 *spee'*tj. 204 *dii*'d. 205 **trid*. 206 *red*. 207 *nid'*l. 208 **ivv*. 210 *klee'*i. 211 †*gree'*i [(*gree*) and (*grái*) F, not known to H]. 213 **eedha* [(*áidhu*) F, not known to H]. 214 **needhu*. 215 *taat* [(*teetj*) used]. 216 *dii*'l **deel*. 217 **itj*. 218 *ship*. 219 *shíp*. 222 *héev* [(*hiiv*) written *heer* B]. 223 *dhéev*. 224 *wéev*. — **a'li* **eeli* [early]. 225 *flesh*. 226 *moost*. 227 *wet*. 228 *swet*. 229 *braeth*. 230 *iet*.

E- — †*tred* [(*triid*) F, tread]. 233 *speek*. 234 *need*. — **wadh* **wædhu* [weather]. 235 *weev*. 236 *feevv*. 237 *ble'in* [usually called (*ku'ibz*)]. 238 *hedj* [(*hidj*) W]. 239 *se'*l. 241 *re'in*. 242 †*twee'in* [(*twáin*) F]. 243 *ple'i*. 246 *ku'in* [queen, but *qaan* is not used]. 247 *wéen*. 249 *wéev* [(*wiiv*) W]. 250 *swéev* [(*swiiv*) W]. 251 *meet*. 252 **kit'*l. 253 *naet'*l. — **fadh* [feather]. 254 **ladhu* [F says often (*ladhu*) especially in Sf]. 255 [(*wadha*) wether sheep, according to F, not known to H]. — [(*batej*) better F].

E: 257 *edj*. 258 *sedj*. 259 *wedj*. 260 *le'*i. 261 *se'*i. 262 *we'*i [wee W]. 264 *e'*l. 265 *stretj*. — **fiid* [field]. 267 **jid*. 268 *eldest*. — **sáidum* [seldom]. 272 *elm*. 273 **min*. 274 *bentj*. 275 *stentj*. 276 *thiqk*. 278 *wentj*. 280 *kev'n* [(*velev'n*) B]. 281 *keqkth*. 282 *streqkth*. — **hin* [hen]. 283 *meri* B [written "*merer*, so final *y* always"]. — †*mesh* [marsh F, (*mesh*) as I got from Enfield, Mi. p. 235]. 284 *thresh* [here (*thr-*) is used, not (*tr*), but (*trəsh*) W]. 285 *kriisez*. — **baast* [burst]. 287 *haev*. 287 *beesum* [(*besom*) not used, B]. — **set'*l [settle]. 288 *let*.

Æ'- 289 *jii*. 290 *hi*'i. 291 [*thou*, *thee* are not used]. 292 *mii*. 294 *fiid*. 295 *bred*. 296 *bileev*. 297 **íale*. 298 *feel*. 299 *grün*. 300 *kíp*. 301 *hiiv* **héev*. 302 *meet*. 303 *sweet*. 304 *bee t'l*.

Æ': 305 *he'*i. 306 *he't* [(*ha'ith*) W]. 307 *ne'*i. 308 *need*. 309 *spee'*l *spiid*. 310 *heel*. 311 *ten*. 312 *héev*. 313 [(*harken*) not used]. 314 *hiid*. 315 *tít*. 316 *naekst*.

EA- 317 *ílee* [(*hi*) B written *flee*]. 319 *gaap*. 320 **kjee'*v. EA: 321 *saa*. 322 *laajt* [(*laa'tj*) F]. 323 *fa'ut*. 324 *ett*. 325 *waak*. 326 †*a'uld*, [(*occ.*) **a'ud*]. 327 *ba'uld*. 328 †*ka'uld* **ka'ud*. 329 *ía'uld*. 331 †*sa'uld* **sa'ud*. 332 *ía'uld* **ía'ud*. 333 **kaa'tj*. 334 *aa'tj*. 335 *aal*. 337 *waal*. — **béed* [beard]. 340 *jaad*. 342 *aa[r]*m. 343 *waam* [(*waam*) B]. 345 **daa*. 346 *geet*. — **weks* [wax].

EA'- 347 **hid*. 348 *v'i*. — **aa+r* [ear]. 349 *íu'u* [F.'s third sound of *ou*, (*tyv*) B]. EA': 350 †*deed* [(*díid*) F]. 351 *leed*. 352 *red*. 353 *breed*. 354 *sheef* [(*shoif*) W]. 355 †*dejt* [(*diit*) F]. 356 †*leef* [(*liit*) F]. 357 *thə'u*. — **afu* [(*heifer*)]. 359 †*nee'ibu* [(*neebe*) and (*nábe*) F, not known to H, (*niabu*) W]. 360 *teem*. 361 **beev*. 362 *slee*. 363 *tjeep*. 366 *grit*. 367 *trit*. 368 *deth*. 369 *slə'u*. 370 *raa*. 371 *straa*.

EI- 373 dhEE *dhee. 474 DEE. 375 REEZ. 376 BEET [ba'it W]. EI: 377 steek. 378 week. 381 SWEEN. 382 *dhuue dhaa¹, *dhéee.

EO- 383 saev'n. 384 *hiv'n. 385 binee'th [binee'n W]. 386 *JA'nu. 387 n'iy₁. EO: 388 milk. 389 Jook [Jalk W]. 390 shad, *shad [occ.] — *selvb [silver]. — †Jale [yellow, F (Jalb)]. 394 Jende. 396 wak [wak W]. 397 swad [B merely says "pronounce *w*"]. 398 staav. 399 br'e'it. — haa'n [burn]. 400 *aanest. 401 jaan. 402 *laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 405 haathst₁n [not used without *stone*]. 406 *éevth †a¹th. 407 faad'n.

EO- 409 beel. 411 trii. 412 shii. — *bed [bid]. 413 divil. 414 fr'e'i. 415 h'e'i. — [(fr'e'iz) freeze F, not known to H]. 416 déev. 417 tja'u W. 418 br'yy₁. 420 fa'uv [f'auv W]. 421 f'outi [f'oute W].

EO: 423 th'e'i. 424 raf *ra'u. 425 le'it. 426 fe'it. 427 bii. 428 see. 429 find. 430 *frind. 431 *béev. 432 f'outh. 433 *brist. 434 beet. 435 ja'u. 436 tr'yy₁ tr'yy₁th. EY- 438 de'i [d'e'i B]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wak. 441 siv. 442 v'ivi [(a'ivvri) always B]. 443 fr'e'ide. 444 st'e'ld. 446 ne'in [n'o'in B]. — *jis [yes]. 448 dhiiz. 449 git. 450 tyyzdi. 451 se'u.

I: 452 v'i. 454 w'itj. 455 le'i. — *thaa'd [third]. — *baa'd [bird]. 457 me'it. 458 ne'it. 459 re'it. 460 weet. 462 se'it. 464 w'itj. 465 si'tj. 466 tpe'ld. 467 we'ld. 468 t'ldren. 471 timbu. 472 shraqk. 473 bla'ind [no *d* W]. 474 ra'ind. 475 we'ind [not (wind)]. 476 ba'ind [no *d* W]. 477 fa'ind [no *d* W]. 478 gra'ind [no *d* W]. 481 f'iqgv. 484 dhis. 485 this'1. 486 jist [jest B]. 487 jaestudee [jistudee B]. 488 *jit. — *set [sit]. — *daa't [dirt]. — *t'it [teat].

I'- 490 be'i. 491 se'i. 493 dr'e'iv [pret. *(dr'ev) drove, not the noun (droov)]. 494 te'im. 496 v'ien. 497 br'e'iz. 498 re'it. I': [B "all the i's = *oy*" (o'i)]. 500 le'ik. 501 we'id. 502 fe'iv. 504 ne'if. 505 we'if. 506 wa'men [w'amen W]. 507 wim'n. 508 me'ld. 509 we'id. 511 we'ind. 512 spe'ir. 513 we'iv. 514 v'is. 515 we'is. 516 wizdem.

O- 520 bou. 521 fool. — *dra'p [drop]. 522 oop'n. 523 hoop. 524 wald [wald B]. O: 526 kopf [kaaf B]. 527 baat [(ba'at) F]. 528 thaat [(tha'at) F]. 529 braat. 530 raat. 531 daatv. 532 kool. 533 dal [d'vl B]. 534 h'ou'l. 536 gra'ld. 537 ma'ld. 538 wad *wad [occ.] 540 h'oli [in e.Nf. (halv)]. 542 bo'lt. 545 hap. 547 bo'ed. 548 f'oord. 549 ho'od. 550 *wa'ld [wad W]. 551 staa. 552 kaan. 553 haan. — maan'in [(maanin) morning F]. 554 kraas.

O'- [B says: "all *u*'s pronounced in correct Engl. *oo*, Norfolkers pronounce *ü*." that is, O' = (yy₁)]. 555 shyy₁. 556 te. 557 tyv₁. 558 lak. 559 ma'jdhv. 561 blyym. 562 *m'yyym. 563 mand'i. 564 *s'yyyn. 565 nooz. 566 adhv. O': 569 bak. 570 tok [(took) F]. 571 gud. — *had [hood]. 572 blad. 573 flad. 574 bryy'd. 575 stud. — *sa'it [soft]. — *raf [root]. 577 ba'u. 578 pla'u. 579 enaf [sg.], ene'u [pl.], [(ena'u), and (eni'u) F pl.]. 580 ta'u [rare], taf. 581 so'out [(sa'ut) F]. 582 k'yy'l. 583 t'yy'l. 584 st'yy'l. 585 *bryym [F, also has 'a harren brum' = (v ha'i'n bram), but it is not known to H]. 586 dyy₁. 587 dan. 588 n'yyyn. 589 *sp'yyyn. *span'ful [spoonful]. 590 floov. 591 [(m'yyiv) F, H says not in use, F. also gives (m'ooov)]. 592 sw'ood. — *giyyis [goose]. 593 mast. 594 by'it. 595 *fat. 596 ryy'it. 597 sat.

U- — *wad [wood]. 599 vboov. 600 lav. 601 fe'ul. 602 se'u. 603 kam. 605 san. 606 duuv. 607 bate.

U: 608 agli. 609 id, *fal. — *pal [pull]. 610 *wal. 611 bulek. 612 sam. 613 draqk. 614 he'und [h'oune W, perhaps (he'vn), and so for 615, 617, 621, 601, 602, etc., see p. 268]. 615 pe'und. 617 se'und. 618 we'und. 619 fe'und. 620 gre'und [gr'vn W]. 621 we'und. 622 ande. 625 t'qv. 626 haqgv. 628 nan. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 thazdi. 632 ap. 633 kap. 634 tr'yy₁ [= 436]. — *kaa's *kaas *kas [curse]. 635 wath. 636 *f'ade [but F considers this as an alteration of *farther*]. 637 task [t'ashez, pl.]. 638 bask. 639 dast.

U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 643 ne'u. 645 de'u. 646 ba'u. 647 v'ul. 648 a'uv. 649 th'uzvnd. 652 kud *kad [occ.]. 653 bat. U': 654 shra'ud. 655 fe'ul [= 601]. 656 rumm. 657 br'e'vn. 658 de'vn. 659 te'vn.

660 ba'uv. 661 sha'uv. 662 as. 663 v'us, v'usez. 664 lu'us. 665 mu'us. 666 hazbend. 667 v'ut. 668 pre'ud. 669 ankjy'ith. 670 byy'ith. 671 me'uth. 672 su'ath.

Y- 673 matj. 676 lu'i. 677 drv'i. 678 din [(daly) dolour, used for noise]. 679 tpatj. 680 bizi. Y: 683 mandj W. 684 bridi. 685 ridj [rindj W]. 686 be'i. 687 lre'it. 688 bald. — *kel [kiln]. — *mel [mill]. 690 ku'ind. 691 me'ind. 693 sin. 696 bath [bath W]. 697 beri [bare W]. 698 math. 699 ru'it. — *haanet [hornet]. 700 was [also (waa's) F]. 701 fajst. — *shet [shut, F also gives (shit)]. 703 *pet. 704 wiks'n [only applied to a woman, the animal is called by the labourers a (bitj foks)]. Y' - 705 ske'i. 706 we'i. 707 thattiu. 708 he'i'v. Y: 709 fe'i'v. 711 lu'is. 712 me'is [but I have (miis) from s. and e.Nf.].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 baed. 714 laed. 715 paed. 716 aed'l [to thrive as plants]. — *waed'l [waddle]. 717 dreed. 718 treed. 719 tadpool. — *ra'ft [raft]. 720 fæg. 722 dree'in. 723 deebri. 724 baald. 725 seel. 727 djæm. 728 shaem. 729 freem. — *swamp [swamp]. — *gla'us [glance]. 730 kante. 733 sküed [scared]. 734 daan. — *haesh [harsh]. 735 smaesh. — *gra'sp [grasp]. — *draa'ft [draught]. — *saa'lute [saunter]. 739 maadhv. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 leezi.

E. — †instead [(insti'nd) F, instead]. 743 skreem. 744 meez'lz. 745 tjeet. 746 breedh. 747 †Endi've [(Endi've) F]. 748 onfedjd [the negative *un-* is always (ən)]. — *tjeev [cheer]. — *héev [to hear]. — *snéev [to sneer]. — *fléev [to floor]. 749 leff. 750 beg. — *malv [mellow]. — *aldu [elder, tree]. 751 piüt.

I. and Y. 753 tit'l. 755 filbet. 756 shrimp. — *stent [stint]. 757 te'ini. 758 gal. 759 fit.

O. 761 lood [lood W]. 762 ook'm. 763 room. 764 kəd'l. 767 ne'iz. 768 kook. — *skald [scold]. 769 mæl. — røl [roll]. — [(skrøl) F, scroll]. 771 fənd. 772 bəne'iv. 773 dik'i [compare (djæ'ki) 57]. 774 həbi [the form used]. — *n'yyz [noose]. 777 shəp. — *sla p [slop]. 778 rtoūd. 780 d'ps'l. 783 pooltri. 784 ba'ams. 786 dæ'us. 787 saus. 789 re'u. 790 gæ'und.

U. — *skwæb [squab]. — *pad'n [a pudding]. 793 hæg. 794 djæg. 795 shrag. — *palj [a pulley]. 801 ram. 802 ram. — †band'l [(band'l) bundle F]. — †bantj [(bantj) bunch F]. — †pantj [(pantj) punch F]. 805 *[(kaa'dz) F, not known to H]. — *bəsh [bush]. — *pəs [purse]. 806 fas. 807 †pas [(pas) F]. 808 pat. — [(batj) bntty, comrade].

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 eeb'l. — *sek [sack]. 810 fees. 811 plees. 812 lees. — *katj [catch]. 814 meesne [sim. (my'zi'shne) musician]. 815 faks. 816 fed. 817 *redish. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 dile'e'i. 822 mee'e'i. 823 bee'i. 824 tjeev *tjaa. 826 eeg'l. — [(dāin) deign F, unknown to H.] 827 eegv. 828 eegv [=827]. — †fee'il [(fāil) F]. 829 †gee'in [gāin F]. — *plee'in [(plāin) F, plain]. 830 tree'in. — [(tjīn) chain F, is, H says, going out of use]. 832 meeē [F gives (maa+r) generally, but the (meeē+r) of Norway, and Linn]. 833 paa+r. — *plæzv [pleasure]. — †faa'zent [pheasant, (fazent) F]. — *plæzent [pleasant]. 835 reez'n. 836 seoz'n. 837 lees [of birds, but (leesh) of hounds]. 838 tre'lt. 839 beel. 840 tjambe. 841 tjaans. 842 plæqk. 843 braantj. 844 trentj. — *paa'ntj [H nasalises (aa')]. 845 anshunt. 847 dandv. 849 strandv. 850 *daa'ns. 851 *aa'nt [H nasalises (aa')]. — *dji'nwəri [January]. 852 cepen. — *maatjeut [merchant]. 853 baagin. 854 barel. 855 kerret. — *skees [scarce]. 856 paat. 857 kees. 858 bree. — ka'sk [cask]. 859 tjees. 860 peest. 861 teest. — †naty'pul [natural, F (nee-)]. 863 tjeef. 864 kəz. 865 faat. 866 †pāne [(pōue) F].

E. 867 tee. 868 djee'i. 869 wee'l [(wiil) written weel B]. 870 by'iti [biuti B]. — †gléeib [glebe (glē'ib) F]. 871 ugrü. 872 tjif. — [(vāin)

vein F, not known to H]. 875 fapht. 876 deenti. — [(obái) obey F, not known to H]. 877 éev. — †pée'in [(pá'in) F]. 878 seleri. — *trimb'l [tremble, (d'de) didder used]. 879 feemeel [not in use]. — *tampu [temper]. 880 egzaam'p'l. 881 sens. 882 pænzi. 884 prentes. — †sá'itj [séetj] F, search]. 887 tlaadji. — *waam'nt [vermin, F does not mention the initial *w* or final *nt*, see p. 263, col. 2, l. 1]. — *saam'nt [sermon]. — íéve [a hair, (fiie) W]. 888 saatín. 889 see's. — *mæze [measure]. 890 beest. 891 feest. — [(lâte] letter, F]. 892 neve. — *re'd [foil]. 893 thá'uv. — [(kensá'v) conceive F, not known to H]. 894 daseev. 895 ríseev [(risá'it) receipt F, not known to H].

I.. and Y.. 897 dile'at. 898 ne'is. 899 nee'is. 900 pree. 901 fe'in. 902 me'in. 904 we'det. 905 re'at. 906 we'qv. 907 tre'is. 908 udwe'is. 909 breez. 910 dpe'ist. 911 *sesten. — *strav [strove, a false pret. of *strive*, which should be *strived* or *striv*]. 912 re'is.

O.. 913 kóoutj. 914 bróotj. — *s'vil [soil]. 915 staf. 916 inen. 917 roog. 918 teeb'l. 919 v'intment. — dpe'an [join]. 920 *pe'nt. 921 akóée'nt. — *pe'iz'n [poison]. 922 *báshel. — [(léi'ze) lei-sure F, unknown to H]. 923 *me'ist. 924 tpe'is. 925 we'is. — [(dról) drole F]. 926 *spe'd. — [(ham) bomb, F]. 927 traqk. 928 á'ams. 929 ká'ukumbu. 930 le'in. 931 dja'gle. 932 vma'ant. 933 *írant. 934 be'antí. 935 ká'ntri. 936 *íant. 937 kák. 938 kaanv. 939 tlóoz. 940 koot. 941 *fíyy'l. 942 bativ. 943 tatj. 945 wá'u. 947 *be'd. 948 ba'ad [(te ba'ad v hyy'p) to bowl a hoop]. — *nas *naas [nurse]. 952 kóobv [coarse]. 953 káz'n. 954 kásh'n. 955 de'at. — *prá'v *prá'f [prove proof]. — *mæv [move], F has also occ. (miiv). 956 kive. 957 uph'e'i. 958 íree'e. 959 kunwee [(kenwá'v) F, not known to H].

U.. 960 kii [in e.Nf.]. 961 gryy'el. 963 kwe'at. 964 sy'iet. 965 v'd. — *distre'i' [destroy]. 966 íryy'it. 967 s'yy'it. 968 v'istv. 969 syy'iv. 970 dpe'ist. 971 ílyy'it.

Mr. Everard (B) says intonation "thin, clear, rising in pitch at end," and that "the high key, the length of time they dwell on the accented syllable, are the most marked characteristics."

Notes made from interview with Rev. Philip Hoste, 15 Nov. 1877.

The aspirate is very fairly pronounced, but is occasionally put in the wrong place. Mr. Everard (B) says it is always rightly used.

el-, gl- become (tl-, dl-).

(w) is always used for (v), but not conversely.

205. (Thr-) is frequent enough, as (thra-shold), but (tr-) is regular in some words, as *trii tríp'me tró'dz*, three threepenny threads. 367. (hi tró't'nd m' bæ'db, hi d-d, he threatened me badly, he did.

R is generally treated as in London, final and before consonants, and is at most (r_o) before vowels.

The diphthongs (a'i, a'u) seem to have several different forms. The (a'i) when standing for *I* is (á'v) or (v'i), and the latter seems the regular form. I could not determine whether (á'v) was used by mistake or not. When standing for ÆG, EG, it was generally (e'i, ee'i), as 141, 262, (nee'd, we'i), nail, way. The word *pay* was generally (pée), but when joined to a word gave (pe'i mi), pay me: again, (fe'i v'at dhə

həl), fay [or clean] out the holl [or hedge]. The (a'u) has the forms (v'u) and (á'u) as nearly as I could distinguish. The (v'u) seems regular for U', EOW, EA'W, and (á'u) regular for A'W, thus: (shí sət oo've dhí fe'ar v-sv'á'v v pəkət-ha'ketjə, ən dhí faa'dhə hii went v'at tə sá'u dhí kóovn), she sat over the fire a-sewing a pocket-handkerchief, and the father *he* went out to sow the corn. The (á'u) is sometimes difficult to distinguish from (ó'u), thus to throw, to sow, when compared seem to give (thrá'u, só'u). Generally (v'u) sounded like a faint (ó'u), but at other times I found it difficult to distinguish (v'u, á'u), as in 645, 108, (de'u, dá'u), dove, dough. Mr. Hoste, however, seemed to have no hesitation, and was consistent. See Forby's remarks, p. 270.

O' regularly generates (í'y₁) or (yy₁), a deeper (y), sometimes begun with the mouth open. Mr. Shelly, a Nf. man, long resident in Plymouth, finds Nf. (y₁) resemble Dv. (y₁) p. 163, but in Dv. (í'y₁) does not occur. I use identical symbols in Dv. and Nf. because I cannot

formulate the difference. The *A'* words *who two*, owing, perhaps, to the influence of *w* on the vowel, become (h'vy₁, t'vy₁) occ. (tyy₁). I noted (555 shyy₁, 557 tyy₁, 561 blyy₁m, 562 m'yy₁n, 564 s'yy₁n, 574 bryy₁d, 582 k'yy₁l, 583 t'yy₁l, 584 st'yy₁l, 586 dyy₁, 588 n'yy₁n, 589 sp'yy₁u, 594 byy₁t, 596 ryy₁t) shoe too bloom moon soon brood cool tool stool do noon spoon boot root. 585 broom was (bryy₁m) when alone or initial, as in (bryy₁mstik'), but (brām) final, as (héeubrām) hair broom. If the vowel *O'* had become shortened or compounded with (gh), this effect was lost, as (558 lək, 559 mādhu, 563 māndi, 566 adhu, 570 tək, 571 gad, 572 blād, 573 flād, 575 stud, 577 bā'u, 578 plā'u, 580 tā'u, 595 fāt, 597 sāt) look mother Monday other took good blood flood stood bough plough tough foot soot, and (579 en'v'u ən'əm, en'f'v'n)t) enough of them, enough of it.

The numerals (wān tyy₁ tr'ii f'v'v'e f'v'v' s'ik sāv'n eet n'v'n tēu lāv'n twelv thati handrəd).

Examination of Forby's Pronunciation.

In Forby (contracted to F.) it is said that "in the neighbourhood of Lynn all short *a* are *e* (E), as *a bed men*, a bad man." TH. observed none such there, but heard (a) in back, apples, understand, that, man.

The vowel marked (a') is described by F. as midway between (aa, ee), and "like the bleat of a very young lamb"; this would be rather (a'e) than (a'), but I take the pronunciation of Mr. Hoste (contracted to H.). Using *b* for before and *a* after a number, it occurs in b157 staff, a174 glass, 333 calf, a719 raft, a729 glance, a735 grasp, 850 dance, a851 cask.

F. gives *snare spare* apparently as (suéev spéev). I neglected to obtain Mr. Hoste's pron. of them, but judging by care (kjéev), they would probably be (sueev spéev).

F. says the pron. of "pit kiln silver stint bid mill cistern sit," with (E or perhaps (e) in place of (i), is not very general, and more in Sf. than in Nf.

F. pron. Nor-folk with (naa-), H. with (uóov-), TH. heard (na'lr'f'ik). After saying long *o* in *shrove, drove* = (x), F. adds. "It has the same sound in *hither* and *wither*," unintelligible unless *It* be a misprint for *I*.

The following words and phrases were also noted.

(n'ar'idi, bati, le'stwaz, bee'v, :sændr'nam paak) Norwich, butty, leastways, beer, Sandringham park.

(hi əld v st'ən at'əm) he hurled—pitched, chucked—a stone at them.

(f'eeft lət'l maa'dhu) fete or pretty little girl.

(l'atu, noo'v'æ'mbe, dis'e'mba, tæmp'e, brəd ən t'p'e'z) letter, November, December, temper, bread and cheese.

(v'u d'je fice t'e dyy₁?) how do you fare to do?

(v réev fantii'g) a rare state of mind.

(v f'e'u braath) a few = some, broth.

(r'af, v haan ə biie, t'j'mbli, brem'b'lz, kmaa'dhu, weeiiz) roof, a hand of barley, chimney, brambles, come hither, (go) ways: these last said to horses to order them to come to or go from the driver.

(v t'rat'men, v lees v baadz, v leesh v h'e'undz) a churchman = a clergyman, a leash of birds, a leash of hounds.

F. states and H. agrees that negative *un-* is always (ən-).

F. says that (shet) shut is universal in Sf. and Nf.

F.'s Italian *ai* in plain gain pain fail nail twain snail, where H. has (ee'v), is, H. thinks, due to F.'s deficient knowledge of Italian, and as for (b'ot) bait, H. has never heard of it. F.'s (aa) in may play pray stay, is H.'s (ee'v), and similarly in pay = (paai in Sir T. Smith, and as was given me at Norwich, H. hears only (p'ee'v)). F. also says that (ái) is occ. found in deign, either, leisure, conceive, vein, weigh, neighbour, receipt, grey, convey, obey, but these S. habits are unknown to H. F. does not mention in what part of East Anglia they are found.

F.'s account of the pron. of *straw law* is unintelligible, but may mean the actual (straa kaa) with, before a vowel, euphonic (r₂), which he seems to think is represented by the *w*. H. does not allow euphonic (r₂) unless there are separate words, thus (saar'iq), but (saar₂)t.

F. gives the (i'v₁) words as having long u (iu), which I assume to mean (i'v₁).

F. gives three sounds of *ou*, *ou* = U', which are difficult to understand by his description. H. knew only two (*v'u*, *a'u*), but I also constantly heard (*e'u*, *æ'u*). F. says: "1. A broad twanging sound somewhat, but not exactly, as if it were written *au-u*." This should be (*ɔ'u*), and probably means (*ɛ'u*), which H. used in (*læ'u*, *dæ'u*, *mæ'u*, *ɛ'u*, *sæ'uld*) low, dough, mow, owe, soul, which are some of F.'s examples; his *ought*, however, seemed to be (*v'ut*), which may be an error, as this was his sound of *out*. "2. The second considerably narrower, and may be attempted by endeavouring to sound the open *a* with *u* after it." This should give (*ä'u*). Of the examples he gives, 'shower, our' were (*shæ'uv*, *ɛ'uv*) according to H. Hence this would be the same as the last. His other examples are power sour devour scour, not given by H. "3. The third is narrower still, and may be described as about midway between the legitimate sound of *ou* and that of long *u*," that is perhaps between (*a'u*) and (*ü*), which might be very various, for the "legitimate sound of *ou*," whatever that be, is itself very various in the mouths of different speakers. His examples, cow sow (*pig?*) how proud, are given as (*ku'u* *se'u* *hu'u* *præ'ud*) by H., but plow (plough) is (*plæ'u*), and crowd does not occur in H.'s words. Hence the three are to H. 1 and 2 (*ɛ'u*), 3 (*v'u*) as given above. But this does not exhaust the question. At Mattishall I had uniformly (*ɔ'u*), at Kimberley (*e'u*), and at Kirby Bedon (*æ'u*), (*ɛ'u*) occurring in *you*. At Buxton (8½ n. Norwich) TH. got (*ne'u*, *ɛbæ'ut*), at Diss (15 e. Thetford) on the border of Sf., TH. had (*kjæ'u*, *dæ'um*) cow down, at Downham Market (10 s. King's Lynn) TH. chiefly records (*ɔ'u*) as at Mattishall, from Narborough TH. got (*ɛ'u*). At Old Hunstanton (14 nne. King's Lynn, and 9 nw. Stanhoe) TH. heard (*dæ'um*), and at Stanhoe itself he heard (*dæ'um* *ne'u*). Hence the sounds of (*a'u*) = U' must be considered variable, (*ɔ'u* *v'u*) may be meant for the same sound, (*ɛ'u*) is a variety of (*ɔ'u*), and (*e'u*) seems to be a variety of (*v'u*). But the information at my disposal is not sufficient to localise or classify these sounds, and F., whose observations extend over all East Anglia, rarely localises.

In the consonants F. and H. hear

(f) for *v* in vane, vetch, vat and [F. not H. in] vagary.

F. finds *qq* = (qg) medially apparently in *bringing*, *flinging* (*brɪŋgɪn*, *flɪŋgɪn*), and finally before a vowel, as (*flɪŋgɪŋgɪn*) *flinging* out; H. does not know it, and it has not been heard *vv*.

F. finds *l* dropped in old, cold, told, sold, hold, and H. also occasionally, *ol* becoming (*ɛ'u*).

F. and H. both find *thr*- invariably (*tr*-) as in throat, thread, threaten, through. See p. 268, note 205.

F. finds *r* and *w* "uniformly substituted for each other," H. only finds (*w*) uniformly for *r* initial. F. adds: "In general *w* for *r* is used by rude rustics, and *r* for *w* by those whose diction has been polished by town breeding." This means that (*w*) is the only hereditary sound, and (*v*) is a new one, and the latter once acquired, is through ignorance used in the wrong place. From Ke. to Nf. is the land of *W*ce.

F. then gives a number of words and corruptions that I have not been able to verify, but many still exist. I palaeotype his spellings as well as I can. (*æshup* *eshup* *ashup*) ash-heap, (*mækep*) muck-heap, (*nætes* *nætes*) neat, or cattle, house, (*dætes* *dæ'tes*) dove-house, (*wædes*) woodhouse, (*se'idæz*) sideways, (:*bræ'id*'l) Bridewell, (*ɔles* *ɔlest*) always, (*wænn*'l *tjɪiz*) one meal cheese, (*shæ'nt* *shæ'nt*), *shan't*, (*kæ'nt* *kæ'nt*) can't, (*woont* *woont*) will not, (*dænt* *dænt* *dænt*) did not, (*shænt*) should not, (*wænt*) would not, (*mæ'nt* *mæ'nt*) may not, (*wænt*) were not, (*iint*) is not, (*eent*) am not, (*beent*) has not, (*hæ'nt* *hænt*) had not, (*tæt*) to it, (*dæt*) do it, (*wæt*) with it, (*hæt*) have it, (*tæbɪn*) it has been. Final *-ive* (*-a'iv*) with stress, as *expens'ive* *abus'ive* *nat'ive*. Final *-able* (*-æ'bul*), as *lament'able* *abomin'able*. Final *-ly'* (*-la'ɪ'*), as *continually'* *certainly'*. Final *-le = ul* (*vl*), as possible. These words not having been written phonetically, I can only conjecture the value of the illustrative syllables and cannot make a guess at the others.

Corruptions as given by F. mostly affect Romance words; only a few are given in the *wl*. when recognised by H. and are marked *. I do not attempt to phoneticise them.

1. *-d*, *-t* added, *attæ-t*, *close-t*, *drown-d*, *epitaph-t*, *gallon-t*, **gown-d*, *margen-t*, *nice-t*, *paragraph-t*, *regi-*

men-t, scholar-d, *sermon-t, Simon-t, *soul-d, surgeon-t, talon-t, *vermin-t, *wine-d.

2. -er added, *mason-er, musician-er, physician-er, team-er.

3. s- prefixed, s-noose s-notch s-quench s-quink s-quit.

4. first syllable changed, the usual form prefixed: bay- bagonet, ca- compact, coat- coat-of-arm, in- discom-mode, di- digest, de- dismish, im- eminent, mo- mislest, pro- perdigious, per- preverse, stark- starnaked, va- vocation.

5. last syllable changed, the usual form subjoined: agash -gast, ballat -ad, becise -cause, bedisle -dizen, chaply -el, chimbly chimly -ney, clash -ss, conquest -course, delightful -ful, drugster -gist, efdidge -igy, fancical -ful, flustrate -ter, jaunders -ice, luxurious -riant, moral -del, notage -tice, otherguest -guise, portmantle -teau, quite -et, refuge -fuse sb., rheu- matics -tism, successfully -ively, timor- some -rous, topsitivity -tury.

6. superfluous letters inserted, italic- ized: bachelor, bing, cavalry, com- monality, confisticate, destolate, dilan- tory, disposial, duberous -bious, enor- merous, flagitious, frairy, furbelow -lough, industerous -trious, mander = manner, partender, properictor, ruinate, solentary = solitary, spreckled, stu- penduous, stuprify, sudges = suds, tre- menduous.

7. letters omitted, inserted in paren- thesis: (to)bacca-o, chai(se), christ(i)an, cur(i)osity, cur(i)ous, debili(t)ate, fie- (ti)tious, ingen(i)ous, necessi(t)ate, ruf- fi(a)n, ted(i)ous [probably (tún)es], ve- (he)ment, (uni)versal, volum(in)ous.

8. Latin corruptions, correct in italics: areyfarsy vice versa, cavy peccavi, cersa- rary certiorari, crissy erisis, davy affi- davit, diddimus dedimus, hazy-prizy nisi prius, hoxy-croxy oxycroceum, hoizon horizon, nolus bolus nolens volens, non- plush nonplunge non plus, primmery primmirey primmire.

9. Unclassed. F.'s phonetic spelling, which I cannot always decipher, prefixed, usual form added in italics: acquese acquiesce, artiflexy apoplexy, bewiddle bewilder, blather bladder, bref kes break- fast, cartract cataract, coalese (in two syllables) coalesce, crowner crouner coroner, cutriments accoutrements, farisee fairy, farrage fairing, fidgy effigy, fishorate officiate, gashful gashly ghastly, hobble hovel, howsomever howsoever,

hume hymn, inquisition inquiry, intos- sicate intosticate intoxicate, intrust in- terest, jocofious jocose, juggler's vein jugular vein, liceners license, miscom- fortune misfortune, miscomhap mishap, narrow-wriggle carwig, neckthorn nec- tarine, newelty neweltry novelty, nottomy anatomy, numpost imposthume, obligate oblige, odious odorous, obstropulous obstreperous, oudacious audacious, pala- ràtock paralytic, permiscous promis- euous, plumpendicular perpendicular, porpus pauper, portingal portugal, pungenet pomegranate, quivy equivocate, rale real, semblitude similitude, sinnable syllable, sinni-ty (-fire) singa-ty (-fire) singma-ty (-fire) signify, scrummage skirmish, speciously especially, spettacle spectacle, sufficate snufficate suffocate, tater tate potatoe, timinate intimidate, trinkle trittle trickle, turpentine walk serpentine walk, vimment vomit, viper's dance St. Vitus's dance, imbombinable abominable, upper hand apprehend, up- perlet epaulet, wagabone vagabond, who- what- when- somedever, who- what- when- soever.

It is evident that all these forms 1 to 8 are not distinctive of any dialect. They were, at least originally, mere mishearings and misrenderings of un- familiar words quite out of the speaker's range, and though they may have been handed down from parent to child, they are not the property of any one locality, but are more or less common property. Having been collected, however, prob- ably from actual hearing, by F. and his informants, they are worth repeat- ing, to shew the extraordinary way in which words can be disfigured and twisted when unfamiliar.

F. adds something about Nf. gram- mar. Some of the things may be noted.

the, omitted before familiar objects after prepositions: walk into house, go up chamber, put the apples into basket, turn the dog into yard, come out of barn. II. says this is going out of use.

substantive pl. in -en, housen, closen, cheesen, only.

adj. in -en, hornen spoons, tinnen pots, glassen bottles, eldern berries, Eastern Sunday.

superlatives: lessest, worstest, littlest, as old as old, bone-dry, gall-bitter, slug-slow, frog-cold, dog-tired.

pronouns: the woman what came; let us go, shall us go, my missis and me is going, Mr. S. he came, his

family they are all out, them are the women I meant, I saw them boys, give me them there books.

be in indie. rare except in here he be, used in subj.

war for was.

Nf. folks say (1) sell selled, tell telled, catch catched, teach teached, seek seeked, work worked; (2) snow snew snown, mow mew mown, row rew rown, sow sew sown, hoe hew [which H. has heard] hown; (3) rise ris, ride rid, rive riv, stride strid, smite

smit, drive driv (never *drove*, sometimes *druv*); (4) bid bod, give gov, sit sot, swim swum; (5) giv gav gov, gin gan gon [H. hears: giv giv gin], ming mung [to knead bread, ags. *mengen*], ding dung [to throw or hurl], weave weft, save seft, wave weft [H. does not know the last three], and come, bid, see, run, are used as pres. pret. and pp.; steal, staul [H. (*stal*)], shriek shruек; (6) taking taken not distinguished; kilt = killed, spilt = spilled, spilt = spoiled.

Nf. Notes and Sentences by TH.

TH. having visited Stanhoe in 1883, a few of his observations are added.

Stanhoe was called (:stɑ:nə). The general use of (ə, ɚ) for U: was confirmed with variants between (dək, dok) duck, between (gən, gən) gun and (dʌmpl'n) dumpling. TH. heard (snóu) not (snə'u).

Instead of (y, 'y) in this district

also TH. heard (uu, œ'u, íu) as (dʒuun dʒɑ'uun) June, (:rə'us'l) Rushall, (bɪ'uti) beauty, (jɪs it də'u) yes it does, not (dɪyy). He also heard (plɛ'us) for (plees) place, (póek) pork, and from a woman of 89, (kəm ju éu, mɑ') come you here, maw': (pleez) please; (ɑ'i kʲɛtʲt sɚ'it ən ím), I caught sight of him.

ne.NE., NORTH WALSHAM (14 n.w. Norwich).

Test written by R. S. Baker, Esq., J.P., who had lived there all his life, pal. by AJE. from Mr. Baker's own orthography and notes, bearing in mind vv. information. The (r) = (r_o).

1. soo ə'i SEE, tæg'i·dhɛ, jɑ'u sii ne'u dhɛt ə'i em rə'it ɛbɛ'ut dhæ't lɪ'tl gæl (mɑɑ·dhɛ) kəm'ín fræm dhɛ skyy,l jɪndɛ.

2. shii iz vgoo'ín de'un dhɛ rood dhéev trɛ'u dhɛ rɛd gɛt ən dhɛ left hænd sə'id v)dhɛ wáí.

3. shyy,r enɛf dhɛ tʃə'íld hev gɑɑn strá'ít əp ty₁ dhɛ dóovɛr v)dhɛ rəq hɑ'ús,

4. wéev shii)l tʃæns (hæp) ty₁ fə'índ dhæ't dræqk'n diif shrɪv'ld fælv v)dhɛ neem v :təməs.

5. wí ɹɹl noo hím wɛr'í wɛl.

6. ɔont dhi ool tʃæp syy₁n laan hɛ nət ty₁ dyy₁ it (dɑ)t vɡín', póov thíq!

7. lək, ɛnt ít try₁?

Notes to North Walsham dt.

1. I am, you are, he is the man, here he be. I ɹɑn't, 'tɑnt.—*now* (ne'u) ow like owl, lips nearly closed, lower teeth thrust forward. This description being incomplete, (ɛ'u) was taken from elsewhere.

2. *hand*. "The habit is to pro-

nounce the aspirate correctly in all cases." But "h is never sounded after w."—"W never becomes V, but V always becomes W. We cannot see any difference between the letter W and the letter WE," = V.—*enough* (ɛnɛf) with sg., (wɛv'ɛ) with pl. nouns.

VAR. iii. s.NORFOLK FORM.

MATTISHALL, KIMBERLEY AND EAST DEREHAM CS.

This version was originally written by Miss Buckle, a native of Mattishall (:mæts'1) (12 w.Norwich), acquainted with the dialect from childhood, and pal. by A.JE. from her vv. explanations Oct. 1877. As I pal. in 1873 a vv. version of the same from Kimberley (10 wsw.Norwich and 5 s.Mattishall) by George Ashby, who, however, had been 33 years away from his county, then gardener to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and had obtained a careful version in his own orthography, with elaborate explanations by Mr. G. A. Carthew, 60 years acquainted with the dialect as spoken at East Dereham (:dêerem) (15 w-by-n.Norwich and 4 nw.Mattishall), and a version by Miss C. M. Day, of Kirby Bedon (3 se.Norwich), supplemented by long explanations and a vv. wl. given elsewhere. I take Mattishall as a centre, and give the variants of the other versions, when the difference is marked, in subsequent notes, in which K. means Kimberley, D. East Dereham, and B. Kirby Bedon. I have no guarantee that the pron. was purely local, but it must closely resemble all s.Nf. The (r) was not particularly observed, but was probably (r_o).

0. wái :dʒən æ)noo də'uts.

1. wæl, naa'be, jə'u en hii ma booth laaf et dhis niúuz v máin. hʔy₁ kjíéev ? dhæ)s naadhv héev nɛ dhíiv.

2. fə'u mín dáí bikəz dh)aa laaft æt, wi noo, dóent wi? wæt shud meek)em ? teent we'ri láv'kli, is)t ?

3. hə'u sɛmde've dhiiz a dhv fæks v dhv kjées, soo [so, so] dʒist hə'ud ja nóiz, frind [ba], ən be kwáit til áí hæv)dan. lís'n.

4. ái)m saat'in áí hii'd əm see—sem ə dhɛm fəks dhɛt wænt tríy₁ dhə hɔl [hæl] thiɔ frɛm dhv fəst dhimse'lvz—dhæv)ái díd.

5. dhæ)dhv jəq'ges sən hizse'lf, v grət bóoi v náin, nood)iz faadhuz wóis et)wəns, dhoo t)wəz so kwéevr en skwée'kin, en)ə'íl trəst 'hím tɛ speek dhv tríy₁th ɛ'ni dee, aa, ə'i wəd.

6. en dh)ool wə'mən hase'lf wəl tel ɛ'ni ən)jɛ dhɛt laaf nə'u, en tel jɛ street əf, tíy₁, əv)u't matʃ bə'de i)jə)l ɔə'nli aask ha, ɔə' oont shi ?

7. listwá'iz shi tə'ud it 'mii wen áí aast ha, tíy₁ v trii táimz ɔə've, shi díd, en 'shii ə'u't'nt tɛ bi rəɔ ən sítʃ v páint vz dhís, wɔv)ə jə'u thiɔk ?

8. wæl, əz ə'i weer əsɛe'in, 'shii)d tel jə'u hə'u wéevr v wen shi fənd dhv dræqk'in beest dhæ)shí kAAL har)ɛz'bən.

9. shi swóov she sii hím wi)ar)ooon áiz, lee'in stretʃt et fɔl læqkth v)dhv grə'und, in hiz gíy₁d sən'di kuunt, tɔs bə'i dhv daar)v)dhv ə'us, dɛ'un i)dhv kAA'nɛr v)jən léevn.

10. hi wəz blaar'in awaa', sez shii, fɔr aal dhv wæ'vɛld lə'ik v sɪk tʃá'ild əv)ə lit'l gæl (maadhv) in)v tempe.

11. en dhæv)ɛp'nd, vz shii en ha daatv)i)lAA kəm tríy₁ dhə bæk-jaad frɛm hæq'in ə'ut dhv wɛt tɔoz tɔ dráí ən ə wɔsh'in dee,

12. wá'íl dhv kít'l wɛz báí'lín fə tii, wən fáin bráit sɛm)v aatɛn'y₁n ɔə'nli v wiik əgɔv' kím nekS thæ'zdee.

13. en díy₁jɛ noo? ə'i nɛ've laand ɛ'ni móov nɛ dhís v dhæ)biznís ɛp tíy₁ tɛ-dee, vz shíy₁ɛr vz mə'i neemz :dʒən :shɛp'vɔl, en ə'i dóent wənt tíy₁ áí'dhv (aa'dhv), dhéev (dhíiv) nə'u !

14. ən soo ái)m gɔv)en huun [həm] tɛ hæv)me sɛp)v. gíy₁d náit, en dóent bi sɛ kwík tɛ kɔv ɔə'ver v bədi ɛg'in, wen hi tAAk ə dhís, dhæ't v tadhv.

15. t)iz v week fíy₁l dhæt gəsíp wi)ə'ut reezn. ɛn dhæ)s mə'í laas wæd. gíy₁d báí.

Notes to Mattishall es.

0. *why* (wái), this diphthong (ái) was not always steadily pronounced and at times sounded (ə'í), but I got (ái) from K. and B.—*has*, (æ) or (a¹) (it was difficult to say which Miss B. said) short and run on to the next word for *have* used for *has*. This abbreviation, which occurs frequently here, was not given me elsewhere. B. insists on (hæ) with h.—*doubts* də'uts), this diphthong (ə'u) was given me as (ɛ'u) at Kimberley, and (ɛ'u), or more frequently (æ'u), at Kirby Bedon. I think this (æ'u) or (ææ'u) is what was meant by the sound written (næw) for *know* at East Dereham.

1. *well* (wæl), in others (wel).—*neighbour* (naabv), so also D., but K. gave only (bóov) or (bA), B. had (uɟaabv) and (bAA).—*may*, B. (mái).—*both* (huth) B.—*who* (híy₁), as far as I could make out the fracture arose from commencing with the mouth open and then closing, it was therefore (íy) or (íy₁), but the first element was indistinct, and so I have marked it only (íy₁). From D., *who do through noon fool* were reported to "resemble French *eu* or long *u*," but the information was on paper only. At B. I heard (byts, shəz, tɔ tɟ, styl, stjypd) for *boots, shoes, two, stool, stupid*. From K. I heard (hun) simply.—*cares* (kjí'ceɛ), at K. (kjé'ce), at D. apparently (kaa), written *car*, but the writer employed *ar* for (aa), at B. (ké'evz) with the (z) at the end, but Miss B. said they never used that form if they could avoid it.

2. *few* (fə'u) was (fə'u) apparently at K. Possibly the difference was only in my perception.—*because* (bikAAz, ekAAz) B.—*know* (noo) B.—*don't we* (dónt wi) was written *dónt ús* (doont əs) at D. This very Southern (əs) is certainly doubtful. I don't get it elsewhere in Nf. and Sf. But Forby talks of 'shall us go.'—*make them* (meek)əm), whether (meek) or (meek), must be considered doubtful. At K. the speaker insisted on (dhem).—*very* (wɛ'ri), the short *e* was, I think, generally rather (ɛ) than (e). The (w) for (v) is the rule among peasants, says Miss B., and both D. and K. give (wə'is) in par. 5. Miss B. says (wɛdɟ vɛ hæɛ) is the *verge* or brim of a hat.

3. *your* (ɟa) for unaccented *your*, was insisted on here and at K., and similarly (ha) for *her*.

4. *heard* (híud) D., but (haad) K., (hé'evd) B. The initial (h) is insisted on by most Nf. people, but often vanishes.—*say* (sɛ), from K. (sé'ei), but my D. informant insisted on (saa), as also on (maa) for *may*, and made *day* into (dáaí). In XVIth century we had (saa) regularly, at present there seems to be much confusion, and the received (sɛ, sɛ'j, sé'ei) are approached; also (sɛ'í) at Stanhoe.—*folks* (fʌks), so also at K., from D. I got *fo'ks*, which may or may not mean the same thing.—*through* (tríy₁), but (thre'u) D., (trɛ'u) K., (træ'u) B. It would seem as if (trə'u trɛ'u) were older forms and (tríy₁ thríy₁) more recent.—*whole* (hʌl, hæl), both were given, (hʌl) B.; (hʌl' as a remnant of (hʌbl), the regular S. change from A. is perhaps the older form, and (hæl), which may come from (hool hol), or be merely the regular change of (u) into (a), may be more recent.—*safe enough* was allowed to stand at the end of this paragraph by others, but Miss B. said the phrase was not used as an affirmative, and that *enough* was not said.—*that I* (dhæ'ái), and afterwards, par. 7, (wɔ'v) = *what do*. This *r* seems to be a mere euphonic insertion, the *t* or *tʌ* being omitted, so (gɛr, ʌp) = *get up* in Leeds, D 24, where more examples will be quoted. In Nf. and Sf. this omission of the final *t* is frequent in (dhæ)s) for (dhæt)s), with which compare par. 0 (æ'noo), par. 3 (hæ'dəm), and par. 5 (dhæ, dhɛ). The insertion of euphonic *r*, as in (sAArɪn) = *saving*, is almost universal in E. div. Compare also (ə'ə'u't) = *about* = *without* in par. 6.

5. *youngest* (ɟɑ'gɛs) comes from D. in the form (ɟɑ'gɛrɛst), my authority saying that "Nf. people are fond of indulging in ultra-superlatives," but probably they are seldom heard.—*truth* (tríy₁th) distinctly so pronounced, but K. seemed to give (trə'uth), possibly meant for (træ'uth), (*truth*) D. looks like a modernism for (*truuth*), the vowel being shortened to save it from falling into (íy₁).—*day* (dee) distinctly, (déi) K., (dáu) D. and B., probably stages of variation from (daa)—*aye* (aa),

K. (jes), D. (ˈdhaet), Miss B. says *aye* is not used.

6. *will* (wul) K. (we'ul) ? D. (ʻl).—*of you* (ɔn)jə), so at D., but K. (ɔf jə'u), a syllabic form.—*off* (ɔf), K. (ɔ'f), D. (ɔn).—*body* (bɔːde) or (bAAːde), but D. and K. (bɔdhə).—*ask* (aask), K. (æks), D. (ækst).—*without* (ɔrɔ'u't) = *athout*, with (dh) omitted and euphonic *r* inserted. K. and D. give *without* simply.—*won't* (oout), so the others. At the beginning of a sentence (*woont*) would be used.

7. *told* (tɔ'nd), so D., but (*toold*) K., evidently modern.—*she did* (shi did), the original had *did she*, but all agree in the other order, Miss B. stating that "dialect does not allow the nominative to be placed after the verb."—*three* (tri), all agree in *tr-* for *thr-* initial.—*point* (páint), so D. B., but (pɔ'nt) K., modern form.—*what do you* (wɔr)ɛ jəu), but D. K. B. have (wɔt d'ɪy₁ jə'u).

8. *she would* (ˈshii)d), so D., but (shi we'uld) K.—*found* (fɔnd), D. *found*, which may = (fe'und) K.—*drunken* (dræːqkən) looks like an error for (dræqk'n), as in the others, as if confused with (driqkɪn).—*her husband* (har)ɛzˌbən), the *r* is quite euphonic, owing to the omission of *h* in *husband*, which is as common as *my good man*.

9. *saw* (sii), common, (siid) D. = *see'd*.—*with her own* (wiˌarˈoʊən), the *r* is euphonic, the syllabic division being (wi-a-roʊən).—*lying* (leeˌin), *laying* is always used for *lying*; so the others.—*ground* (grɔ'nd), (gre'und) K. B., *grewnd* D., probably the same, as my informant could not analyse the diphthongs on paper better than *cu-w*.—*close* (thus), of course (tl-) for (kl-) was not acknowledged, but was heard; the vowel agrees with D. B., but K. has (kloos).—*door* (daar) = *door*, the *r*

is euphonic, D. and K. give (dóov+r).—*lane* (leeen). I noted that the (*ce*) was very light, more like (*ii*), but this was probably accidental, for K. has (leeen), which is more analogous. D. gives *loke*, a common East Anglian word for a lane without a thoroughfare.

10. *whining* (blaaˌrin). "Calves, sheep, asses, and children are all said to blare." *Moor*. D. gives *winnien* from Forby's "*Whinney*, to snivel and whimper like a child." K. has (páinən), B. has (wáinən, pensin, páinən).—*away* (awaaˌ), this is a remnant of the old (waa) = *way*, K. (æweeˌ).—*world* (wæˌeld), (wɔld) D., (wɔeld) K. B.—*child* (mAAˌdhɛ+r), the regular Nl. and St. word for girl, the (dh) is weakly pronounced and often quite lost.

11. *that* (dhaer), euphonic *r*.—*happened* (æpˌnd), (hæpˌnd) K., (hæpt) D.—*daughter* (daaˌtər), euphonic *r*, so D. B., but (dAAˌtər) K.—*came* (kæm), (kæm) D. K., which is most common, (kæmd) B.—*clothes* (tlooˌz), the (tl-) not acknowledged.

12. *tea* (tii), so K., but (tee) D. B.—*come* (kɪm), but (kæm) D. K. B., which is more regular.—*thursday* (thaˌzdee), the final syllable distinct (*ee*), not (*i*), but K. and D. have (thaaˌzdi).

14. *home* (huum, hām), *home*, probably the correct form is (hum) B. for A', modernised to (hām) D., (hoom) K. is quite modern. From Stanhoe, p. 265, No. 115, comes (*uu*u).—*have my* (hæˌmɛ), these words are omitted in E. D. and K.

15. *good bye* (gɪyˌd báɪ) said only when parting for a long time. E. D. has (gʊ)baɪ), which is more regular.

'I are to go' is common. The Nl. *drant* (draant) is rough, thick, glib and quick, yet drawing, and the pitch does not rise at the end of a sentence.

KIRBY BEDON, NORFOLK.

Words pal. in 1868 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, daughter of Rev. Edward Day, then rector of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich), where she had resided from childhood, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with the peasants.

K is added to words given by Mr. Keith, of Norwich.

L is added to a few words from Miss Day's sister, Mrs. Luscombe.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 miák [ʔ]. A'- 74 tɔ [(tjɪ₁) K]. 92 noo. A': 102 aks. 111 a'at. 115 hɔm [hɔm] K]. 117 wæn. 124 stɔn. Æ- — staaˌz [stairs]. Æ: 101 daai. 173 waa waant [was not]. Æ': 208 ævɛ. 213 eedhɛ K. 214

needhə K. E- 232 briik. — piie [a pear]. — biie [to bear]. 251 meet. E: 263 wai'. 265 street. — twelv [twelve]. 270 beluz. 273 min. 280 lav'n. 281 haqkth. — trəsh'l [threshold]. E'- 301 héev. E': 312 héev [I have heard (iie)]. 316 nekst. EA: 324 eet. — aan [earn]. EA'- 347 heed. — éev [the ear]. EA': 353 breed. 359 NEEBE njeba njaabe. 361 been. EO- 383 sav'n. 387 níy₁ L. EO: — ba'nen [burning]. 402 laan. EO'- 411 trii. 416 déev. 420 fa'uv. EO': 431 béev. I- 446 na'in. I: 452 ái [I have heard (óí, áí, á'í)]. — liid lid [lid]. — bad [bird, (bəd) K]. — wínde [window]. — fiish fish [fish]. — síks [six]. I'- — thati [thirty]. I': — diik dik [dyke]. 502 fa'v. — háai [hay]. O- 524 wæld. — trət [throat]. Ó: — træ'u [trough, same as *through* 634]. 527 bæ'ut. — bæv [borrow] bæv'ín [borrowing]. — sœv [sorrow]. O'- 555 shəz [shoes, probably (shy,z) was said]. Ó': 577 bæ'u. 584 sty'yl. 592 swóov. 594 by'yt. 595 fat. 597 sət. U- 603 kə)ba L [come, bo']. U: 615 pa'und L. 618 wæ'und [or 621]. 621 wæ'und [or 618]. 634 træ'u [same as *trough* after 524]. U'- 640 kie'u. Y- 679 tja'tj. Y'- 707 that'n that'n [(thot'n) K]. — driip drip [drip].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — snéeest [snast, burnt wick or snuff of candle]. — tjeete téete tjéete. 739 MAADHB L. E. — malə [mellow]. — indjín [engine]. — klæve [clever]. O. — doog [ʔ (d'g) dog]. 791 bwə'i [has heard (bái)]. U. — ɔnle's [unless]. — ta'nep [turnip]. — bəsh [bush]. 808 pat. — krotj [crutch].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 824 tjiie. — kléev [clear]. — pleez L [please]. 840 tjambe tjaambe. 848 tjanđj. — randj [range], ɛrandj [arrange]. — pjeepe péepe pjéepu. — tɔs'l [tassel]. — səlwee'shən [salvation]. 862 sɔf [ʔ]. E.. 869 weel. 870 bæ'titel [beautiful]. — envá'ies [envious]. 885 wɛri. — saavent saavis [servant service]. 890 beest L. — weks [vex]. I.. and Y.. — wínigur [vinegar]. 910 dja'ist. O.. — dja'in [join]. 920 pa'int. 923 mə'ist. 929 kə'ukembe. 938 kaane. 947 bæ'íl. — deen [dean]. U.. — traant [truant]. — stjy'pid [stupid].

Euphonic (r), (æ'i saar)im in dhe draar'in rəm) I saw him in the drawing room. *un-* negative always (ɔn-).

EXAMPLES FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NORWICH.

mostly pal. by AJE. from oral and written communication of various informants, 1868.

I. Dict. of Dr. Lomb.

- (ə'i see, ba, dyy₁ jy₁ sii dhat dhe mee'vish ə-næp'in dhat dhe dɔdmbn ɔn v stɔn ?), I say, bor, do you see that there thrush a-napping that there snail on a stone ?
- A. (doon)s'n həl'in !), don't stand hurling or throwing !
B. (hyy₁)z v'həl'in ?), who is a-hurling ?
A. (jæ'u wɛz v-həl'in), you was a-hurling.
B. (ə'i waa)nt v-həl'in), I was-not a-hurling.
A. (tel jæn jɛ 'wɛz, fɔ jə'u hit)mɛ in dhe æ'i wídh)v gyyy₁:z-beri), tell you, you was, for you hit me in the eye with a gooseberry.
- (waa)t)v jɛ goo'in tɛ)dhe faa, ba, wídh dhɛm)dhe shíp ?), what-are you going to the fair, bor, with them-there sheep ?

4. *dhɛ shɪp ɪz plænˈjæn, wen ɪt féev ty₁ bii káind)v daz i*), the sheep is "plaignant"=unwell, when it fares to be kind of dizzy.

II. From Mrs. Luscombe.

5. (*əi waaɪntʃɛ, hi ka'nt dæ)t*), I warrant you, he can't do it.
6. (*dun)t raa,n, ba ?* Jes, *ɪt dyy₁*), do it rain, bo' ? Yes, it do.

III. Dictated by a middle-aged passenger in the omnibus going from Norwich to Cromer on an expedition during the British Association, 27 Aug. 1868, a dialogue which he said he had overheard between two farmers at a pot-house, when he was a boy.

7. A. (*wái doont-ɛ paa*)mi dhat)dhɛ *tyy₁ pɛ'ʌnd ɛ*(oo)mi fɛ dhɛm)dhɛ *tyy₁ shɪp?*), why don't you pay me that two pound you owe me for them-there two sheep?
B. (*ə'i doo*)nt oo *ɟá'u noo tyy₁ pɛ'ʌnd*), I don't owe you no two pound.
A. (*ɟá'u dyy₁*), you do. [Pause, A. goes on smoking.]
B. (*ə'i*)d nok dhat)dhɛ *pá'ɪp ɛ'ʌt)v ɟá'v mɛ'ʌth, ɪf ɟá'i dáav*), I'd knock that there pipe out of your mouth, if I dare.
A. (*aaɪ!* *ɟá'u*)v daak *ɛnɛf, :hɪndri, ba, ɟá'u)v bla'k ɛnɛf. ɟá'u* ˈwʌd, ˈɛɛ *ɟá'u* ˈdáav, bat *ɟá'u* daa's')nt), Ah! you're dark enough, Andrew, bo', you're black enough. You would *ɪf* you dare, but you dursen't. [Brings down his fist on to the table, which he upsets, spills the liquor and breaks the glasses.]
B. (*dhæɛ, ba, ɟá'u*)v dɛ'n)it *nɛ'u, ɛɛ*)nt-ɛ? *ɟɛ'u*)l ha'v tɛ)paa fɛ)dhat *nɛ'u, ba!*), There, bo', you've done-it now, have-not-you? You'll have to-pay for-that now, bo'. [A fierce altercation ensued, during which the listener decamped.]

IV. Communicated by Rev. T. Burningham, formerly Rector of Charlwood (6 s.Reigate, Sr.), conjecturally pal. by AJE.

8. (*ə'i káind)v shak so*), I kind-of shook so.
9. (*laa, maa, doo's'n blee-rɛn v*)dha't)ne), lawk, girl, don't stand bellowing of that-way.
10. (*wæɪ, ə'i wɛ fɛ'skæɛ* ɟiiv laas fa'sgɛn *tyy₁zdi, wɛ*)da tɛ)ɟiiv bi hɔ'i)n v loo)n), well, I was four-seore year last Paschal Tuesday, whether this-year be high-'un or low-'un, i.e. leap year or not.

V. Street cries heard repeatedly at Norwich by AJE. in 1868.

11. (*nɛy₁ bloo'tɛz ɪiv, fáin blɔ'tɛz, :jaa'mɛth bló'tɛz ɪiv!*), new bloaters here, fine bloaters, Yarmouth bloaters here! [Observe three different pron. of 'bloaters' from three different men]. (*míivlk! mɔ'ɛlk fóin!*), milk, milk fine.

VI. Notes and Sentences from TH., m. and s.Norwich.

12. *Buxton* (8 n.Norwich). (wɛl, :bɪl, bɑːv, ɑr)ʒ ɡóːn hoom), well, Bill, bo', are)you going home?
13. *Diss* (19 ssw.Norwich). (maadhɛr)z mɔst v dhɛ wɛəd), mawther'is most of the word, the word most generally used.—(nɔ dɔ'ik nɛr ʒɪt v dreen), no dyke nor even a drain, at Diss.—(ɑr ʒɛ kɛmɛn dhɪs waa?), are you coming this way?—(mɔ'it ɛv kjɛp v hoom), might have kept a home. [The man from whom this was taken was a native of Diss, where he lived 24 years and then lived at March, Cb., 45 years, and he seems to have lost much of his dialect. I doubt, therefore, his furnishing true Diss speech.]
14. *Norwich*. *h* not aspirated in the city of N.
15. *Wymondham* (9 wsw.Norwich). TH. finds that a majority of U- words have (ə), but older men use (u_o) and a small number use (o). Of course (u u u_o) are the older forms, and gradually lead to (o), and thence to (ɛ ə). This seems the direction of change, but we cannot consider the sporadic (u_o) of any value against Mattishall and Kimberley, knowing nothing about it. Compare (nuun nɔ'un), leading to (nyyn niyy_u).

GT. YARMOUTH, s.NF. AND n.SF.

dt. written by Rev. Dr. Raven, then of the School House, Gt. Yarmouth, since 1885 Rector of Fressingfield (8 n.Framlingham), Sf., pal. by AJE. in 1879 partly from vv. directions.

1. sun ɛ'i sái, bAAZ, ʒɛ sɪi nɛ'u ɛ'i)m rɪ'it vbe'ut dhæt)dhɛ lɪ'tl ɡæl ɛkɔmɛn frɛm dhɛ skyy₁l [skíul] hɪndɛ.

2. shii)z ɛɡo'in dɛ'uX dhɛ ruud dhɛɛ trɛ'u dhɛ rɪd ɡéet ɔn dhɛ lɛft hænd sɛ'ɪd v dhɛ wái.

3. shyy₁r ɛnɛf dhɛ tʃɛ'ɪld)z ɡAAŋ strá'it ɔp tɛ dhɛ dAAr v dhɛ rɔq hɛ'us,

4. wée shi)l tʃɪans tɛ fɛ'ɪnd dhæt)dhɛ drɛqk'n dɛf shrɪv'ld fɛlɛr v dhɛ nɛɛm v :tɔmɛs.

5. wɪ úuɛl nɔo)ɪm vɛrɛ wɛl.

6. ɔont dh)ɛ'uld tʃɛp sɪyy₁n tɛɛtʃ [laan] hɑr nɔt tɛ dɪyy₁ it ɛɡi'n, póov thɪq.

7. lɛk, ɛɛnt it trɪyy₁?

Note.—The 'aristocracy' in Yarmouth say (óov flóovz) our flowers. (bɛ) is used for women as well as men.

The manner of speech seems much the same as over ne. and m.Nf.

s. NORFOLK cwl.

collected from TH. 's observations in 1881-2-3. wh. at

B Buxton.	Nt North Taddenham	T Thetford.
D Diss.	(4 nw. Norwich).	W Wymondham.
E East Dereham.	N Norwich.	

TH. 's (r) not before a vowel is at most (r_c).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T nê m, W neⁿim. A: 56 D wash. A'- [T (âi), letter A]. 74 DT tⁱuu. 91 D moovⁿ [mowing]. A': 102 D aks. 104 W rood. 115 D òm, NtW oom. 125 D oonli. — D róp [rope]. Æ- 138 D faadh^e. 152 B wa'ter. Æ: 161 D dee, Nt deⁿi. Æ'- 187 D leev. 193 D kliin. 197 D tjiiz. 200 Nt wit, T wiit. Æ': — D miil [a meal]. 223 T dhêv. 224 T wêv. E- 233 T spiiik. 241 D roen. 251 Nt niect. 252 B kját'l. 254 D lodh^e. E: 261 Nt seⁿi. 262 D waa, Nt weⁿi, T wá'li. 263 D ewee. — D fílz [fields]. — B hum [hen]. E'- 299 DT griin. 301 E hêv+r. Nt à+r. E: 305 D hái. 314 D évr.d, Nt aad. EA: 326 D óud. EA'- 347 BW ned, D òd. EA': — D iè [year]. 366 TW grét. EO: — B ban [burn]. 402 B laan, T læan. E'O'- 419 B júvr, N jaa. E'O: 428 B síi. 431 D Nt biur. 435 N já'u. 437 D truuth, T tre'uth. EY- 438 D dái, Nt daⁿi, T [between] dá'i daⁿi. I- 446 T naⁿim. I: 452 B á'i. 458 D ná'it. 459 B rá'it. I'- [T (Aⁿi), letter I]. 494 D tá'mz, T [between] taⁿim tá'im. — D riip'n [reaping]. I: 500 B lá'ik. O: 531 D daater, F doote [nearly (AA) with pursed lips], Nt daate [and in some villages] daate. — B nòs. O'- 555 D shuuz, T shə'u, W shə'u [decidedly]. 557 B tù. 559 D mædh^e. 560 D skuul. 562 Nt muum, TW muun. 566 D enædher [another], E unædh^e [one person]. 568 Nt brodh^e. O': 579 D enæf. 587 DT dæn. 588 NtT muun, W næ'un ná'un. U- 603 D kəm. 605 T sən. 606 NtW dōv. 607 D bæ'ter, W botv. U: 612 ET sə'm, Nt sòm, Nt sí'm. 616 D gre'and. 629 T sən. 633 E kəp kəp kop [occ.] kəp. 636 N fæder. U'- 640 D kjə'u. 641 B á'u. 643 B nā'u. 648 D [unemphatic] wer. 650 B [between] ebə'ut, ebā'ut. U': 663 D e'ass, T ə'us, W lū'us. Y- 673 B matj, T mu'tj. 679 N tjatj.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 D dreen. I. and Y. 758 D gjalz. U. 803 E djəmp djəmp djəmp [occ.] dju₂mp. — T tⁱuun [tune], W ta'un.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 D pleesez. — B peⁿi [pay]. — Nt. plá'ini. 862 D seef. E.. 867 B iii. 869 N wiil. — D fétjéz [vetches]. — N wentv+r [venture]. I.. and Y.. 901 D fá'in. O.. 935 D kəntri. 950 D səpər, Nt. soper. U.. — W dlə'ù [glue]. — D weet'n [waiting]. — W. mæ'uzik. 970 D djas.

VAR. iv. e. SUFFOLK FORM.

FRAMLINGHAM (18 n. Woodbridge) es.

written by Mr. Jas. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough (2 ssw. Framlingham), and a frequent visitor at Woodbridge, when a boy, and long resident at Stowmarket (14 nw. Woodbridge), pal. Dec. 1881 by AJE. from his dictation.

0. wái :djan hiint gət nò de'uts.

1. wel, naabe, jə'u en hii ma bəth laaf et dhis híu ný:z v máin. hí:y kéev? dhæ)s nadh^e híu ne dhéev.

2. fíy₁ mìn dáí koz dhée) v laaft et, wii noo, dóoent wi? wot shéd meck) m? tiint wer*i* láik-lí, iz it?

3. héuse-vv, dhiiz íber v dhu faks, su djes hood jē nóiz, bá'v, en bi kwáit tíl ái v dan. les'n.

4. v)m saatín ái híied 'm séev, sãm v dhēm faks et went thrá'u dhu hál djob from dhu fast dhese-lvz, dhæt v did, síy₁v ená'u!

5. dhæt dhu jaqgíst sãm hizself v gréet báí v náien, níy₁z faadhez vóis dhéev en dhēn, dhoo tēwōz sū kwáier en skwáeken en a,d trást) m tē spéek dhu tráy₁th, eni déei, dhæt a wud.

6. en dh)ood wamen ase-lf 'l tel en*i* on-jē et láaf né'u, en tel jē raít a'f, tíy₁, vdhe'ut matj bódhe, ef jó)el on*i* a'sk)v, oont shi?

7. hístweez shi tood mi wen ái aast)v tíy₁ v thrii taimz wva, en shii á'ut'nt tē bi rēq on sítj v póint ez dhís híier, á'ut shi, wot d)já'u tháik?

8. wēl, ez ái wuz v)see-en shii)d tel)jē hé'u, wéev en wen shi fé'un) d dhu dráqk'n bíist shi kaal v hēzbend.

9. shi swóov shi sii)im vdh er oon áiz v)lee-en stretjt ful leqkth on dhu gré'un) d in iz san-di kluuz klus bi dhu dúuer v dhu é'us dé'un ogín' dha kaaner v dhu léevn hīndə.

10. híi wuz v wáínen wéev, sez shii, fēr aal dhu wáeld láik v sík tjáild er v lí'l gael v freten.

11. en dhæt dhéev hāp'nd djes ez shii en v daa-terinlaa kam thrá'u dhu bækjaad aate dhee)d hāq é'ut dhu wēt kluuz wan wōshen déev,

12. wáíl dhu kí't' l wuz v báil'en fe tii wan fáin sām'er aateníy₁n on*i* v wiik egur kam thaazdi.

13. en dii jē nóu? ái nív-ə híied no máuer v dhæt biznis tíl te dee, ez síy₁er ez máí neem)z :dʒən :shēpəd, en ái doont wōnt nádhv, dhéev né'u!

14. en sóu v)m v goo-en ham tē sápe. gud náit en dúent já'u bi sē ríd'i tē droo wv'er v tʃap egín' wen i taak v dhís, dhæt v tādhrv.

15. hí)z v wiik fíy₁l dhæt préest vdhe'ut riiz'n; en dhæ)s máí laast wad. gu)bái.

Notes on the Framlingham es.

0. *has not* (hiint) for have not, they use the plural form in the singular, and never omit (h).—*doubts* (dē'uts), the sound was decidedly not (dóuts, dá'uts), but whether the first element of the diphthong was quite (ē) I could not feel certain. Mr. Grant has been many years in London, and this may have affected his utterance of the sound. But the approach to (ē'u) is noticeable in respect to Southwold.

1. *you* (já'u) was clear, and quite different from (jē'u).—*news* (níy₁z), this was the nearest representation I could give of the diphthong: it was certainly not (níuz).—*that is*, (dhæ-s). The æ) throughout is rather uncertain, as there was a suspicion of London influence.

2. *know* (noo), I did not always hear (noo), but sometimes (noo), sometimes (nó'u).—*it is not* (tiint).—*wer*i**, this use of (w) for (v) is very general, but not used in every case; *violet* is (wáilet). I could not be certain whether Mr. G. intended (e) or (ē) throughout.

3. *bor* (bá') and (ba', baa'), according to circumstances often sinks to (ba) when spoken rapidly.—*I have done* (ái v dan), properly I are done, (ái dæn it) is often used for I did it.

4. *that* (æt), relative.—*enough enow* (enáf, ená'u) are sometimes distinguished for singular and plural nouns.

5. *son* is not distinguished from *sun*.—*boy* (bái), or nearly (bói) at times.—*it* (tē, this form of *it* is curious, and is recognised by Forby.—*day* (déei)

very distinctly here, but it may have been an error, as Mr. G. would not allow that "y was sounded in *day*." (dée) seems more usual, see last word of par. 11.

6. *you will* (jəvəl) was meant to be a shortened form of (jə'u'l), produced by absence of emphasis.

7. *three* (thrii) not (trii), as it is generally in Nf. and at Southwold.—*over* (ov'a) over, Mr. G. perhaps said (ov), but he insisted on (a) not (v).—*point* (póint), like (vóis) and not (páint), which is reserved for *pint*.

8. *found* (fə'um[d]), Mr. G. insisted upon a suspicion of a (d), without any recoil, and just touched; that is, the nasality of the (n) was momentarily lost.—*husband* (hæz'bænd), this word is in common use.

9. *clothes close* (kluuz klus), observe the distinction of vowel length. Mr. G. sometimes made it (klooʒ kləs), but I believe the first to be most correct. I have used (klauz) in par. 11 as a

compromise.—*you* (hin) is also used for *you*, *yonder* (hinde), is generally an adverb, and then we have (v dhu læn hinde).

10. *world* (wáuld) or (wərld, warld), the word was rather uncertain, perhaps (waald), at Southwold (wæld).—*girl* (gærl) is more common than (maadhə) now, but the latter word is still used, and old farmers apply it to grown girls of five-and-twenty.

12. *boiling* (báil'en), and so (spáil áis'te áint'ment), but not (páint) for *point*.—*Thursday* (thaa'zdi), the acknowledged sound for *er*, *ur* in Sf. seems to be (aa), hence perhaps (waald) in par. 10 as there suggested would be more correct.

13. *do* (di) is an abbreviated way of saying (di'y jə) when asking questions.—*know* (nə'u) is the best representation of what I heard, but I think it is not quite right; see (noo), par. 2.—*name* (neem) not (náaim) as I got from Pakenham.

SOUTHWOLD, and 12 m. round (on the coast 12 ssw. Lowestoft) cwl.

pal. 1877 by AJE. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallet, teacher at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, who had known the dialect all her life.

Words preceded by H were obtained by TH. in 1876 from an old native of Great Bealings (6 ne. Ipswich), then living in London.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bèek. 4 tēek. 5 mēek. 6 mēud. 7 sēek. 8 ev. 9 bujeev. 10 haa'v. 12 saa. 14 draa [(draafèn) drawing, H (draa'erz)]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 kēek. 19 tēel. 20 lēem. 21 nēem. 22 tēem. 23 sēem. 24 shēem. 26 wēem. 27 nēev. 28 ev. 31 lēt. 32 biidh. 33 rædhv. 34 laast. 35 aal. 36 thōu. 37 tlaa. A: 39 kam. 40 kəm. 41 tha'qk. 43 a'nd. 44 la'nd. 46 ka'nd'l. 47 wa'ndv. 48 sæq. 50 tæqz. 51 ma'n. 52 wa'n. 54 wənt. 55 a'shez. 56 wesh [H (wəsh)]. 57 aas.

A: or O: 58 frəm. 59 la'm. 60 ləq. 61 vmeq. 62 stræq. 63 trəq. 64 ræq. 65 sæq. A'- 67 guu. 69 nuu. 70 tun. 71 wuu. 72 wyy₁. 73 suu. 74 tyy₁. 75 struk. 76 tuud. 77 laad. 78 óun. 79 óun. 80 əhde. 81 lēen. 83 móen. 84 móou. 85 sóou. 86 uts. 87 iloov. 89 bæth. 90 blou. 91 móu. 92 nóu. 93 snóu. 94 króu. 95. tra'u [(æl) hurl more used]. 96 sóu. 97 sóuld. A': 101 uk. 102 ast. 104 rad. 105 rad [(ríd) gen.]. 106 braad. 107 bæf. 108 dóu. 109 lóu. 110 not. 111 a'ut. 112 éul. 113 héd. 115 un. 116 yy₁. 118 bam. 121 gaan. 122 nun. 123 nothen. 124 stam. 125 unli. 126 óov. 127 aa'us. 129 gæst. 130 bat. 132 at. 133 ræt. 134 uth. 135 tlaath.

Æ- 138 faadhv. 139 dréei. 140 éeíl. 141 néeil. 142 snéeil. 143 téeil. 144 egi'n. 145 sléein. 146 méein [=the sea, not used for very]. 147 bréein. 148 fēer [ʔ meant for "a fair," after 887]. 149 blēvz. 150 lecest. 152 watv. 153 sa'dæde. Æ: 155 thæt₁. 157 rēv'n. 158 aatv. 160 éeig. 161 déeii. 163 léei. 164 méei. 165 sēd. 166 méeid. 167 dēul. 168 ta'lv. 169 wēn. 170 a'vest. 171 baali. 173 waz [(éi waant) he was not]. 174 a'sh. 175 faast. 178 na't. 179 wat. 181 pa'th. Æ'- 182 sēv. 183 tēt₁. 184 liid. 185 rēd. 186 brədth brætth. 187 lēev. 188

néei. 189 wéei. 190 kèu. 191 iil. 192 mêu. 193 klèu. 194 eni. 195 menì. 197 tîèz. 199 blèu. 200 wèu. 201 èdhd'n. 202 eet. E': 203 spèeti. 204 dèud. 205 tr_oid. 206 r_oed. 207 nèud'l. 210 kleei. 211 gr_oeei. 213 áidhu. 215 teeti. 216 dèul. 217 èeti. 218 shèup. 219 slèup. 221 fèu. 222 èv. 223 dhèu. 224 wèu [H wîer]. 225 flèsh. 226 mæst. 227 wat. 228 swæt. 229 br_oæth. 220 fâit.

E- 232 br_oèk. 233 spèk. 234 nèud. 235 wèuv. 236 fèuv. 237 tîblleein. 238 éeidi [=257]. 239 séei. 241 r_oéein. 243 pléei. 246 kwéu [queen]. 247 wèu. — pèu [a pear]. 248 mèu. 249 wèu. 250 swèu. 251 mèu. 252 kit'l. 253 nat'l. 254 ladhè. 255 wadhè. E: 257 éeidi. 259 wædi. 261 séei. — leeg [leg]. 262 wéei. 264 eei. 265 street. 267 jild. 268 ældes. 270 bæusiz [a pair of bellows], bæli [belly]. 272 ælum. 273 mæn. 274 bæti. 276 thiék. 277 drint. 278 wæti [a term of reproach]. 280 læv'n [læv'niz/ beer and cake at 11]. 281 leqkth. 282 stræqkth. 283 mæri. 284 tr_osh. 285 kriis. 286 æv. 288 læt. E'- 290 éi. 292 méi. 294 fèud. 295 brèd. 296 bulèuv. 298 fèul. 299 grèu. 300 kèup. 302 mèu. 303 swèu. 304 bèu'l [mallet]. E': 305 ai. 306 éèth. 307 ná. 308 nèud [=knead in sound]. 308 spèud [=spade in sound]. 310 èul. 311 tæu. 312 èv. 314 èud. 315 fèu. 316 næks.

EA- 317 hii. 319 gèup. EA: 321 sii [pres. tense gen. used for past]. 322 laaf. 323 fâit. 324 áit. 325 wAAK. 326 ood. 327 boold. 330 ood. 331 sood. 332 tood. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 AAL. 336 fAAL. 337 wAAL. 340 JAAD. 342 aam. 343 WAAM. 345 dèu [(jæ'u dæs'nt) you dare not]. 346 gèu. EA'- 347 hid [town], hèud [country]. 348 ai. 349 fvy₁ [or (f'v₁), perhaps there is a slight movement of the tongue, possibly (fæ'u)]. ÉA': 350 dèud. 351 læd. 352 ræd. 353 brèud. 354 shèuf. 355 dæi. 356 lèuf. 357 dhoo. 359 nèubu. 360 tèu. 361 bèu. 362 slèei. 363 tîèup. 365 nèu. 366 grèu. 367 tr_oet. 368 dæth. 369 slòu. 370 róov. 371 strAA.

EI- 372 ee, éei. 373 dhéei. 374 néei [rare]. 375 reez. 376 bèu. EI: 377 stèk. 378 wèk.

EO- 383 sæv'n. 384 æv'n. 385 andnæth [underneath]. 386 jæ'u. 387 nuu. EO: 388 milk. 389 jalk. 390 shud. 394 indv. 396 waak. 397 sóud. 398 staav. 399 br_oait. 400 aanest. 401 jaan. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 faad'n. EO'- 409 béei. 411 tr_oii. 412 shéi. 413 dæv'l. 414 fái. 415 lá. 416 dèu. 417 tîoo'u. 418 br_oà. 420 fAA [wæn ty₁ trii fAA=1, 2, 3, 4, H (tòur)]. 421 fAAti. EO': 423 thái. 424 raf. 425 láit. 426 fâit. 427 béei. 428 séei. 429 fínd [an angry name for a mischievous teasing child]. 430 frínd. 431 bèu [but (v baal v bîv) a barrel of beer]. 432 faath. 433 bríst. 434 bèu. 435 jæ'u. 436 tr_oæu [Miss M. had marked this and the next as having French u, but this was what she dictated]. 437 trooeth. EY- 438 dá. EY: 439 tr_oæst.

I- 441 siv. 442 áiveri. 443 fráidi. 444 stáil [(v fílstái) a field style]. 446 náin. 450 tuuzdi. 451 soo. I: 452 ai. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459 r_oait [(r_o) gen. before vowels]. 460 wèit. 462 sáit. 466 tîáild. 467 wáild. 468 tîáild. 471 tímbe. 472 shr_oiqk. 473 bláind. 474 r_oin [of cheese, apple peel (A'p'l pí)]. 475 wind. 476 báind. 477 fáind. 478 gráind. 481 fægv. 484 dhis. 485 thís'l [children (fís'l)]. 486 jist. 487 jistedi. — sæks [six]. I'- 490 H bá. 491 sái. 493 dr_oáiv [dr_oiv, dr_oav]. 494 táim. 496 áiv. 498 r_oait. I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 504 náif. 505 wáif [not much used, gen. (iz misis) his missis]. 506 wumæn [but (ool d'wumæn)]. 507 wímen. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáin. 512 spáiv. 513 wáiv. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóou. 521 fvy₁ [=fool in sound, inclined to (f'v₁)]. 522 up'n. 523 up. 524 wald. O: 526 kAAf. 527 boot. 528 thoot. 529 broot. 530 root. 531 daate. 532 kóov'l [H. (kuul)]. 533 dæl. 536 góovld. 538 wud. 539 bæ'ul. 540 [holly is only called a (krízemus bæsh) Christmas bush]. 542 boot. 545 op. 547 bAAAD. 548 fAAD. 550 waad. 551 stAAM. 552 kAAN. 553 AAN. 553 os [horse]. 554 kr_oAAES. O'- 555 shyy₁. 556 tu. 557 t'v₁. 558 lek. 559 mædhè. 561 bl_ov₁m [camomile blous (blóouz) used for blossoms]. 562 myy₁n. 563 mandi. 564 syy₁n. 565 nuuz. 566 adhè.

O': 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gud. 572 bläd. 573 fläd. 574 brud. 575 stud. 576 wanesdi. 577 ba'u. 578 plä'u. 579 vna'f [sg.], vna'u [pl.]. 580 taf. 581 söt. 582 kyy'l. 583 tyy'l. 584 styy'l. 585 brä'v'm. 586 dyy'l. 587 dan. 588 nyy'n. 589 spyy'n. 590, flööv. 591 maa. 592 swööv. 593 mast. 594 byyt. 595 fut. 596 ryy't. 597 sat. 598 sath.

U- 599 ebäv. 600 lav. 601 ä'ul. 602 sä'u. 603 kam. 605 san. 606 daa'v. 607 batv. U: 608 agli. 609 fal. 610 wul. 611 bälük. 612 sam. 613 dräqk. 614 ä'im. 615 pä'an [H. pá'and] 616 grä'und. 617 sä'und. 618 wä'und. 619 ä'im. 620 grä'und. 621 wä'und. 622 öndv. 625 töq. 626 äqve. 628 nan. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 thazdi. 632 ap. 633 kap. 634 trä'u. 635 wath. 636 fäde. 637 task. 638 bask. 639 däst. U'- 640 kä'u [H. (käu)]. 641 ä'u. 643 na'u. 645 däv. 646 brä'u. 647 ä'ul. 648 ä'uv. 649 tha'uzund. 652 käd. 653 bat. U': 654 srä'ud [in both senses]. 656 rä'y'm [ræ'um]. 657 brä'uun. 658 dä'uun. 659 tä'uun. 660 baa. 661 shaa. 662 as. 663 ä'us, [pl.] ä'uzen. 664 ä'us. 665 mä'us. 666 äzben [my man, my old man, my husband, have all been heard; the last is refined]. 667 ä'ut. 668 prä'ud [gen. (stak ap)]. 669 önkuth. 670 buth [not in sg., but (byy,dhz) in plural]. 671 mä'uth. 672 sä'uth [sathüst] south-east, (sädhun bäi säu) southern by south?].

Y- 673 mä't [H. mu't]. 674 [(dan) used for düd]. 676 läi. 677 dräi. 678 din. 679 tpat'tpat't. 680 bizi. 682 lä'l. Y: 683 midt. 684 brädj. 686 bäi [H. bai]. 687 flät ev badz [flight of birds]. 689 bild. 690 käind. 661 mäind. 693 sin. 696 bath. 697 bæ'ci. 698 math. 699 weelräit [wheelwright]. 700 wäs. 701 fast. — H. träst [chest]. 703 pit. 704 wäksen. Y'- 705 skäi. 706 wäi. 707 thattiin. Y': 709 läiv. 711 liis. 712 miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 715 præd. 716 æd'l [adj. bad, only]. 717 djêvd. 718 trêvd. 720 feeg. 722 drécin. 723 dêv'ci. 724 baal. 725 sêl. 727 djrem. 728 shæm. 729 frêem. 733 skêv. 734 daan. 735 smæsh. 737 mëtt. 738 prætt. 739 maadhv maa. 740 wêuv. 741 mêzv. 742 lèzvi.

E. 743 skr.êem. 744 mévz'lz. 745 tjêvt. 746 brêvdh. 747 endæ'væ. 748 onflædjd [all un- become (on)]. 750 beeg. — mälv [mellow]. 751 paat.

I. and Y. 753 tä'l. 754 pä'g. 755 iilbut. 756 srümp. 757 täini. 758 gæl. 759 fit.

O. 761 luud. 762 ukem. 763 rüum. 764 köd'l. 767 näiz. 768 kuk [same as cook]. 769 muul, muul-ilz [molehills]. 771 fänd. 772 bunäiv. 773 [(diki) used for donkey]. 774 puuni. 775 buubi. 777 shöp. 778 väa'd. 779 aats. 780 djäs'l. 781 baadhv. 783 pootr'ci. 785 landj. 789 rä'u. 790 grä'und.

U. 792 skwäb'l. 793 ag. 794 [(götj) used for jüg]. 795 srig. 799 skäl. 800 skäl. 801 räm. 802 räm. 803 djamp. 805 kadz. 806 fas. 807 pus. 808 pat [used as a subst. for an old-fashioned labourer, a putt].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 êvb'l. 810 fêvs. 811 plêvs. 812 lêvs. 813 bêvk'n. 814 mëvsen. 815 fæks. 816 fêvd. 817 redish. 818 êvdj. 819 rêvdj. 822 méeci. 823 béeci. 824 tjêv. 825 wêvf [(wips en strêuz) occ. for waifs and strays]. 826 eeg'l. 827 eegv. 828 eegv. 829 gécin. 830 trécin. 832 mëv. 833 pèv [H. pèer]. 834 v puu shee [a post chaise, (vn os en shee) a horse and chaise]. 835 rëzen. 836 sèzen. — H. wës'l. 838 trêtt. 839 bëtt. 840 tjembe. 841 tj aans. 842 plæqk. 843 bräantj. 844 träentj. 845 êunshunt. 846 tj aandv. 847 deendjv. 848 tj eandj. 849 str aandjv. 851 aant äent. 852 êupen. 853 baagin. 854 baal. 855 kaat. 856 paat. 857 këvs. 858 brêvs. 859 tjêvs. 860 pèvst. 861 tèvst. 862 sêvf. 863 tj eef. 864 köz. 865 falt. 866 paa.

E.. 867 tèv. 868 djéci. 869 wêvl. 870 byy'ti [(bnyy-) used, sounded very like (buu-)]. 871 egréci. 872 tjêvf. 874 rëvn. 875 fèent. 876 déeci. 877 êv. 878 sêleri. 879 fi-mêvl. 880 egzaamp'l. 881 sæns. 884 præntis.

885 II. veri. 887 tlaadji. 888 saatin. 889 sêbs. 890 bêest [pl. not known].
891 fêust. 892 nævi. 893 flaa'v. 894 disêev. 895 risêev.

I.. and Y.. 897 dilái't. 898 náis. 899 nêes. 900 prêei. 901 fáin.
902 máin. 904 wá'let. 905 rái'et. 906 wáipe. 908 edwá'is. 909 brêez.
811 sisten. 912 ráis.

O.. 913 katj. 914 bratj. 915 staf. 916 anjen. 917 ryg. 918 fêeb'l
[=fable]. 919 áintment. 920 páint. 921 ekwe'nt. 922 bash'l. 923*
máist. 924 tjáis. 925 wáis. 926 spául. 927 tr_oak. 928 á'ums. 929 ká'u-
kumbb. 930 láin. 931 djágle. 932 vma'ant. 933 frant. 934 bá'anti.
935 kánt'ri. 936 fant. 937 kək. 938 kAAHB. 939 kləs. 943 kət. 941
fyy₁l. 942 batj. 943 tatj. 944 elá'u. 945 wá'u. 946 mó'il. 947 báil.
948 há'id. 950 səpə. 951 kəp'l. 953 kəz'n. 954 kəsh'n. 955 dā'ut.
956 kive. 957 implái'. 959 kəwe'ens [conveyance].

U.. 960 kii. 961 gr_murəl. 963 skwət. 965 áil. 966 fr_oyy₁t. 967
syy₁t. 968 áiste. 969 sháue. 970 djest. 971 fhyy₁t.

Notes and Examples to the Southwold ewl. by Miss Mallet.

1. (mæle pèez), mellow pears, always used for ripe pears.
2. (gyy₁zbrez, raasbrez), gooseberries, raspberries.
3. (v gèel fr_om dhe sath êust), a gale from the south-east.
4. (JEU dəs'nt, éi waant), you dare not, he was not.
5. (aa JEU agaa'n tē tjetj tudéei?), are you a-going to church to-day?
6. (wyy₁)z dhæt? dhe nêvshenel skyy₁l tétjə), who's that? The National School teacher.
7. (shéi)z dripen wæt!), she's dripping wet=drenched.
8. (list, wul)jə), listen, will you.
9. (ái)m v_gaa'n vmaa'ketən tenáit wi mái óud mæn), I'm a-going a-marketing to-night with my old man=husband.
10. (hæ JÁ'u sìn mái JƏQ)ən? héi)v bìn v-pleei'ən ən truuntən is MAANən), have you seen my young one=child? He has been a-playing and truant-ing this morning.
11. (mái mædhe kæp méi t)um tē nəs dhe bēebi), my mother kept me at-home to nurse the baby.
12. (pət dh'is kilē in dhe weshəs), put this cooler (=washtub) in the wash-house.
13. (g'it dhe big báile tē pət dhe syy₁p in), get the big boiler to put the soup in.
14. (éi'ald v stən vgin dhe bAAZ ən mAAZ), he hurled [=threw] a stone against the bo's and mo's. Bo' is used for either sex, chiefly male, and for any age, *together* is its plural in addressing people. Mo', a contraction for *ma'wther*, is used especially for a young girl.
15. (ái)m v goo'in im), I'm a-going home.
16. (was)ən æt), worse than that.
17. (v tripeni trid, doont tred oovv dhe trəsh'l), a threepenny thread, don't tread over the threshold).
18. (wul JÁ'u paa)me fa dhem tyy; shéep?), will you pay me for them [=those] two sheep?
19. (teent noo foot v máin), it)ain't no fault of mine.
20. (at iz leeg), hurt his leg.

Usages. I am, we you they are, I beant [*not* I be], he is, I he we they was, he do [common], he live there, I am a-going, theirsells, he didn't ought [never, he hadn't ought].

Intonation. Suffolk people drawl very much, and their voice rises in pitch towards the end of their sentences. [This is the Sf. whine.]

Notes on Southwold from Miss Mallet.

1. At (:wə:ləwig) Walberswick (1 s. Southwold) "they speak frightfully." (:ees'n :bræd) Easton Broad [piece of water] is 1 n. Southwold.

2. *v* is distinctly (w).

3. (tʃəm) chum is used rather than mate at work.

4. (a'uzen) houses is used, but Miss M. had not heard *place-n*.

5. There is no reverted (R), but the *r* entirely disappears after (aa, AA) when a consonant follows, and at most becomes (ə) after other vowels and before consonants; before vowels it is the imperfect untrilled (r_o) and then very light indeed.

6. A hale old man (see p. 281, No. 112) is a (kɛdʃ) kedge.

7. The negative *un-* is always (ən-).

8. (v mə'ʊthfʊl) is a mouth which is full, [a mə'ʊfʊl] is a mouthful.

9. Initial *thr-* *shr-* are always (tr_o sr_o) respectively.

10. In *broom* [br_oyy₁m] there is said to be a little action of the throat which makes it more like (br_ouum, br_oyum); perhaps it is the (r_o).

11. *cow* (kɛ'u) has never been heard from a Sf. man, but has been noticed in Nf. people.

12. *shoc* (shyy₁), *do* (dyy₁), the sound is deeper than the French (y), and is certainly not (ʒu, with which it is confused, (gɪv mi ty₁, ty₁) give me two, too.

ORFORD (6 ssw. Aldborough) near the coast, with SUDBOURNE (2 n. Orford) and neighbourhood, dt.

pal. by AJE. from diet. of Mr. C. Davis, the son of a native, and frequent visitor, at interviews in 1879 and 1881. The (r) is (r_o).

1. *soo* ái SEE, *ood* fælez, *ju* sii ne'u dhɛt ái)m ráit vbe'ut dha't lit'l gjá'l [mæadhɛ] kæmɛn frɛm dhɛ skuul hɛndɛ.

2. *shii*z gʊvɛn de'um dhɛ rʊd dhɛe'v thrʃy₁ dhɛ rɛd gévɛt v)dhɛ lɛft ha'n sáid dhɛ wɛɛ.

3. *shy*'er vnaɪ dhɛ tʃá'ld)z gʊm ráit [street] ɛp tɛ dhɛ dæ:v v)dhɛ rɔq hɛ'us,

4. *wɛe*'v shi)l ha'p'n ɔn dha't dræqk'n dæf shriv'ld fæv v)dhɛ neɛm v :tɔmɛs, [hiɪ liv dhɛe'v, hi dʒy₁].

5. *wi* aal noo ɛm wɛrɪ wɛl.

6. *oont* dh)ood tʃa'p sʊm laan hɛ nɔt tɛ dʒy₁ ɛt vgi'n, píuv thiq!

7. *luk*, ii)nt it try₁.

Notes on Orford dt.

1. *I*, either (á'i) or (ái) here and elsewhere.—*now* (ne'n), decidedly not (nɛ'u).—*I'm*, use of *I be* not recalled.—*right*, the initial (r) or (r_o) very lightly touched, throughout.—*that* (dhæf) at the first and (dha't) at the second interview, when all the (æ) were made (a').—*school*, originally dictated (skí'y₁'), but afterwards altered to

(skuul) and stated to be an exceptional word.—*yonder* (hɛ'ndɛ), this is a somewhat unusual form. The (h) preserved, though at Southwold it was uniformly omitted.

2. *three*, (tr-) for (thr-) not admitted here or elsewhere, (thrid) not (trid) for *thead*.—*gate*, the fracture (éu) very short.—*way* (wɛɛ) very broad and with

no vanish in (v, i), but in ÆG words as *tail* (TEE'íl), (i) was admitted.

3. *gone* (gum), also used for gave, given; A' regularly becomes (u), as (*rud, stun, rap, huan*), road, stone, rope, home.—*door*, (dAA'v) without euphonic (r), though a vowel follows, similarly (dRAA'v'n) drawing, not (dRAARUN).

4. *he live(s) there, he do(es)*, this was introduced to illustrate the use of the plural verb with the singular noun.

5. *very well, right well* (rá'ít wel) is more usual.

6. *learn, not teach*, in Sunday Schools the children say (tiitv).—*do* (d'iy₁), at the first interview (duu), but at the second (d'iy₁), at the same time (sk'iy₁) was made (skunl), the pret. of to sow seed, to mow grass, was also given as (sy₁, m'iy₁); and in (i'y₁) the sound was certainly diphthongal, the (i) very short and the (y₁) deeper than French (y).

e. SUFFOLK CWL.

Some of Moor's "Suffolk Words" collected from specimens given in the Glossary so called, and conjecturally pal. by AJE., the original spelling being prefixed in italics. Only such words as have an altered spelling are selected, and the pron. is conjectured from vv. specimens. But Moor is on the whole very phonetic in his orthography, especially in often not writing the *r* when not pronounced.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 *heent* hiint [has not]. — *star* staa [to stare]. 33 *rutha* rædhe. 36 *thow* thóou [·rh. mow'] *thow* thy₁ [pret.]. A: *hanspeke* ha'nspek [hand-spike]. A'- 72 *heer* hy₁, *howes* hā'uz [whose]. 82 *noonce* nuns [in the phrase *for the noonce=for then once*]. 90 *blew* bly₁ [pret.]. 91 *mew* my₁ [pret.]. 93 *snew* sny₁ [pret.]. 94 *crew* kry₁ [pret.].

Æ- 144 *agim* eg'ín. Æ: — *heft* hēft [haft]. 158 *aotanne* aatenyy₁n [afternoon]. 163 *lah* laa. Æ': — *midda* midē [meadow]. 205 *thrid* thrið. 208 *irva* irver iv+r. 209 *nirva* nivē. 218 *ship* ship.

E- — *hevy* hiivi [heavy]. — *bramble* bræmb'l [bramble]. — *butta* batē [better]. E: — *neb* nēb [nib]. 261 *sah* saa. — *red* rēd [to rid]. 262 *wah* waa. — *shell* shēl [shell]. 273 *min* mīn. — *ind* ind [end]. — *hin* hīn [hen]. — *pin* pīn [pen]. 284 *throsk* thrōsh [to thrash in the sense of to drub]. — *nest* nēst [nest]. E'- 297 *fulla* fāle. E': — *bliss* blis [bless].

EA: 328 *cowd* kē'ud. 330 *howd* hē'ud. — *bard* baad [beard]. — *ex* eks [axe]. EA'- 347 *hid* hid. EA': — *lick* lik [leck]. 354 *shoof* shunf. — *tares* tēz [tears, sb.]. EI- 372 *aah* aa. EO- 384 *hirvin* hīvīn. 386 *yow* jē'u. EO: 397 *swād* swa'd. — *bawm* baam [barm, yeast]. — *brunn* brān [burn]. EO'- — *frize* frāiz [freeze]. — *shute* shy₁t [shoot]. EO: — *hild* hīld [held]. 428 *sin* sīn [seen=saw or have seen]. 435 *ya yah yar* jaa [your, 'rh. a in far'].

I- — *ees* iēs [yes, 'long and drawly']. I: — *bahd* baad [bird]. — *led* lēd [lid]. 465 *sich* sītī. — *filler* fēle [filler, or thiller, that is, shaft-horse]. 469 *twool* twōl [it will]. 488 *yit* jīt. — *set* sēt [sit]. I'- — *thahty* thaati [thirty]. I': 507 *wimmin* wīmīn. — *whitster* wītstē [whitesmith].

O- — *show* shōu [to shovel, 'rh. now, a shovel is shōw' (shā'ul)]. — *ifore* ifāa [atore]. O: 532 *daata* daate. 536 *gowd* gē'ud. — *cowt* kē'ut [colt]. 544 *thin* dhīn. O'- 555 *shue* shy₁ [this sound written *ew* never occurs before final *d, f, k, m, p*; but is sometimes found before *l, n, s, t*, but not in *wool, full, bnd, foot, loan, moan, root, love*]. 557 *tw* ty₁. 559 *mooda* mōde [mother]. 560 *skule* sky₁l. 562 *mune* my₁n. — *moonth* munth [month]. 564 *sune* sy₁n. 565 *nuse* ny₁z. — *smuthe* smy₁th [smooth]. O': — *ruff* rāf [roof]. 582 *cule* ky₁l. 583 *tw* ty₁l. 584 *stule* sty₁l. 585 *brum* brām [see Forby's *harren brum*, p. 266, No. 585]. 586 *dew* dy₁. 588 *nune* ny₁n. — *guse* gy₁s [goose].

U- — *spahs* spaaz [spurs]. U: — *sheowder* shē'ude [shoulder]. 634 *threw* thry₁. U'- 645 *dow* dē'u.

Y- 674 *ded* dēd. — *heeve* hiiv [hive]. — *boondle* bund'l [bundle]. — is

is [hiss, "short and sharp"]. Y: 684 *bedge* bɛdʒ. 685 *redge* rɛdʒ. — *fell* fɛl [fill]. — *kell* kɛl [kill]. — *mell* mɛl [mill, but] *mulla* mʊlə [miller]. — *then* thɛn [thin]. — *hahnet* haanɛt [hornet]. — *brussels* bras'lz [bristles]. — *shet* shɛt [shut]. 703 *pet* pɛt. Y- — *deere* diiv [dive]. — *dreep* driip [drip]. 711 *leece* liis. 712 *meece* miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 *led* lɛd. — *kiddier* kidjɛr *kidjer* kidʒɛ kidʒɛ [cadger]. 722 *dreen* driin. — *busk* bʌsk [to bask]. — *sprawns* sprʌnz [sprawls]. — *greeze* griiz [graze]. I. and Y. — *stelt* stɛlt [stilt]. — *stent* stɛnt [stint, or allotted day's work]. — *glent* glɛnt [glint]. — *sturrup* stʊrɪp [stirrup]. — *shirra* shɪvɚ [a shiver, or slice]. O. 769 *mawl* maal. — *snooze* snʊʒz [snooze]. — *tartah* tʌtɛ [totter]. 791 *haw* haa [but in the Sf. sense of any man]. — *fravn* fraan [frozen, but this is from the proper pp. *frorɛn*]. — *boke* bʊk [bulk]. — *boonch* bʊntɪ [bunch]. — *poonch* pʊntɪ [punch]. — *reesty* riisti [rusty, applied to bacon].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 820 *gah* gaa [applied to coloured pictures in a book]. — *pah* paa [to pay]. 828 *ayah* aɪv. — *cheen* tʃi:n [a chain]. — *saas* saas [sauce, said to rh. brass]. — *kecce* kiiv [cave]. E.. — *pull* pʊl [peel]. 874 *reens* riinz [reins]. — *hahnsɛy* haanse [heronshaw]. — *concite* kɔnsʔit [conceit]. I.. and Y.. — *hume* hʏm [a hymn]. O.. — *aint* aint aint [amoint, to drub]. 926 *spile* spʔil. — *crunya* krʏnʒɛ [coroner]. — *pahpus* paapʊs [purpose]. 941 *fule* fyvl. — *jahney* dʒʌni [journey, or day's work]. — *meece* miiv [to move]. 956 *kirva* kɪv. U.. 965 *oyle* aɪl. — *stry* strʔi [destroyed], *stryance* strʔi'ens [liability to be destroyed]. — *consimmd* kɔnsʔmɔd [consumed]. — *ponish* pɔnʔʃ [punish]. — *mosick* moosʔk [music, pron. quite uncertain].

VAR. V. W. SUFFOLK FORM.

PAKENHAM CS.

originally written by Rev. C. W. Jones, native and vicar of Pakenham (5 ene. Bury St. Edmunds) since 1861, and revised from his dict. 24 Oct. 1873, and again 19 Oct. 1886. Some of the points in which this pron. differs from that of e. Sf. are mentioned pp. 288, 289.

0. wái :dʒən hàn t gət ne dɛ'uts.

1. wɛl, bʌ, ʒʔu ɛn hii mɛ booth ɛn ʒɛ lʔf ɛt dhʔs nʔuz v mʔin. hii kɛɛ? dhʔt beent nʔdhe hii v ne dhɛɛ.

2. fiu fooks dʔi thrʔu bʔn lʔft a'lt, wi noo dhʔt, doont əs, tegʔ-dhe? wət shɛd meek)ɛm? lʔiklʔ bii ɛt?

3. hɛ'usɛm'vɛ, dhʔs iz dhe trʔth v)dhɛ dʒɔb, soo ʒʔu dʒɛst hʔud ʒɛ nʔiz, tegʔ-dhe, ɛn bi skwʔt tɛl aʔ)v dʔn.

4. aʔ)m sa:tʔn v hiiɔ)ɛm sɛ—sɔm v dhɛm fooks wət gɔn thrʔu dhɛ hɔl dʒɔb frɛm dhɛ fast dhɛs'lvz—dhʔt v dɛd, siuu ɛnɛ'u.

5. dhʔt dhɛ ʒʔqɛs sʌn izsɛlf, v grʔt bói v nʔin ʒɛr a'ud, nood iz fʔdhɛz taq ɛt wanst, dhoo dhʔt wɛr dhʔt kiurəs, ɛn skriikʔ, ɛn aʔ)d trʔst hii tɛ spɛɛk dhɛ trʔth ɛnʔ dʔi, dhʔt v wʊd.

6. ɛn dhɛ a'ud wɛm hɛsɛlf ɛl tɛl ɛnʔ ɔn ʒɛ ɛz lʔf nɛ'u, ɛn tɛl ʒɛ rʔt ɛwʔ', shɛ wʊl tii, ɛdhɛ'ut no nɔrɛ'shɛn, ɛf ʒʔu l ɔnʔ aks)v, sii ɛf shɛ doont.

7. liiswʔiz shɛ tʔ'ud mi dhʔt tii v thrʔi tʔimz əvɛ, shɛ dɛd, ɛn shii doont ə'ut tɛ bɛ rɔq ɛv sʔtʒ v pʔnt ɛz dhʔs hii, diu shɛ nɛ'u?

8. wel, ez *ái* wor usæ'ín, shii)d tel re he'u wéew en wen shé fe'un dhat draek'n beest she ka'l v ma'n.

9. she swaa she sii him ov er oon *áiz*, lee'in stretjt e'ut ful lenth v dhe gre'um ín ez gud sændi koot, kloos egín dhe daaf v dhe he'us, de'um v dhe kaaner v hin láin.

10. Hii wer v wáinín ewææ, she sææ, se)shii', fer aal dhe wald láik v sik tjáild er v lid'l maar ev)v fret.

11. en dhat hæp'n ez shii en v da'utelá'u kóm thriu dhe bak jaad frum hæqín e'ut dhe wet klooz ev v wa'shín dáí,

12. *táim* dhe kí'tl wer v báilín fe tee, wæn bráit fáin samer átenum oni v wiik egu' kám neks thazdi.

13. en *ái* oont tel noo *láiz*, v níve laant ne maa ne dhís v dhæt dhéew djøb te dhís híie dáí, síuer ez máí náimz :djøn :shie'pud, en v doont wönt tíu nædhe, dhéew ne'u'.

14. en soo *ái*)m egu'ín hoom te gít me sapa. gud náit, tegi'dhe, en doont *á'u* bíi se kwík te kroo ov'er v tjàp egín, wen i taak v dhís v dhat v tædhe.

15. dhat)s v week fúl, wæt preec vdhé'ut reez'n. en dhat)s máí las wad. féew dhe wel.

Notes on the Pakenham es.

On my remarking to Mr. Jones that this specimen was very different from the e. of Sf., he wrote, "I should have been quite ashamed of myself if you had not found a marked difference between my pronunciation and that of Framlingham, Southwold and Orford, supposing these latter to have been well reproduced to you." Whence it appears that Mr. Jones himself recognised a great difference between the w. and e. of Sf., and he continually, also, drew attention to the difference between w. Sf. and Nf. As here presented, the absence of (y) and the presence of (iu) in its place, and the use of 'together,' resembles Cb. The use of (láin náim) lane name is like Hu. or Es. The use of (dáí) day looks S., but may have been similarly derived to the other two. Still, the use of *be* and *don't us* are also S.

On the other hand, (sææ, ewææ) for (saa, ewaa) belong to (paa), got from s.Nf. and also in old times to Li., and see *Moor*, p. 286, Nos. 261, 372, and p. 287, No. 820 and next word. But (ewái) was also used.

I was regularly (*ái*), which Mr. Jones wrote *oy*, but careful examination seemed to shew that it had not reached that point, which, however, I have to admit in D 16, 18. The sounds are certainly difficult to distinguish. On the other hand, (*ái*) was used for *boil*, *point* (*báil*, *páint*), being decidedly different.

U' was (E'u) regularly, but (á'u) was used in *you told* (*á'u táud*), this is a common distinction. In (*da'utelá'u*) daughter-in-law, the first (*á'u*) is usual enough, the (*lá'u*) for *law* looks like a variation of (*la'u*), but Mr. Jones was very particular about it.

The following are the principal differences between w. and e.Sf. P Pakenham, F Framlingham, S Southwold, O Orford.

A *hasnot.* P hànt, F hiint.
law. P lá'u, FS laa.
name. P náim, F nêem, S nêem.
washing. P waashín, F wáshen, S weshen.
A' *both.* P booth, FS bath [Stanhoe and Mattishall], booth.
who. P híu, F híyy, S wyy.
two. P tíu, F tíyy, S tyy.
ought. PFS á'ut.

home. P hoom, F hóm, S um.
whole. P hól, FS hól.
lane. P láin, FS lún.
Æ *day.* P dáí, F déei, S déei.
E *say.* P sææ, F séew, S séei, O see.
away. P ewææ ewái, F ewéew, S ewéei, O ewee.
speak. P speek, FS spêek.
length. P lenth, F læqkth, S læqkth.

- EA *old.* P ɛ'ud, FS ood.
hold. P hɛ'ud, FS ood.
told. P ta'ud, FS tood.
- EA' *few.* P fiu, F fiy, S fyy₁ f'v₁.
- EO *yon, yonder.* P h'in, F'hindē, S
 inde.
- EO' *she.* P shii, F shi, S shéi, O shi.
you. PFS ja'u.
truth. P trúath, F tríy₁th, S
 tróoth, [Stanhoē] tríyy₁th.
- I' *woman.* P umen, FS wumun.
- O *folks.* P fooks, F fúks.
world. P S wald, F wáuld.
over. P ɔv, F uv.
- O' *too.* P tíu, FS t'ý₁.
swore. P swaa'u, F swóov, S
 swóov.
- noon.* P nuu, F níy₁n, S ny₁n.
 U *through.* P thriú, F thra'u, S
 tra'u, O thríy₁.
door. P daa'u, F dúuv.
tongue. P tɔq, S tɔq.
Thursday. P thɛzdi, F thaazdi,
 S thazdi.
- A.. *reason.* P reez'n, F riiz'n, S
 rēvzun.
- E.. *tea.* P tee, F tii, S tév.
beast. P beest, F biist, S bêst.
- O.. *coat.* P koot, FS kút.
close. P kloos, FS klus.
fool. P fuul, F f'ý₁l, S fyy₁l.
doubt. P F d'ut, S da'ut.
- U.. *sure.* P síuv, F síy₁v, S shúuv,
 O shy'v.

IV.

THE MIDLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 20 to D 29 as shewn on the map.

Boundaries. On the s. first the n. *sun* line 1 from its w. commencement on the Dee to Watling St., Np., and then going ne-wards by the w. b. of Np. and round Rt. to the b. of Cb. which pursue to the sea. On the n. the n. *theeth* line 5. On e. and w. the sea-coast.

Area. All Ch. Db. Le. Li. Nt. St., the n. of Wo. and most of Wa., s. and m. La., the ne. of Sh., all detached or English Fl., a small part of main or Welsh Fl., and of Dn.

Sections. Dialectally this area falls into two distinct and apparently unrelated sections, an Eastern comprising Li. D 20, and a Western comprising all the rest. The several districts of the Western Section have a strong family resemblance, but they nevertheless fall into three tolerably distinct groups, the Northern, Mid and Southern. The Northern comprises s. and m.La., s.Yo., and n.Db.; the Mid contains Ch. and n.St., s.Db. and Nt.; and the Southern contains s.St., English Fl., and a small part of Welsh Fl. and Dn., ne.Sh., n.Wo., most of Wa. and Le. Nt. was more related to the other Mid M. districts forty years ago than it now is.

Districts and Groups. As will be seen by the map and key, the M. div. is separated into ten districts, D 20 to D 29, all provided with geographical names. These districts form four groups. 1. The BM. or Border Midland comprises D 20 only. 2. The NM. or Northern Midland comprises D 21 to D 24. 3. The MM. or Mid Midland contains D 25 to D 27. 4. The SM. or Southern Midland contains D 28 and D 29. Particulars of each district are given below.

Character. The M. div. not being homogeneous, we cannot look for any one pervading character. It is best defined by negatives. It is decidedly different from its neighbours, the W, S, E, on the s., and the N on the n. The basis of the language spoken was not the Wessex, but the speech of various tribes scattered over a large country, and most probably differing considerably in different parts. The following are some of the most important points to which attention should be directed.

VOWEL FORMS (*u*, *u*₁, *u*₀. *æ*'*u*. *í*₁, *a*'*í*).

(*u*, *u*₁, *u*₀). At the present day one of the characters which first strikes a Southerner in Midland speech is the total absence of (ə, æ) for *u* in *up*, called (əp) in educated London, and (ap) in the provinces, and in these regions represented by *u* in *full*, or nearly so. A similar representation of this vowel frequently occurs s. of the M. div., between the transverse lines 1 and 2. In that region, however, the sound of (ə, æ) is still more or less heard. Again, for the greater

part of the N. div., s. of the transverse line 8, there is a similar total absence of (ə, ɛ). Hence the mere absence of this sound is not enough to characterise the M. div. In fact, we are rather concerned with accounting for the *presence* of (ə, ɛ) anywhere than for its absence somewhere. There can be no doubt that short U was originally some variety of short (u) universally in English Britain, how then did it become (ə, ɛ)? Are there any existing recognised intermediate sounds between (ə, u)?

In the M. div. as here defined we must distinguish at least 3 forms representing short U and its congeners. First (u) as in *full*, which is not (u), the short sound of oo in *fool*; compare French *forte poule* (ful. pul) with Eng. *fool pool, full pull* (fuul puul, fad pad). The sounds (ful, pul) are even difficult for an Englishman to produce, and a Frenchman finds equal difficulty with (*fad, pad*). The difference between the two consists in what Mr. Melville Bell calls 'widening,' the 'physical cause' of which he finds in the 'retraction of the soft palate and expansion of the pharynx' (Visible Speech, 1867, p. 71). On the other hand, Dr. Sweet says 'in forming narrow sounds' [such as (u)] 'there is a feeling of tenseness in that part of the tongue where the sound is formed, the surface of the tongue being made more convex than in its natural *wide* shape, in which it is relaxed and flattened,' and he does 'not believe that the shape of the pharynx, the approximation of the palatal arches, etc., have any distinctive effect in producing distinct vowel sounds' (Handbook of Phonetics, 1877, p. 9). That there is a distinction between the two vowels of each of the pairs (i i, e e, ɛ ɛ, o o, u u) is undoubted. The first of each pair is called by Mr. M. Bell 'primary' and by Dr. Sweet 'narrow,' and the second is called by both 'wide,' but whether the distinction is of the same nature in each pair, and in what it really consists, has not been at present satisfactorily ascertained. It is sufficient for our present purpose that such a state exists.

There is also a state of *higher* and *lower*, generally supposed to result from bringing the highest part of the tongue nearer to, or further from, the palate. This we mark by ¹ and ₁, as (i¹), which approaches (i), and (u₁), which approaches (o), and indeed is hardly separable from (o¹) or an (o) approaching (u). We thus obtain the form (u₁) as a very low or deep form of (u).

Lastly, there is the different effect of 'rounding,' as Mr. M. Bell calls it, that is, of the greater or less closure of the lips. Mr. M. B. distinguished only 3 degrees of rounding, those for (ɔ, o, u), but there are of course any number of such roundings, and especially we may endeavour to speak vowels with other than their usual roundings. Thus (u) has the lips drawn closely together. Let them be more opened. The result is written (u_o), where (o), the inverted mark of degrees (°), is not meant to be the letter (o), but merely a sign that (u) is uttered 'with more open lips.' From numerous observations on himself and others, TH. thinks that the position of the tongue is halfway between those for (o) and (u), and the position of the lips that for (o) but slightly flatter. Whatever it be precisely, the effect of this wider opening of the lips is to alter the value of (u) considerably. In fact, (u_o) is a very unstable transitional form, which, according to the consonants with which it is connected, simulates (ɔ, o, u). To TH. the sound is native, and he has kindly allowed me to study it from his lips on several occasions for many hours. At different times the resemblance of (u_o) to one or other of these sounds seemed to vary, and on the very last examination his (u_o) sounded to me very much like German ö in *können, Böttcher*, that is, closely resembling but by no means identical with (œ). I seemed never able to hit the sound to TH.'s satisfaction, but I succeeded best when bearing this sound of (œ) in my mind, and giving it more of an (u) flavour. I got TH. to say (u_op, up, ap) and so on for many words, and the distinction of one vowel from the other was complete. Then I got JGG. to observe this uttered vowel carefully in my absence, and he considered it as "a higher and rounded form" of (ɔ). According to Mr. M. Bell, (o) is the natural rounded form of (ɔ), hence the amount of rounding used by JGG. must have been different. He says, indeed, that in his imitation of the sound he does not round more than for (ɔ, o), which is very little. He places it second in the series of sounds (not positions) which he wrote (ɔ. u_o, o¹, u₁, u), shewing his views of the passage from (ɔ) to (u), and of the natural transitional character of this remarkable vowel. TH.

recognised in actual speech while travelling over the region between the transverse lines 1 and 2 many intermediate forms between (α , u_0), so that, allowing for the natural difficulty arising from the sound being native to his own organs, and hence likely to be recognised when not precisely used, there was continually some hesitation as to whether a sound heard was (α) or (u_0), and there was so much difficulty of separating (u_0 , u), that notwithstanding that he made several journeys for the purpose, he was unable to determine any boundary between them.

In order to print my book it was of course necessary to come to some practical conclusion respecting the use of (u_0 , u , u_1). Those who have not an opportunity of carefully studying the sounds from native speakers and hearing them in general use, may be contented to use (u) as received (u) in *it*ll in all cases. I write (u_1) in D 20, and (u) in D 24, and also in Ru. D 18. In the rest of the M. div., and in the intermediate zone between the transverse lines 1 and 2, I write (u_0), as this is the usage of TH., to whom I am mainly indebted for information. But it cannot be supposed that in such an extensive region this peculiar transitional sound (u_0) remains absolutely the same as TH. uses, and hence, of course, hears it, or that it is formed always by the same precise action of the organs of speech that he employs. I mean then merely to imply by the use of (u_0) that through this region generally the sound is transitional between (α) and (u), and is sufficiently like the sound used by TH. to be accepted by him as the same. TH., as stated above, heard many other transitional sounds, and is under the impression, founded upon his observations, that there is a mixed region within which both (u , u_0) are heard, bounded on the n. by a line from about Gainsborough, Li., to about Ulverstone, La., and that northward of this line (u_0) and its congeners disappear and (u) remains. This will be further considered in D 24 and D 31. The use of (α , α , u_0 , u) does not separate dialect districts, as we have already found (p. 16).

This delimitation of (u_0 , u , u_1) would require long special study to settle, and must be accepted as simply the nearest approximation to the truth that my present materials allow me to make.

($\alpha'u$). As (u_0) appears to be a variant of (u), caused by *keeping* the mouth too wide open, so ($\alpha'u$) is a variant of (uu) caused by *beginning* it with the mouth too wide open, and gradually but rapidly closing it down to the position for (u). I met with a similar action in Ledbury ($\alpha'ou$), p. 73, note to par. 9, and it is very common among rec. speakers in such words as *oh! no!* ($\alpha\alpha\acute{o}\acute{o}$, $\mu\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\acute{o}\acute{o}$). While uttering (uu), open the mouth suddenly quite wide, the result is a sound something like (α) or (α'), which I therefore write (α'). If we take various smaller openings, the sound approaches (u_0). Now begin with (α'), tongue as for (u), and rapidly close the lips to (u). An intermediate gliding sound is heard connecting the two extremes, represented as usual by ($'$), so that ($\alpha'u$) represents the whole phenomenon. When I studied this sound from TH.'s lips some years ago, I repeatedly observed that his lips distinctly did not touch one another in any spot at the beginning of his utterance. In later observations I found that he began with a partial rounding. He himself writes ($u_0'u$), believing that the tongue is a little more advanced than for (u_0), and the vowel is wide, while the opening of the lips is that for (α) and the lips are slightly flatter. But, except on pp. 322-329, I retain my old symbol with which I had written all the examples, and which is based on what I consider the complete phenomenon. It must be remembered that the initial (α') is very short, and the final (u) often long, as ($\alpha'uu$), but as this varies from time to time according to circumstances, no notice is taken of it in writing. The ordinary dialect speaker generally considers that he says (uu). The result of JGG.'s examination of TH.'s pron. of ($\alpha'u$), his ($u_0'u$), was that it sounded like ($\alpha_1'au$), "that is, a low form of the French *e* in 'que je me repente' [Volney's example], accented and sliding through (u) to (u) pure," and he does not consider that the initial vowel was (u_0). The first element is, however, not always low, it is sometimes quite high, depending upon the extent to which the mouth is opened at first.

Although not entirely peculiar to the M. div. ($\alpha'u$) is a very distinctive phenomenon. It is extremely unstable, varying to (iu , iy , yv , $\alpha\theta$) or thereabouts on the one hand and ($\alpha'u$) on the other. It attacks principally O'- words, which must have been first reduced to (uu), but it does not at present attack original U'- words, which will be considered presently. Hence it must be a comparatively

recent phenomenon in England. In France some such intermediary possibly changed Latin *ā* into French *u*, that is, (ua) into (yy). The change into (iu íy yy) occurs in D 19, into (a) in the L. div., into (yy₁) in D 10, 11, into (a'u) in D 26. It is kept pure in D 21, 22, 25. It does not seem to affect D 24 or the N. div. I have not observed it in D 20. Sporadically instances of it occur in D 6, 7, and even with careless speakers in rec. speech. This is an example of *inchoant* diphthongs, arising from altering the *commencement* of some long vowel, of which the conclusion is retained. Such diphthongs are a fertile source of change, and their actually observed occurrence solves many riddles in the alteration of words.

(îi, a'î). Another inchoant diphthong is (îi), the first step in the change of (ii) to (a'î). This sound (îi) is difficult to appreciate at first hearing, and is liable to be taken for (ii) or (ii). The speaker usually considers it as (ii). When once set in motion the subsequent changes are rapid, as (îi, îi, éi, éi, e'î), all actually in use. This is the utmost extent to which E' is affected after becoming (ii), and hence, as in the case of the change of O' into (œ'u), I consider it to be recent. This theory of the generation of (e'î) from E' through (îi) does not exclude the generation of (éi) from (œ) by terminal addition, as seems to have occurred elsewhere very recently in (œ'î), sometimes appreciated as (éi). See especially D 16, 17 (pp. 196, 218, 226). But the initial change must have affected original I' long before, so that at present this appears already in the stage of (e'î) and passes on to (æ'î, á¹î, áî), and thence to (áî, A'î), all of which occur, while (á¹î, áî) vary as (æ'î, æ'î), common forms in the S. div., with various other forms of the same kind as (w'î, v'î, œ'î).

When, however, the forms of (a'î) have once been reached, the dialectal changes are not over. The final (î) may be degraded to (v) as (áu), and then the (v) altogether omitted, so that (aa, aa, AA) result as an alteration of (îi), an almost incredible but completely established fact.

(á'u). The change of U' to (á'u) through (á₁u) will be considered in the N. div., although it seems to occur in the M. and even E. div. as (áu). We may, however, consider in the M. div. that we begin with (áu), as in D 23. This falls into (áá áá áv), and on arriving at (áv), another transformation is ready. As in the E. div. (léem) became (lé'm), so here (áv) becomes (áî). This remarkable form of U' is dominant in D 25. But it goes no further, it does not become (ai, A'î), which would clash with the representation of I'. Another change of (áv) arises from the omission of (v), so that U' is represented by (aa). This is strongly marked in D 24. Hence both I' and U' tend to become (aa) in the same div., but not usually in the same district. It would seem that confusion could no further go than that I' and U' should both be confounded as (aa), which, however, does not represent A', for this original sound becomes (áv, óv, uu, oo). But, in fact, the changes are not ended. In (áv) the (a) becomes thinned to (á¹), and (á¹v, æ'v, E'v, év) and even (iv) result as may be found in D 22 and w.D 24. In at least some of these forms (v) becomes lost, and (aa¹, aæ, EE) result. These are the forms most prevalent in D 22. The (ææ) is the proper representative of the La. spelling *æw*, invented, I believe, by Mr. Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), in whose region, however, at present they do not say (ææ), but (æ'u), another variety of (áu). The U' = (ææ) and I' = (aa) are compatible and are used together in part of D 22.

These are the principal vowel changes in the M div. and they are interesting for their preservation of forms which explain the transition from the old to the new value of the letters.

CONSONANT FORMS (r, h).

(r.) The letter *r*, when not before a vowel, is entirely vocalised in D 20 as there explained, in the other districts it is asserted to have consonantal value, yet from several informants I got *corf* as the phonetic form of *culf* meaning (KAAT), which shews that they at least did not hear an *r*. Mr. Darlington, D 25, a native of s.Ch., acknowledged that Ch. *r*, when not before a vowel, had very little power, and was more felt by speaker than listener. TH. says he has paid particular attention to educated pronunciation, and has, during observations, continued for many years, recorded special points from more than 400 public speakers, and

is thus enabled "to say confidently that the Midland *r* before a vowel is the standard English *r*, and likewise that *r* before a consonant and *r* final are generally the same as when before a vowel in n.Db. Ch. La. and St." Consequently he writes (r) in every case. Although entirely disagreeing with him in this opinion, so far as standard English *r* is concerned, I have necessarily been unable to take any other course but to follow his example with this explanation. In discussions, however, I shall use (r) both before and after a vowel to indicate TH.'s sound, considering the printed (r, as (r) with the left-hand top corner removed (r) so as to be imperfect, and I write *r* with a stroke over it, \bar{r} . This new symbol I call the Midland *r*, without pretending to define, because I have not ascertained, the exact mode of its generation. The "imperfection" of (\bar{r}) is in respect to the "perfection" of the Italian *r*, the true value of (r). Certainly when not before a vowel the use of (r), without some explanation, is grossly misleading, to any one who reads phonetic writing according to its professed rules, or say to a Scotchman or Italian. The *r* in such cases is very much like a coarse (v), and even in Yo. Cu. We. and Du. it is hardly perceptibly consonantal—at least to my ears.

I thought it best to take JGG.'s opinion on the *r* used by TH. He says: "his *r* is to my ear an inner buzzed $r = (r_{\circ})$, identical with the *r* I have heard wherever I have been in Ch. St. Db. or La." After mentioning two persons, whom he knows well, that use it, JGG. proceeds to say: "The place on my series is between the Wl. *r* and the n.We. or Swaledale *r*, and also my own *r* before a vowel. I should say it is exactly intermediate between these two." JGG. concludes by saying that he hears TH. "pronounce the *same* in initial, medial, and final positions, with a few exceptions." TH. says that as he is a native of Db., and has resided 42 years in La., he is "in a much better position to say what is the analysis or formation of the Midland *r* than any one who is not a native, and who has not resided in the district or whose visits have been only occasional." But it is well known that it is extremely difficult to shake off one's original habits of speech, and that without great practice in acquiring facility in using new sounds, the ear is apt to be misled. Owing to this initial "personal equation," the same sound will be appreciated differently by different observers who have studied the subject. Thus TH. and AJE. differ materially as to "the standard English *r*."

Generally *r* causes great difficulty to the phonetist. Mr. Melville Bell defines it as made by "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gums." This entirely eliminates the conception of trilling, and he therefore has a separate mark corresponding to my (z) called "vibrator" and "trill" and defined as "vibration of the organ symbolised." (See the discussion in Part IV. pp. 1341-4, especially p. 1344, 9g.) For myself I consider vibration or trilling, or as I now prefer to call it *flapping* (caused by the passage of air over a loose flexible body, as linen flaps on a clothes-line or a flag flaps on its staff), the essence of all *r* sounds. This flapping may be produced by many organs, and the statement of the organs specifies the kind of flap. This is precisely the converse of Mr. Melville Bell's and Dr. Sweet's views. In England where no vowel follows, the flap is usually replaced by an obstructive position of the tongue which does not flap, but yet is not hard and rigid. Of course the non-flappable is somewhat different from the flappable position. When flatus only is driven through such a passage with non-flapping tongue, we have simply a hiss, one of the very numerous tribe of (s); when voice passes, we have a sound approaching in various ways to (ə, v, ω) or even (z). These replacers of (r) are usually symbolised by (r, r_o), etc., shewing what form of (r) is replaced, and for convenience the (o) is usually omitted after the replacement has been explained. In England we must distinguish at least Italian (r), Scotch (r), Irish (r) [written (r) in Part IV. p. 1232], the Southern (n), Midland (r), Northumbrian (r, r_w), different from the hard metallic Parisian and guttural North German uvular (r, r_u). All of these may be flapped or unflapped, and flated or voiced, and among the unflapped forms, produced by keeping the tongue or uvula in approximately the same position as if it were intended to flap but stiffened so that it cannot do so, are the Southern (r_o) degenerating to the Eastern (r_o), for both of which the tip of the tongue is raised, and the Midland (r_o). This list is very far from

exhaustive. There is probably a Northern unflapped (r^0), a strongly flapped and a "soft" Spanish r , of which the latter may be the same as the Northern unflapped (r^0), an alveolar and dental r (r , r^h), an American r , various French and German r , besides the Polish rz (zrh) and the oriental mixtures of (r^s , r^l), the defective lip r , the North German glottal (r) and its Arabic form (g) with (krh , grh) and the corresponding Dutch g and Greek γ , and others. Many of these have still to be analysed, and the mode of production of the un-flapped replacers of flapped r presents problems of extreme difficulty.

This difficulty is seriously increased by the habits of reading, where the one symbol r is naturally associated in the speaker's mind with the sounds, or various sounds which he from local habit assigns to it, and hence as naturally hears from all others. In my *Pronunciation for Singers*, pp. 136-8, I distinguish 26 cases which require consideration in received English speech. They are here given in a condensed form, illustrated merely by examples, which the reader may exercise himself in distinguishing, and determine if possible what is the value of his own r in each case.

1. word journey furnish spurn. 2. myrrh guerdon. 3. recurring spurring purring blurring slurring demurring. 4. preferring conferring referring erring deferring. 5. near beer here we're pier. 6. eery era weary peccress. 7. care pair air prayer there their bear mare mayor. 8. canary fairy therein bearing. 9. hoar o'er door floor borne torn sore corps pour towards. 10. glory soaring pouring. 11. poor moor tour sure lure allure. 12. poorer surer assuring tourist. 13. cure pure endure immature your ewer. 14. fury purer enduring immuring. 15. hard clerk heart guard. 16. starry tarry (adj. not vb.). 17. wax ward swarm extraordinary George order born. 18. warring abhorring. 19. fire lyre quire choir chorister hire. 20. wiry wery fiery. 21. hour power ourselves ours flour flower. 22. dowry flowery showery. 23. paper circuitous answer martyr altar alter grammar particular (last syllable) peculiar spectator tailor razor orator. 24. azure fissure measure nature feature stature figure. 25. barbarian particular (first syllable) partake marquee. 26. ornate ordain organic orthography orthoepy.

(h) The aspirate is altogether neglected in the M. div. The speaker has no sensation of omitting it, any more than a received speaker thinks (notwithstanding the orthography) that he is omitting h in his pron. of *hour*, *honest*, *honour*, it. In the last word indeed few of even received speakers are aware that an h has been omitted. This omission of (h) is also the case in Antwerp, Flanders, Belgium, Brabant, see Part IV. p. 1421 *d*. Of course *wh* is called (w), though this is a different case, which is phonetically (not historically) similar to the use of (z) for (s) initial. This absence of aspiration penetrates to well-educated classes, and may be even heard from the pulpit. In *Le.* the aspirate is, however, occ. wrongly inserted.

CONSTRUCTIONAL FORMS [*the. -en. I am*].

[*the*]. The definite article *the* has four forms, (dh dh th t'), in the NM and MM groups, D 21 to D 27, but they are differently employed in different districts, and in the SM group D 28 and D 29 only (dh) seems to be used. The rule is that (dh) is heard before vowels, and (th) before consonants, while "suspended t " or (t') occurs by assimilation, and (dh) is employed only in particular cases. Both (th , t') are common in D 21 and D 22. In D 24 (t') is almost solely employed, except on the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. *The* is sometimes assimilated to other letters, as (fr em)s)skæ'u) from the school. This power of assimilation is interesting as still existent in dialectal speech. Numerous examples occur in the subsequent illustrations.

[-*en*]. The chief constructional peculiarity is the verbal plural in *-en* (*wi noon*, *jo noon*, *dhi noon*), *we know-en*, *you know-en*, *they know-en*. This is universal in D 21, D 22, D 25, D 26. In D 23 the people think that it is not used, but it still exists in a few contracted forms as (an *jo*? *du*? *jo*?) *have-n* *you?* *do-en* *you?* In D 24 it is only found at the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. In D 27 it seems to be practically lost, but there is evidence that it did exist some years ago. In D 28 it is plentiful. In D 29 it chiefly exists

in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e., but even in Le. there are traces of it.

[*I am*]. The verb substantive is *I am*, which separates the M. from the N. div. where for the most part *I is* is heard. *I be* is seldom used, and most frequently in the negative *I be'n't*, and is confined to SM., which borders the S. div. *I are* seems to be unemploy'd.

PECULIAR WORDS [*hoo*, *shoo*].

[*hoo*, *shoo*]. In vocabulary, the use of *hoo* pronoun, variously called (*ua*, *a'u*, *a'u*, *iu*), the Ws. *heó*, *she*, is prevalent in D 21, 22, 25, 26, although it is superseded, in several constructions, by what at least is assumed to be *her* (*ær*, *er*), both for nom. and ace. But in D 24 appears the form *shoo* (*shuu*, *sho*, *shé*), which, like *she*, is usually referred to Ws. *seó*. I am inclined, however, to believe that *shoo* is also a form of *heó*, through some such form as (*gjhoo*). In the other districts *she* or rather *her* are in general use. For girl, *wench* is most usual, without any offensive suggestion.

NEGATIVE CHARACTER.

There is therefore no one particular character, phonetic, constructional or vocabularian, by which the whole M. div. (even excluding D 20) can be separated from adjoining regions. But there are very numerous even merely phonetic characters by which any district can be separated from non-Mid. divisions, as will appear from the following details. The M. div. is therefore, as already stated, rather negatively than positively characterised. It has not the S. W. E. or N. characters. But it has generally the vowel (*u_o*) and occ. (*u*, *u₁*) for U and wonderfully varied forms of U', I', with occ. peculiar O' (*a'u*) and extensive, but not universal, use of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Collectively these form very distinctive characters. The striking uses of (ii) for A-, ÆG, EG and (*éi* *e'i*) for E', ECG are too much confined to portions of D 25, D 26, D 28, D 29, to be relied upon as a general M. character.

D 20 = BM = Border Midland.

Boundaries, those of the co. of Li.

Area, the co. of Li.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH, || in systematic, ° in io. *Li*. °Aisthorpe, °Alford, °Axholme Isle of, °Barnoldby-le-Beck, †Barrowby, °Beckingham, *Billingborough, °Blyton, °Bracebridge, *Brigg, °Brocklesby, °Caistor, °Coningsby, °Crowle, *Ejworth, °Faldingworth, °Fillingham, °Friskney, °Fulstow, °Gainsborough, *Grantham, °Great Coates, °Great Grimsby, *Halton-Holegate, °Haxey, °Healing, °Horbling, °Hornecastle, °Keelby, °Killingholme, °Kingerby, °Laceby, †Lincoln, °†||Louth, °North Hyckham, °North Kelsey, °Saxby, °Scartho, *Scotter, °Seunthorpe, °Skellingthorpe, †Sleaford, °Snitterby, *Sommerby, °†Spilsby, °Springthorpe, °Stallingborough, †Stamford, °Thorseway, °Thornton, °Uleebly, °Usselby, °Waltham, *Winterton.

Character. There is a certain degree of homogeneity of sp. throughout Li., which renders it difficult to subdivide the district, but we may roughly distinguish three varieties: Var. i. s.Li. Form, prevailing to just a little n. of Sleaford (11 ne. Grantham), and Boston, and perhaps as far n. as Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet). Var. ii. m. Li. Form, prevailing over the whole county from the last-

named places to the *s. hoose* line 6, which cuts off the *n.* of *Li.* Var. iii. *n.Li.* Form is very clearly marked by the use of (uu) in *U'* words, *n.* of the *s. hoose* line 6.

Li. more closely resembles the *E. div.* than the *M.*, although it is quite distinct from the *E.*, as it is from the adjoining *Nt.* and *Yo.* The great and peculiar character of the whole district is the marvellous quantity of fractured vowels. There are plenty of fractured vowels in *Yo.*, but, as will be seen under Var. iii., they are of a different nature from the *Li.* fractures.

The latter are regarded by the natives merely as 'drawls,' and several, in writing to me, indicated this drawl by an added *r.* Thus Mr. Bogg (:boog) then of Louth, writing in Glossic, and meaning that *air cor our* should sound as in *pair peer roar* (pêr pîr rôr), not (rAA'v), in ordinary received speech, without the shadow of a trill (for trilled *r* is unknown in *Li.*, except, perhaps, before a vowel, and then it is very light), writes consistently throughout his translation of Lord Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style *awair sair pairnz brairnz airdher toodair sairnts tairk mairks kwairker laird mair-be maird taird nair mairz brairk sairn fairdher laizi* for Lord Tennyson's *awaïy saïy paaïns braaïns eäther todaïy saäints taäk maäkes quaäker laäüd maäde taäül naäy mays* [=makes] *breäk saäme feyther laäzi.* Certainly this expresses the sound perfectly to a *Li.* man or a Londoner, though it renders the *look* of the words unintelligible. Mr. Bogg has also *weerk speerk beern seerd weernt deerd breerd veerzen cerd steerlz meerlz leerst seer theer meernz leerr* for Lord Tennyson's *weeäk speäk beän* [been] *seeä'd* [see'd for saw] *wcänt* [won't] *deäd breäd reäson eäd* [head] *steäls meäls læst* see thee means [the fracture unmarked in these three words] *leäve.* Also *wour boarth goar doarnt thoart noart oart noarn koarts noar noarshenz* for Lord Tennyson's *wöä* [cry to stop a horse] *boäth goä döänt thowt nowt owt* [fracture not marked in these three words, and not usual] *noän coäts noä noäitions.*

These words carefully pronounced will give an excellent notion of the peculiar *Li.* fracture. Compare *aware away, dare day, bairns pains,—seed sear'd, reed reared,—oh! oar, moan mourn* [avoiding London (MAAR)], *coat court* [avoiding London (KAAT)]. Londoners have quite lost and vocalised the *r*, so have *Li.* people, but the vocal (v) glides closely on to the preceding vowel. Thus in London *brewer poor* (bruu v pûv) do not rhyme, and *idea near* (á'idiiv niu) also should not rhyme, though they often do; in 'the prayer of a prayer' (dhu preejv ev v prêv), the two words 'prayer' have different sounds as well as meanings, the (r) due to the following vowel may be disregarded, but observe the vowel change (ee ê), and the absence of a glide in the first and its presence in the second. In the *S.* and *E. div.* we have had numerous examples of (êv), as in (lêvm) *lame*, without the disappearance of an (r), but not of the other fractures except through such a disappearance; in *Li.*, however, there is a constant tendency to this development after every vowel. The fractures elsewhere seem to have arisen from initial alterations of the vowels, but in *Li.* from mere additions, more comparable to the 'vanishes' of the south, and exactly equivalent to its 'numerous diphthongs.'

It is a singular thing that the vowel on to which this murmur is tagged is, as a rule, the same as in received speech, and may be 'widened' as for the murmur diphthongs, thus (*wiik*) becomes (*wîek*) or (*wîék*), (*stiil*, *stîul*) or (*stîel*), and so on. And it is no doubt to this cause that the *Li.* conception that the vowels are merely drawled is due. The *Li.* speech is slow and drawly, but here we have not the mere drawling of a vowel, we have the real addition of another vowel on to which the first glides, and part of the length of the first vowel seems to be absorbed into the glide in the process.

This peculiar fracture, and the vocalisation of *r* into (v) or its omission after (aa AA), are the main characteristics of this district. The *U*, as explained on p. 292, is taken to be (*u₁*). The *h* is uncertain; as a rule it is disregarded unless the speaker is excited,

and then often wrongly inserted. Particulars are given below, as I have been able to illustrate the dialect very fully.

VAR. i. SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

FRISKNEY (3 SW. Wainfleet) spec.

Examples written by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vicar, and conjecturally pal. by A.J.E. from the informant's indications, who describes the intonation thus: "The utterance is loud, full, and coarse, with strong hard emphasis. The voice rises in pitch towards the end of each period. It is also slow, a broad heavy drawl with an unpleasant nasal twang (specially in the *ow* sounds [ʔ nîâw], in the case of women it amounts to a whine). In exception to the slow nasal drawl, in the words in *ass*, as *lass glass*, the *a* is short and sharp, as in our *mass* [(lâ's dîâ's)]. Long vowels and diphthongs and compound vowels always drawled, the former generally and the latter always resolved into two vowels." This is illustrated by the following words, those marked * being considered as exceptions:

A- 5 mēek, 33 *rēdhe. A'- 67 gōv, 104 rōvd. Æ- 138 *fēdhe. 152 *wate [almost (wōtē)]. Æ: 166 mēel, 175 *fāst. Æ': 218 *shīp. E': 312 iē+r. EA: 338 kAA'el. EI- 373 dhēev. EO': 428 sīe sīen. I: 452 AA'i. U: 614 hāuend. E.. 895 rīsiēv.

1. (hood jaa nō'iz, i jaad me), hold your noise, he called me; *yah*, in place of *you*, as a sign of contempt.
2. (hī'z gət'n thru₁f), he has got through=he is dead.
3. (mīu, snīu, géen, bak end), mowed, snowed, near, autumn.
4. (wət dhe plēn du₁st dhe mīen ?), what the devil do you mean?
5. (wat'l déevz, remb'l, hu₁g), weekdays, move, carry.
6. (it tīumd en sáild v rēen, it)s strēendj mu₁ki hóuri wedhe), it emptied and sieved of rain [the rain came down as if poured out or run through a sieve], its strange mucky dirty weather.
7. (jən)z v strēendj amēbzīn piet bēen v jaan), yon=that is a strange amazing pert bairn of yours.
8. (óí nōbet akst im tē tak dhis íer óod praankes dóan dhi smúet), I nought-but=only asked him to take this here old donkey down the lane [narrow covered alley],
9. (en i nípt u₁p en staatīd v ledherīn dh)ood hēs en méed im hu₁k'l en ebu₁v v bit, en ru₁n strīet u₁p dhe ra₁mpv), and he jumped up and began beating the old ass, and made him jog on above a bit, and run straight up on the high road; *nip* is a word very variously used, but (*nīpv*) nipper is a little boy that runs errands; (*hu₁k*) huck is the hip-bone; *rampv* is the *rampart*, always used for turnpike-road in Li.
10. (a méed súv i)d a tompoo'kt dhe lí't'l lad óer iz íed), I made sure he'd have capsized the little lad over his head.
11. (i)z v wak'n lí't'l tjap, ói)l up)ood i)l téek noo payment), he's a wide-awake little chap, I'll uphold he-l take no harm or damage, common expression.
12. (óí ku₁m, túene fróide or sēthvde), I come either Friday or Saturday, Peacock writes *toner*, the one or the other.
13. (óí thīqk noot tu)it), I think nothing of it.
14. (dīd jər ad'l oot ?), did you earn ought?
15. (shī)z v wa'qk'l lí't'l wentj), she is a wankly little wench.

BILLINGBOROUGH EXAMPLES.

Words and sentences by Mr. T. Blason, resident surgeon, native, pal. by AJE.
from his dictation.

1. Alphabetical names of A, E, I, O, U (*êv ii ói oo iu*).
2. Counting (*won tuu thrii fùv fo'iv siks sev'n èvt nóin ten lev'n twelv that'i footi u'nded*).
3. (*duz dhe sèem lèem man bèek dhe bred en kèeks et dhe ood plèus jít? i du*), does the same lame man bake the bread and cakes at the old place yet? he do, occ., but only in answers; more frequently (*i duz*).
4. (*wot's iz nèem? ói dúent nóo*), what's his name? I don't know.
5. (*ói sèu, ba, wivz dhe ma'dhè? jònde*), I say, bo', where's the mother? yonder. The word *bo'* is occasionally used by very old people, and was actually heard.
6. (*iz fèedhè dhiv? noo—jìis*), is father there? no—yes.
7. (*witj wèv aa dhe go'in tu dèv? ói ka'nt sèu, ói ènt—bèent—shùv*), which way are they going to-day? I can't say, I am-not—be-not—sure. The use of *I be not* is uncommon, but exists.
8. (*dhivz v grít snáil in dhe pa'd, aa)æ fróit'nd [frít]? ói aa*), there's a great snail in the path, are you frightened? I are. (*snáil*) is invariable, but this does not occur in any other ÆG-words. *I are* is rare, and used only in emphatic answers.
9. (*goo en bói v thripni thril*), go and buy a threepenny thread.
10. (*uu siiz dhivz griin triez?*), who sees these green trees? Here (*griin*) is used, but in 'the trees are green' (*griin*) would be said.
11. (*i braat hem dhe buuts i baat on iz fít*), he brought home the boots he bought on his feet.
12. (*wiet úets baali en bienz*), wheat oats barley and beans.
13. (*doont stand ælm stanz et mói wánde*), don't stand hurling stones at my window, exactly the same use as at Nf. (p. 276, I, 2), but (*don't stand*) distinct and not reduced to (*doonsten*).

SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE CWL.

The unmarked words are chiefly from Mr. Blason for Billingborough, corrected vv. in 1886, but some are from Horbling (15 e.Grantham) by Henry Smith, Esq., and Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet) by Rev. H. J. Cheales, which are grouped as being practically identical.

L indicates the late Dr. R. G. Latham's Folkingham (9 e.Grantham), his native place, given in his *English Language*, 5th ed. p. 391, and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

H gives some wn. by TH. at Barrowby (2 w.Grantham).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bék. 4 tek, L tek. 5 mek. 7 séek. 8 hev. 9 bihêv. 10 hoo.
11 maa. 12 saa [with euphonic (r)]. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa.
18 kéek. 19 tétel. 20 lèem. 21 nèem. 22 tèm. 23 sèem. 24 shèem.

25 mêen. 26 wêen. 27 nêuv. 28 hêv. 31 lêet. 32 bêedh. 33 reedhve
rêedhve. 34 la'st. 25 aal. 36 throo. 37 klaa.

A: 39 k₁m kem. 40 kúem. 41 tha¹qk. 43 ha'nd. 46 ka'nd'l. 47
wa'ndv. 50 ta₁qz. 51 ma'n. 52 wa'n. 54 wa'nt. 55 a'shez. 56 we-sh.
57 a's.

A: or O: 58 [accented] fr₁m. [unaccented] frem threm them. 59 la'm.
60 loq. 61 em₁q. L em₁st. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. 66
thoq [it sounded to me most like (o), not (e), but it may have been (a) as in other
cases].

A'- 67 goo. 69 noo. 70 too. 71 woo. 72 nu. 73 soo. 74 tuu. 75
strúek. 76 túed. 78 oo. 79 òen. 80 ha'bedi. 81 léen. 13 múen. 84
múe+r. 85 súe+r. 86 úet-. 87 klúez [Mr. B. insisted on (kl)]. H tlúez.
88 klúedh. 90 bloo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96
soo. 97 sùel. 98 nùen. 99 throon thrùen. 100 sùen.

A': 101 ûek. 102 a'sk. 104 rûed. H rûed. 105 rûed. 106 brood. 107
laf. 108 doo. 109 loo. 112 hêul. 113 hal [h] always pronounced in this
word]. 114 [both this and the animal are call'd] múel. 115 ham. H ùem.
118 bûen. 121 ga'n. 122 n₁n. 123 n₁thi¹qk. 124 stúem. 125 úenl.
126 úe+r. 127 úes. 129 gúest. 130 búet. 131 gúet. 132 et. 133 ráet.
134 úeth. 135 thaath.

E- 138 fêedhve. — ledhve [ladder, same as leather]. 139 dree. 140 hêul.
141 nêul. 142 snáil [commonest], snéul. 143 téel. 144 ugen. 145 sléen.
146 méen. 147 bréem. 148 tée. 149 bléez. 150 liest. 151 let. 152
wa'tv. H wa'tv+r. 153 sa'tedi.

E: 155 thetj. 157 réuv'n. 158 aate. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 méev.
165 sed. L sed. 166 mêed. 167 de'el. 168 ta'lv. 169 wen. 170 hauvest.
171 baali. 172 gres. 173 waar_o [an (r) was felt and was most like (r_o)]. 174
esh. 175 fa'st. 178 na't. 179 wat. 180 ba'th. 181 pa'th paid.

E'- 182 sù. 183 tjetj. 184 lied. 185 ried. 187 líev. 188 nee. 189
wee. 190 kii. 191 hêul. 192 múen. 193 thien. HL thien. 194 eui. 195
menl. 196 waa [as in (dhe waa dhíev) they were there]. 197 tjez. 199 bliet.
200 wíet. 201 hêedh'n. 202 hiet. 203 spietj. 205 thred thrid. 206 red.
207 niid'l. 210 tìev. 211 grêv. 212 wee. 213 eedhve êedhve. 215 toot.
216 d'el. 217 jetj. 218 shíep. 219 slíep. 222 hêv+r. 223 dhíev+r.
226 múest. 227 wét. 228 swét. 230 fa't.

E- 232 bréek. 233 spiek. 234 nêed. 235 wíev. 236 fíevv. 237 bléen.
238 hedj. 239 sêel. 240 léen. 241 réem. L ríem. 242 twéen. 246 kwíen.
247 wíen. 248 mêv. 249 wíe+r. 250 swíe+r. 251 mîet. 252 ket'l.
253 net'l. 254 ledhve. 255 wadhve.

E: 257 edj. 258 sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lée. 261 sée. 262 wée. 264
êel. 265 stréet. 267 jield [the (j) distinct]. 270, i. belus. ii. belí. 272 elum.
273 men. 274 bensh. 275 stensh. 276 thòqk. 277 d'ensh. 278 wensh.
280 lev'n. 281 lenth. 282 stenth. 283 meri. 284 thresh. 285 kres.
286 ha'rv. 287 biz'm. 288 let.

E'- 290 hii. 291 dhii. 292 mü. 293 wii. 294 fíed. 295 bred. 296
belíev. 298 fíel. 299 gríen. L gríen. 300 kiip. 301 híe+r. 303 swíut.
304 bíet'l [the insect also so called].

E': 305 hói. 306 áit. 307 nói [(nói en duu) nigh and do, a common reply,
meaning 'I should think so, rather,' that is, very much, completely]. 308 nêed.
309 spíed. 310 híel. 311 ten. 312 híe. 314 híed. L híed. 315 híit. 316
nekst.

EA- 317 fleo. 319 gêep. 320 kaa+r.

EA: 321 saa. 322 laf. 323 foot fât. 324 êet. 325 waaK. 326 ood.
327 bûeld. 328 kood. 329 food. 331 sood seld. 332 teld. 333 kaaí
[exactly like cough; a doctor asking a man if he had a cough, was answered yes,
a fine one to sell; (k₁f) is Li. for cough, see 526]. 334 êet. 335 aal. 336
faal. 337 waal. 340 jaad. 342 aam. 343 waam. — L liupín [leaping].
345 daa+r [and you (dæs'nt, daad'nt) durst not]. 346 gèet. H gèet.

EA'- 347 hed híed. 348 ái ["this and I are pronounced very like the
(English) Greek *oi*, only broader"; this ought to make it (á'i)]. 349 íiu.

EA': 350 díed ded. 351 led. 352 red. 353 bred. 354 shíef. 355 díef

def. 356 lîef. 357 dhaf. 359 náibe+r. 360 tîem. 361 bíen. 362 slœc. 363 tîeup. 365 nîe+r. 366 grêet grît. 367 thrît. 368 deth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 staa.

EI- 373 dhœc. 374 nœc. 375 réuz. 376 béet. EI: 377 stéek. 378 wîek. 379 éul [same as 140, used only in Bible reading]. 381 swéun swien. 382 dhîe+r.

EO- 383 sev'n. 384 hev'n. 385 bun'uth [but (ν ndenien) underneath]. 386 soo. 387 nîu [very distinct (î)].

EO: 388 mil^k. 389 jêlk. 390 shu^d shu^d. 393 be^ond. 395 L su^q. 396 wak. 397 swad swæd. 398 staa^v. 399 brôit. 402 laan. 403 fæa. 404 staa. 405 aath. 406 îeth, L îeth. 407 faad'n. 408 nîu.

EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. 414 ilâi. 415 lâi. 416 diê+r. 417 tîu. 418 brîu. 420 fâ^u+r. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thâi. 424 ru^f [or (ræ^f) between, (ræf, ru^f)]. 425 lâit. 426 fâit. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fîund. 430 frênd. 431 bîe+r. 432 foath. foot. 433 brêst. 434 bîet. 435 H jaa [(jæ) unemphatic; when used in anger, the (aa) is much prolonged, with a significant intonation]. 436 trîu. 437 trîuth.

EY- 438 do'î [between (a'î, o'î), but most like (ôî)]. EY: 439 trust.

I- 440 wîek. 441 sîv. 442 ôivi. 443 frôidi. 444 stôil. 446 nôin. 448 dhîez. 449 gît. 450 tînzdi [see 387]. 451 soo.

I: 452 âi. 454 wit^f. 455 lig. 457 môit. 458 nôit. 459 réit. 462 sôit [see 438]. 465 sîti. 466 tîôild. 467 wôild. 468 tîlden. 471 tîmbu. 472 sriqk. 473 blâind. 474 râind. 475 wôind. 476 bôind. 477 fôind. 478 groind. 479 wôind. 484 dhîs. 485 dhîs'l. 486 îest [no initial (j)]. 488 jît.

I'- 490 bôî. 491 sôî. 493 drôiv. 494 tóim. 495 wóin. 496 ôien. 497 eróiz, L eróiz. 498 rôit.

I': 500 lôik, L lôik. 501 wôid. 502 fôiv. 503 lôif. 504 nôif. 505 wôif. 506 wu^{men}. 507 wîmîn. 508 môil. 509 wôil. 510 L môin môin. 513 wôie+r. 514 ôis. 515 wôiz. 516 wîzdem. 517 jîu.

O- 519 L œv. 520 boo. 521 fûel. 522 op'n [?(æp'n)], H œp'n. 523 hûep. 524 wald.

O: 526 kof ku^f [see 333]. 527 baat. 528 thaat thoot. 529 braat. 531 daatv, L daate. 532 kûel. 533 du^l. 534 hûel. 536 gûeld. 537 mæ'uld. 538 wu^d. 539 bûel. 542 boot. 547 bûed. 549 hæad. 550 wad. 551 staa^m. 554 haan. — hæs [horse, not (ææs)]. 554 kræs. — fôks [fox, (hîidhæ) male, see No. 704].

O'- 555 shu. 557 tuu. 558 luuk. — L fodhed [fothered]. 559 mu^ddhœ. 562 mûen. 563 mundi. 564 sîuen. 565 nûez. 566 u^ddhœ.

O': 569 buuk. 570 tu^k [never (tuuk)]. 571 gu^d. 572 blu^d. 573 fûd. 574 brûed. 576 wêd'uzdi. 577 be'u. 578 ple'u. 579 nu^f. 580 tu^f. 582 kûel. 584 stûel. 585 brûem. 586 duu. 587 duⁿ. 588 nûen. 589 spûen. 590 fûv. 591 mûv. 593 must mu^t. 594 buut. 596 ruut. 597 su^t. 598 sûeth.

U- 599 eb^v. 600 lu^v, L luuv. 601 fe'ud. 602 se'u. 603 ku^m kuum, L ku^mmîn. 605 sùⁿ [see 629, the difference not quite certain]. 606 dûv+r. 607 bu^{iv}.

U: 608 u^{gli}. 609 fu^l. 610 wu^l. 611 bu^lek. 612 su^m. 613 dr^uqk. 614 e'und. 615 pe'und. 616 gre'und. 617 se'und. 618 we'und. 619 fe'und. 620 gre'und. 622 unde. 625 tu^q. 626 hu^qgv. 628 nuⁿ. 629 suⁿ [see 605]. 630 wuⁿ. 631 thæsdî. 632 u^p, L u^p. 633 ku^p. — L u^{pp} [up-]. 634 thra^f. 635 wuth. 636 tu^{dhœ} fu^{dhœ}. 639 dust.

U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 642 dhe'u. 643 ne'u. 645 du^v, L du^v. 646 be'u. 647 e'ud. 648 e'ue+r. 649 the'uzund. 653 bu^{it}.

U': 654 sre'ud. 655 fe'ud. 656 rûem. 657 bre'un. 658 de'un. 659 te'un. 660 be'ue+r. 661 she'ue+r. 662 u^z. 663 he'us [pl. he'uz'uz]. 664 le'us. 665 me'us. 666 hu^zbund. 667 e'ut. 668 pre'ud. 670 bûedh. 671 me'uth. 672 se'uth.

Y- 673 mu^t. 676 lâi. 677 drâi. 678 dîn. 679 tîatî. 680 biz'i. 682 lît'l [(v lît'len) a little one, suspend (t')].

Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bâi. — H mu^k [muck]. 687 flôit. 689

bild biuld. — ku_1mli [comely]. 690 $káind$. 691 $máind$. 693 sin . 696 beth [rh. with *death*]. 697 $berí$. 698 $meth$. 699 $ráit$. 700 was . 701 $fast$. 704 foks shiidhu [(hiidhu, shiidhu) are applied to the genders of animals].

Y' 705 $skái$. 706 $wái$. 707 $thattin$. 708 $háiv$.

Y: 709 $fáiv$. 711 $láis$. 712 $máis$.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 717 $djéed$. 718 $tréed$. 719 $ta'dpúel$. 722 $dréem$. 723 $díeri$. 725 $séel$. 729 $fréem$. 733 $skaa$. 737 $méet$ [common]. 740 $wéev$ [Mr. B. considers that all such words involve *r*, but his *r* is simply (v)]. E. 743 $skréem$. 744 $mez'lz$. 745 $tjéet$. 746 $bréedh$. 748 $flegd$. 750 beg . I. and Y. 753 $tít'l$. 756 $srímp$. 757 $táini$. 758 gel . 761 $lúed$. 762 $úekem$. 763 $rúem$. 768 $káuk$. 769 $múel$ [see 114]. 774 $púeni$. U. 792 $skwa'b'l$. 793 hu_1g . 794 dj_1g . 799 sku_1l . 800 sku_1l . 801 ru_1m . 803 dj_1mp . 805 $kadz$, kra_1dz . 806 fa_1s . 807 pa_1s . 808 pa_1t .

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 $êb'l$. 810 $fêus$. 811 $plêus$ [pl. (plêez'nz)]. 812 $lêus$. 813 $bêk'n$, II $be'ek'n$. 814 $mêus'n$. 816 $fêed$. 817 $red'ish$. 818 $êedj$. 819 $rêedj$. 822 $mêe$. 823 $bêe$. 824 $tjêe$. 828 $hêege$. 829 $gêem$. 830 $trêem$. 831 $distrêem$. 833 $pêe$. 834 $shêe$. 835 $rîez'n$. 836 $sîez'n$. 838 $trêet$. 840 $tjêembe$. 845 $êushent$. 847 $dêendje$. 849 $sîrêendje$. 851 $a'nt$ [same as *ant*, for which *pismire* is used only by old people]. 852 $êepen$. 853 $baagin$. 857 $kêus$. 858 $brêus$, L $embrêesez$ [embraces]. 859 $tjêef$. 860 $pêest$. 861 $têest$, L $têest$. 862 $sêef$. 863 $tjêef$. 864 $bikoz$. 865 $lolt toot$.

E. 867 tii . 868 $djêe$. 869 $vîel$. 870 $biuti$. 871 $egrii$. 872 $tjêef$. 874 $rêem rîem$. 875 $fêent$. 876 $dêenti$. 878 $sa'heri$. 879 $fîrmêe'l$. 884 $prentis$ [in the v. to (prentis) always: in the noun (eprentis) occ.]. 887 $kladjî$. 888 $saatin$. 889 $sîes$. 890 $bâest$, II $bîes'$ [com.]. 891 $fîest$. 893 $nefi$. 894 $disêev$. 895 $risêev$. 896 $bêev$.

I. and Y. 897 $dilâit$. 898 $nâis$. 899 $nîes$. 900 $prêe$. 901 $fâin$. 902 $mâin$. 903 $dâin$. 904 $vôilet$. 908 $edvâis$. 909 $brêez$. 912 $râis$.

O. 913 $kûetj$. 914 $brûetj$. 915 stu_1f . 916 u_1njen . 917 $rûeg$. 918 $fûe'b'l$. 919 $ôintment$. 920 $póint$. 921 $ekwêent$. 922 $ba_1sh'l$. 925 L $vóis$. 926 L $spóil$. 929 $ka'akembe$ [heard, but (ka_1qge) most common]. 930 $lôin$. 937 kok . 939 $klas$. — L $rôez$. 940 $kûet$, II $kûet$. 941 $iûel$. 943 tu_1tj . 948 $be'ud$. 952 $kúers$. 953 $ku_1z'n$. 955 $de'ut$.

U. 960 $kêe$. 961 $grûel$. 963 $kwôiet$. 964 $súit$. 969 $shûe$.

Var. ii. MID LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

Great interest attaches to the pronunciation about Somerby (13 nw.Wainfleet) as the birthplace of Lord Tennyson, whence he derived the dialect in which he has written OS.=Northern Farmer Old Style (in the vol. containing the 'Enoch Arden,' 1864), NS.=Northern Farmer New Style (in the vol. containing the 'Holy Grail,' 1870), NC.=Northern Cobbler, and VW.= 'The Village Wife or the Entail' (both in the vol. of 'Ballads and other Poems,' 1880), and SS.=The Spinster's Sweet-arts (in the volume containing 'Tiresias,' 1885).

In view of the present work Lord Tennyson (then untitled, to whom I shall refer as T. simply) did me the favour to give me an interview lasting 1^h. 40^m. on 23 Mar. 1881, in which he kindly read over to me most of OS. and some of NS., referring me for other information to Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Raunsley, late rector of Halton Hologate (8 nw.Wainfleet), who he said had much more recent knowledge of the dialect than he had.

The information which this lady kindly gave me in two long interviews will be added hereafter. On account of the copyright, it is not possible to transcribe any one of T.'s five Li. poems at length; but I am permitted to give short extracts, and I prefix certain notes and observations which I made at the time and extended immediately afterwards. The poems are referred to by the above initials, the stanza and line of the stanza.

OS.=NORTHERN FARMER OLD STYLE.

T. pronounced the diphthong written *oi* not quite as (*A'i*), but rather as (*áí*); Mrs. D. A.'s sound was much finer, rather (*áí, á'í*). All the long *i* in the poems are (*ái, áí, áái*).

T. pron. the diphthong *ow* as (*á'u*) in *nouwt* OS. ii. 1, x. 3, *mouwt* vi. 2, xiii. 2, *yows*=ewes x. 4 (the *cow*, *now* x. 1, 2, xiii. 3, '*ow* xiv. 1, were errors for *coo*, *noo*, '*oo*), *plow* xi. 2, *thowt*, *owt* v. 4, *howd* xv. 2, *owd* xvii. 2. Possibly this was a Southernism, as T. has lived so long in the S. div. It varied at times to (*áu*), but this he repudiated. In NS. all his *ow* were (*á'u*). Mrs. D. A. used (*áu*) as (*náu háus*) now house.

The *ui* used for *im* in OS. iii. 4, v. 2, vi. 4, viii. 2, 3, 4, ix. 1, 3, etc., is a Southernism, which, as T. pointed out to me, should be corrected. Similarly *thof* iv. 3 T. said should be *tho* (*dhoo*), but Mr. Peacock gives *thoff* in his Glossary for n Li., and Mr. Blasson gave (*dhaf*), p. 301, No. 357, in s.Li.

Throughout, *ä* is used for diphthongising (*e*) as OS i. 1 *beän meä aloän*, viii. 3 *moäst* (*bien mie ulöen möest*), in such words as *saüy awaüy laüid* v. 3, 4, vi. 1, *naüil* ix. 3, the *ä* is pron. last (*séz ewév léud neel*). But *looäk* x. 1 (which should have been *looök*, compare *booök* in VW. xi. 1 and elsewhere) only means that the *oo* in both words is to be pron. long, as (*luuk buuk*), or possibly very long (*luuk buuk*), and not with a short vowel as in rs., nor as (*lu₁k bu₁k*). But *oä* and *aw* are used in the same sense (*ôv, ôv*), and not (*aa*), hence OS. i. 3, *says that I moänt 'a naw moor yaüle* (which should have been *aäl*, T. said, as in VW., and in the same way *yeäd* v. 2 should be *eäd*) means (*séüz dhét áí môent v nôv müv éel*).

The short *u* in these poems was always (*u₁*), much thicker than (*u*) in T.'s speech, as also in Mrs. D. A.'s.

The fracture (*i₁e*) began with so deep an (*i₁*), as in *seäd* (*sí₁ed*), that I often mistook it for (*e*), and in the case of unfractured (*mí₁i, sí₁i*) me see, NS. xiv. 3, 4, I quite did so.

The *h* was generally omitted, but introduced emphatically in the wrong place. In the 1864 ed. of OS. xiv. 3, 4, we have '*All all* rhyming; in the new ed., as T. pointed out, it is '*All hall*, meaning *Hall all*, the last emphatic.

As for final *r* not before a vowel, I heard no trace of it either in T. or Mrs. D. A., but T. thought he heard or felt a trace of it in OS. iv. 1, 2 *larn barn* (*laa_r n baa_r n*), certainly with no trill, but this seemed merely an orthographical suggestion, and at most

resulted in (láaen báaen). Mrs. D. A. says that (bêen) and not (baan) is the word.

OS. was originally written with *ow* for all the U' words, the custom of T.'s own district from Horncastle to Spilsby being to use (a'u, áu), but T. said that a friend (not named) persuaded him to change *ow* into *oo* as giving the poem a more antique and northern flavour. Unfortunately the change was not made consistently, as T. himself pointed out to me. Thus we have *oo* in about, oot viii. 3, 4, doon ix. 2, x. 4, doot xiv. 2; but *ow* in eow, now x. 1, 2, now, cows plow xiii. 3, 4, where observe plow is not (pluu) but (pliu) in n.Li.

T. said he did not know the dialect of n.Li., but, as we shall see, except as respects U' words, which have (uu) in the n., the pron. is practically the same.

The peasants speak slowly, and T. read vi. 3, 4 very slowly, with lengthened final consonants.

(siver ái kəp im, ái kəp im, mái las', dhe mu₁n u₁ndəstand,
ái du₁n mái díuti báí 'ím—əz áí—v du₁n'—báí dhe lan'd.)

[however I kept him, I kept him, my lass, thou must understand,
I done [have done, did] my duty by him, as I have done by the land.]

- ix. 2. *enemies* was a joke of T.'s, and should have been *emenies*=
anemones.
- ix. 3. (:nôeks v :thimb'lbí—toner əd shot im əz dí₁əd əz v nê₁əd);
meaning: Nokes or Thimbleby, *toner*=one or the other, had
shot him as dead as a nail.
- x. 4. (su₁m on ít du₁m in sí₁əd), some of it down in clover.
- xii. 1. (du₁ :godemá'íti nôv wot v)z du₁m utér'kín v m'í₁v), does
God Almighty know that he's doing a taking of me? This
was actually said by an old bailiff.
- xiii. 2. (ər v má'út v téuk'n :robínz—v nívə mended v fens), or he
might have taken Robins, he never mended a fence. This
was actually said.
- xiv. 1-4. (luuk u kwoləti smá'ilz wən dhe sí₁z mē v pasín báí,
sez tē dhəsən nóv du₁t 'wot v man v bí₁ sí₁vəlái!'
fər dhe nôvz wot áí bí₁n tē :skwáiv sín fəst v ku₁məd tē
dhe AAL,
áí du₁n máí díuti báí :skwáiv, ən—áí du₁n—máí díuti—
báí HhAAL!)
- [look how quality smiles, when they sees me a passing by,
says to themselves no doubt, 'what a man he be sure-ly!'
for they knows what I (have) been to Squire since first he came to the Hall,
I (havè) done my duty by Squire, and—I (have) done—my duty—by all!]
- xv. 4. *noither a moänt*, now altered to *noä*, *nor a moänt*=no, nor he
mustn't.

NS.=NORTHERN FARMER NEW STYLE.

In 1871 Mr. Bogg, a surgeon, native of and at that time
resident at Louth, assisted by his brother, who had studied the

pron. of a labourer from Donnington-upon-Bain (5 wsw.Louth), had the kindness not only to write me out the pron. of NS. in glossic, but to answer a long string of questions upon it. From this I obtained a very correct conception of m.Li. speech, but as I have since had the advantage of referring all doubtful points to Lord Tennyson himself, I give the notes I made on reading portions of this poem with him.

- i. 1, 2. (du₁z'nt dhæ'u ɪ₁v mái əssez legz ez dhe kantəv vwee'v?
 propu₁ti, propu₁ti, propu₁ti! dhat)s wot ái ɪ₁vz em see'v.)
 Doesn't thou hear my horses legs as they canter away?
 Property, property, property! that's what I hear them say.

T. had actually heard a Li. farmer make this comparison between the sounds of his horses feet and word 'property.' T. used (o) always and not (ɔ) as far as I could hear, but he made no statement concerning it. The word *horse* T. writes 'erse, there is no trilled (r) or buzzed (r_o) in his pron., but to my ear only the long vowel, which was fine like (æ̃s) and not coarse like (æ̃s). The sound in other words, however, varies.

- vi. 2. *laaid by* (léed, léed, le'éd), the length and quality of the first element was very variable.
 vi. 4. *a lass as 'ant nowt* (v la's' ez aant næ'ut), (aant) means *has not*, (*eent*) *is not*.
 vii. 1, 2 (paas'nz la's' aant næ'ut, en shi₁ wɪ₁vnt v næ'ut wen ɪ)z dí₁əd, mu₁n bi v gu₁vnes, lad, v su₁met, en ad'l v brɪ₁əd.)

Parson's lass has not nought, and she won't have nought when he's dead,
 Must be a governess, lad, or something, and earn her bread.

(shɪ₁v) is more common than (shɪ) for *she*. T. never said pure (shii), though he thought he did.

- vii. 3, 4. (wáí? fər ɪ)z nobt v kúret, en wíent níve gít noo áiv,
 en ɪ me'əd dhə bəd ez ɪ lígz on efáv ɪ ku₁nd tɛ dhv sháiv.)

Why? for he's nought but a curate, and won't never get no higher,
 And he made the bed as he lies on afore he came to the shire.

I asked T. whether the people of Li. ever said (sháiv), he said he hoped so, for the sake of the rhyme, but admitted that only the educated would say so, and he uses the right sound (shɪ₁v) spelled *shere* in VW. iv. 6:

(en ái ôups ez ɪ bí₁vnt buuk-laand, bu₁t ɪ du₁z'nt ku₁m frə dhv shɪ₁v,
 wè)d enú v dhat wí dhv :skwáiv, en wí hérts buuklaanin ɪ₁v.)

And I hopes as he be-not book-learned, but he does not come from the shire,
 We'd enow of that with the Squire, and we hates book-learning here.

And SS. iv. 3, 4, where it is also spelled *shere*:

(Jis dhóv dhe kaad mɪ₁ ez preti ez ɔni la's ɪ dhv shɪ₁v,
 en dhæ'u bi ez preti v :tabi, bu₁d :rɔbi ái si₁d thru₁f v dhv.)

Yes, though thou called me as pretty as any lass in the shire.

And thou be as pretty a Tabby, but Robby I see'd through you there.

The pron. (*sháiv*) is very recent; before Shire Lane by Temple Bar (now the "Griffin") was pulled down for the new Law Courts, it was always called (*:shí:v :leen*). The usual indistinct (*-shé*) *-shire*, derives from (*shí:v*) not (*sháiv*).

- viii. 2. (*en ð aant got shu₁t on en jET*), and he has not got shot—quit—of them yet, which should be (*Ji₁t*) for the dialect.
 viii. 4. (*wu₁s' nbr v faa'welled*) or (*fa'uwelled jE'u*), worse than a capsised ewe, lying on its back in a furrow and unable to rise. I could not determine whether T. said (*JE'u*) or (*Jóu*).
 x. 1, 2. (*ee, en dhái mu₁dhe sez dhE'u wants te mari dhe la's,*
ku₁mz ev v djent'lmen bæ'n, en wi bôeth on u₁s thiiks
dhe en a's.)

Ay, and thy mother says thou wants to marry the lass,
 Comes of a gentleman born, and we both on us thinks thee an ass.

born. The writing (*bæ'n*) should imply that the sound was chiefly (*æ*), but that there was a tinge of (*u*) running through it, but I could not properly imitate the vowel; it would require a prolonged study, and the hearing of it from many people to do so. Similarly (*mæ'n*) *morn* (NC. viii. 4), but I appreciated (*mú₁enin*) *morning* from Mrs. D. A. in NC. vii. 1. T. writes all these words with (*ur*), *burn*, *murnin*, *thurn* (NC. viii. 3, VW. xiii. 1)=*born*, *morning*, *thorn*.

- x. 4. (*dhe biiz iz ez fel ez E'ut*), the flies are as fierce as anything; *flies* are always called *bees*, and *rooks* are called *crows*, so the *crows* fly from a *rookery* in Lockesley Hall, v. 68.
 xii. 2. *regular*, so written for the metre is called (*reglE*).
 xiii. 3. (*feedhur vð o'must na'ut*) father had almost nothing.
 xiii. 4. *tued* sounded very like (*tyy₁d*) or (*ty'₁ed*) at times, but never (*tiud*).
 xiv. 3, 4. *see, thee* (*sii₁, dhii₁*), almost (*see, dhee*), and quite distinct from (*sii, dhii*).
 xv. 3, 4. (*ku₁m up, propu₁ti, kanter en kanter vWEE'v*) come up, property, canter and canter away.

These notes and extracts contain everything of interest in Lord Tennyson's own pron. The difficulties of NC. and VW. I inquired of Mrs. D. A., but they are all included in the above. The SS. was not then published. Instead, then, of going further into T.'s poems, I proceed to the special information obligingly communicated by Mrs. D. A.

HALTON HOLEGATE (1 e.Spilsby) dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector, who had paid great attention to the dialect and made many notes before she had married. Her dialect had the true 'ring' in it.

1. *sóv âi sév, mévts, je sív náu dhat ái)m reet vbáut jon lit'l*
gel ku₁m'n fru dhe skuul jonde.

2. *shì*z *gu'ín* *dáun* *dhi* *rúnd* *dhíe*, *thru*₁f *dhe* *red* *gét* *on* *dhe* *left* *and* *sáid* *dhe* *wéé*.

3. *shúuer* [*súuer*] *enu*₁f *dhe* *béen* *ez* *gon* *strét* *u*₁p *te* *dhe* *dúer* *v* *dhe* *roq* *háus*.

4. *wíe* *me*)*bi* *shii*)*l* *fâind* [*me* *hap* *te* *fáind*, *te* *láit* *on*] *dhat* *dru*₁qk'n *def* *wiz*'nd *ood* *tjap* *v* *dhe* *néem* *v* :*tu*₁mus.

5. *wi* *AAI* *NAAZ* *ím* *ríel* *wel*.

6. *wíent* *dhe* *ood* *tjap* [*man*] *suun* *laan* *v* *not* *te* *gu* *dhíer* *egen*, *púe* *thiq*!

7. *luuk*! *eent* *it* *truu*?

Notes.

1. *see*. All the (*é*v, *é*v, *ía*) were decidedly less broad than Lord Tennyson's, which seem to have been rather strained.—*mates*, a common word.—*now* varied as (*náu*, *náú*, *ná'u*), but was not not (*nóu*).—*right*, probably (*réit*), see *ewl*, p. 309, No. 459, but I first wrote (*reet*) and then (*reet*) without any (*i*).—*yonder*, more common than *that*.—*going*. Mrs. D. A. said (*go*, *gu*, *gób*, *gúe*) at different times, apparently according to construction.—*hand*, the (*h*) is pretty correctly inserted except from nervousness.

3. *sure*, (*shúer*) was dict. with (*shú*), but subsequently the word eropped up with distinct (*súu*). This seemed to depend on the position of the word.—*enough*, (*enáur*) was known, but not any distinction of sg. *enough*, pl. *enow*.

4. *shrivelled* was not known, but (*shr-*) initial falls into (*sr-*) generally, as (*srímp*) shrimp.

5. *we knows*, in conjugating the verb the 2nd pers. sg. ends in (*st*) and the rest in (*s*, *z*). T. uses (*st*) or (*s*) in '*asta*'=hast thou or has thou, with (*th*) assimilated to (*t*) after (*s*), OS. i. 1, but he has *thoort*=thou art OS.

i. 2; *tha knows*=thou knowest OS. vi. 1; *d'ya moind*=do you remember OS. viii. 1; *what atta stannin' theeer for and doesn bring ma the aäl*=what art thou standing there for and dost not bring me the ale OS. xvii. 1; *dosn't thou 'ear*=dost not thou hear NS. i. 1; *thou's an ass*=thou art an ass NS. i. 3; *thou'll*=thou wilt NS. ii. 3, xiv. 3; *thou thinks*=thou thinkest NS. iv. 2; *thou can luuv*=thou canst love NS. ix. 1; *thou wants*=thou wantest NS. x. 1; *wiltha*=wilt thou NS. x. 4; *tha sees*=thou see'st NS. xiii. 1; *if thou marries*=if thou marriest NS. xv. 2; *if tha secäs 'im an' smells 'im*=if thou see'st him and smellest him NC. xi. 6; *if tha wants*=if thou wantest NC. xx. 3; *tha dosn' know*=thou dost not know VW. iii. 1; *thou knaws*=thou knowest, VW. v. 4. It is evident therefore that T. does not follow Mrs. D. A.'s rule for the 2nd pers. sg.—*real well*, the common affirmative adverb, (*néushen*) damnation is also used, but *very* is not common.

6. *learn* (*laan*), I could hear no (*r*) or even (*r*)_o.

TEST SENTENCES.

1. (*lév* *dhe* *fáulz* *dáun* *if* *jáu* *plíez*), lay the fowls down if you please, emphatic (*jáu*), enclitic (*ju*, *v*).
2. (*shíe*z *dhíe*! *wíe*?), she's there! where?
3. (*dje* *síe* *áue* *thríe* *tríez*?), do you see our three trees?
4. (*ái* *bi* *ood* *en* *lém*, *téek* *mí* *hóm*), I be old and lame, take me home; the last word is pron. in several ways, but (*hóm*) is most common. *I be*, *I am* are used indifferently, but *I am* seems most common. T. uses *beänt* freely, but that, like *un* (acc. *hinc* for *him*), may be a Southernism.
5. (*ái* *sée*, *ladz*, *ru*₁n *ewèe* *en* *plée*), I say, lads, run away and play.

6. (wíev got'n nu₁n, áíev du₁n, wíi mus gôv), we have gotten none, I have done, we must go; should it not be (wíi men) or (mu₁n)? see 8.
7. (hí ka'nt en sha'nt, áí wíent tenáit, áí dú₁nt máínd), he can't and shan't, I won't to-night, I don't mind (remember).
8. (hí mu₁n dáí [dói] tédèv, so dhe sèv), he must die to-day, so they say.

Fragments of Spilsby talk from Mrs. D. A.'s note book, pal. from her dict. by AJE.

1. Chasing the Sun.

A book called "Chasing the Sun, or a Voyage due West," had been lent to an old woman by Mrs. D. A.'s sister, and this was the comment:

(áí did'nt láik dhat buuk vtúel ez jûv sistè broot múv. ít was 'tjéusín dhe su₁n,' en áí doont thiík nu₁thiík tu tjéusín dhe su₁n. tjéusín dhe su₁n, índiid! áí thiík :godemáí'ti el suun let fooks nôv ez tjévuz ím. híil bí téukín en pu₁tín ít su₁mwíer els, áí rek'n. tjéusín dhe su₁n, índiid! áí doont láik síj wéuz.)

I did not like that book at all as your sister brought me. It was 'Chasing the Sun,' and I don't think nothing to [have no good opinion of] chasing the sun. Chasing the sun, indeed! I think God Almighty will soon let folks know as chivies [chases] him. He'll be taking and putting it somewhere else, I reckon. Chasing the sun, indeed! I don't like such ways.

2. Two old crones meet.

(1. sôv púv :dáiv)z díed. 2. jís, en áí)v djíst ku₁md frè ligín on er áut, en dhe)z nobu₁t wu₁n thíq múv, en 'dhat :mr. :raansli wíl duu fer)er. híil djíst hap er u₁p.)

1. So poor Dinah's dead. 2. Yes, and I've just come from laying her out, and there's nought but one thing more, and that Mr. Raunsley [the rector] will do for her. He'll just heap her up [bury her].

3. For the Baby.

(if dhe ka'nt kari nè múv dhísen, dháu máit tlam ood on v píus fè dhe bévbi, áí tel v.)

If thou can'st carry no more thyself, thou might clam [seize, snatch] hold on a piece for the baby, I tell you.

4. Independence.

(nee, áiv noo kaal to bí bí'hoold'n tu fooks, áí)d reedhe kamp in dhe pínfóold, sív.)

Nay, I've no call [desire] to be beholden to folk, I'd rather camp [lodge] in the pindfold, howsoever. The last word is constantly added, as *whatever* is by Welsh speakers, as it were, 'at any rate, in any case.' The 'pindfold' is the village *pound* (pind), under the charge of the pinder.

5. Nervous as a Cat.

(áim so naaves! gít ewêv wí vè! ka'nt evíe v. shí)z ez naaves ez en oold kat.)

I'm so nervous! get away with you! I can't abear [abide] you. She's as nervous as an old cat.

6. A butter-woman says of a customer :

(shì)z fít fe noot bu₁t mîsîn v dets. shìz dhæ hAAKudest, hAAI'iest, hAAI'hest wu₁men in dhæ táun, ku₁mîn en fliqîn dhi bu₁ter ebáut máí shop biko'z áí wu₁d'nt téak ít bak wen v nasti béunz ed bîn hu₁gîn on ít. dhæn héef en áæv aftu, shi ku₁mz mînsîn en grêssîn láík v hêvndj'l fæv enu₁dhæ heef páund.

She is fit for nothing but missing of debts [? not paying them]. She's the awkwardest, haughtiest, awfulest woman in the town, coming and flinging the butter about my shop, because I would not take it back when her nasty bairns [not (baanz), as T. said] had been carrying of it. Then half an hour later she comes mincing and gracing like an angel for another half pound.

7. Old epigram on Boston, Li.

(oo ! :bos'n, :bos'n, dháu)z nóut tæ boost ən
bu₁t v gràn slûs en v háí stiep'l,
en v kúust vz sóælz v lost en.)

Oh ! Boston, Boston, thou hast nought to boast on [of]
But a grand sluice and a high steeple
And a coast as souls are lost on.

MID LINCOLNSHIRE cwl.

wn. in 1878 by TH. from Rev. William Jackson, native of Spilsby (14 sse. Louth), Principal of Didsbury College (4 s. Manchester), and three students from Sleaford (16 sse. Lincoln), Lincoln and Louth [:láæth]. There was a fourth student from Brigg, but his special words are omitted. The informants all spoke rec. English, and hence the dialect was a reminiscence. TH. wrote the equivalent of (u_{\circ}), which may have been due to Manchester. I change it to (u_1) to agree with my own observations.

TH. marked in the (r) final constantly, but it is certainly not pron. in Li., and hence has been omitted.

Phrases. (i)z tæ'en is'en' æf), he-has taken himself off; (i)z gøn rêvvin mad'), he's gone raving mad.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — tæ'en [ta'en, taken]. 19 tæul. A: or O: 60 loq. 61 emoq. 62 stræq. A'- 86 wats. 91 moo. 92 naa. A': 104 róud róud. 110 nóut [nought, ? (næ'ut)]. 124 stóen. — róep'.

Æ- 138 féudhæ+r fadhæ+r. Æ: 156 dlad'. 160 eg'. 161 dee dee. 172 gras'. — kar₁t kât'. 178 nat'. Æ': 208 ivv. 209 névv. 210 tlee. 218 shíp. É- 241 re'vn. 251 mîet.

EA- 320 kjéev. EA: 324 éit' é'it'. 326 óud. 328 kóud. 331 sóud. 332 teld. 338 kaal. EA'- 347 íed. EA': — kream [cream]. — íep' (heap). 366 gríet. EO- 386 joo. EO'- 411 thrii. 419 jæv jær. [your]. EO': 422 sík'.

I- 445 i[(dhi ewee men) hie thee away man]. I: — thæ'r₁d [(thæəd) thîrd]. 458 nit. 459 réit. — driqk [drink]. I'- 494 táim. I': — de'ík [dyke]. 517 íu.

O- — stoon [stolen]. O: — sru₁b [shrub]. 527 bóut'. 528 thóut'. 538 wu₁d. — tóul [toll]. 550 wæ'r₁d [(wæəd) "with a little rounding"]. — má'r₁nîn. — æsíz [horses]. O'- 559 mádhæ+r. 562 muvn. O': 588 nuvn. 595 fât'.

U: ku₁p. U'- 648 áuv+r. 650 ebóut. U': 658 dóam. 663 óus. 667 óut. Y: — mu₁ki [mucky].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *tétiz* [potatoes]. I. and Y. 756 *sramp*. O. — *dog'*. U. — *tub* *t_ub* [tub]. — *manē* [manure].

III. ROMANCE.

A. — *pêd* [paid]. 830 *trēn*. 851 *ant*. — *gār_od'n* [gaad'n]. E. — *īb* [herb]. O. — *biēf* [beef]. — *d_{IA}'ūē+r* [joiner]. 939 *tlóeziz* [closes, fields]. — *róeziz* [roses]. — *brū₁shiz* [brushes]. 947 *ba'₁il*. — [between] *tān toon* [written between (*tā_rn tō_rn*) turn]. U. — *wē'ted*. 965 *A'₁il*. 969 *siūē+r*. — *mīuzik*.

VAR. iii. n.LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

This is well marked by lying to the n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, which was traced with great care with the help of numerous clergymen, as already described (p. 19). But the change of (*a'u*) or (*āu*) into (*uu*) does not affect the dialect in other respects; the nature and multiplicity of the fractures is not at all changed. The inference from this is that the dialect was established before the change of (*uu*) into (*a'u*), and that this n.Li. variety is a nearer approach to the old speech. Hence I have been forced, here, as also on the w. of England, to disregard this line for divisions of districts, as I did also the n. *sum* line 1 through Np. and the s. *sōm* line 2. They shew how far the change of (*U' U*) from (*uu u*) to (*a'u ə*) has proceeded northward, leaving the dialect otherwise unchanged. Unfortunately Gill, though a Li. man, is of little or no assistance. The only examples of his northern dialects which refer especially to Li. (suprà Part IV. p. 1250) are (*tóaz hóaz*), meaning probably (*tôēz hôēz*) toes hose, indicating an existing fracture. His other northern words are not necessarily Li., but his (*dhóu jóu*) thou you, may refer to it, and if so would indicate that the (*a'u*) diphthong was fully in use in his time. But he may be referring to Nf., and his (*gyyd kyyk*) good cook may belong to that locality, as well as (*paa saa*) for (*pái sái*) pay say. Sir T. Smith (suprà Part I. p. 121b) says that (*paa daa waa maa laa*) pay day way may lay, were used by the Scotch and those living beyond the Trent. I have only once got (*paa*) pay from Nf., and never heard of the other words either in Li. or Nf.

As the pron. (*uu*) for *ow* would naturally lead to the supposition that the n.Li. variety was more related to the N. div., and hence to class it under that rather than the M. div., the following comparison between Brigg in n.Li., D 20, and Holderness in s.Yo., D 30, where the speech is also full of fractures, will shew the striking difference of the dialects. It must be recollected that the broad Humber rolls between them, with no possible bridge.

A-	<i>made</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>thaw</i>			
	<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>mēed</i>	<i>tēel</i>	<i>thoo</i>		
	<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>míed</i>	<i>tíel</i>	<i>thóu</i>		
A'	<i>no</i>	<i>toe</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>stroke</i>	<i>oak</i>	<i>home</i>
	<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>nóe</i>	<i>tóe</i>	<i>s t r óek</i>	<i>ôek</i>	<i>óem</i>
	<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>níe</i>	<i>tíe</i>	<i>sthrúek</i>	<i>jak</i>	<i>wom</i>

O-	<i>foal</i>	<i>hope</i>	<i>nose</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	fôel	ôep	nóez
<i>Holderness.</i>	fúel	wop	núez
O'	<i>book</i>	<i>took</i>	<i>foot</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	buuk	tuuk	fuut
<i>Holderness.</i>	bíek	tíek	fíet

Brigg has, with no great certainty, (tʀ-, dʀ-). Holderness has (thr- dhr-).

Brigg uses (dhu) generally for the def. article, and (t') rarely by assimilation. Holderness generally omits the def. art. altogether, or at most uses (t').

Brigg has always *I am* (a)m). Holderness always *I is* (a)z).

Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, the author of the Glossary of Manley and Corringham Wapentakes, Li., has fully illustrated the n. Li. form, and he and his daughter also most kindly went xv. through a wl. for me, and furnished me with a dt. Miss Mabel Peacock has subsequently published "North Lincolnshire Dialect: Tales and Rhymes in the Lindsey Folk-speech," 1886.

In Mr. Peacock's Glossary, first ed. 1877 (the second was announced but not published when this was printed), a large number of words are spelled with *ou*, *ow*, apparently directing them to be pronounced with (ǽ'u), and in several instances this pronunciation was added in glossic by Prof. Skeat. I therefore took the trouble of extracting all such words as were not derived from *-ol*, *-ough*, etc., and sent them to Mr. Peacock, who kindly marked them for me, and at the same time said that they had been so written inadvertently. But as the pronunciation (ǽ'u) or (á'u) or (á'u, á'u) is prevalent over the greater part of Li., that is, s. of the s. *hoose* line 6 which cuts off only a small portion of n.Li., it is very necessary to bear the distinction carefully in mind, and persons who consulted the glossary might consider that the ewl. here given is incorrect. The following is the result:

1. (u₁) written *oo* in flood, hood.
2. (uu) written *oo* in coo [cow], cool [a lump on the head], coop, coot, crook, crooked, croon [crown], croopy, dogmooth [dogmouth = snapdragon], doot [doubt], floor, foot, hoos [house], to hooze [to house], i'noo [just now], loonging [should have been *loongin'* = lounging], moo [bellow as a cow], moon, moose [mouse], mooth [mouth], moozles [stupid] noodle, nook, oot [out], hoors [hours], shoot, smook [smoke], smoor [smother], to smooth, smooting and smoochin [narrow passage between houses], soot, stooks [sheaves of corn], stool, taken [taken], tool, tooth, tooth-houd [(tuuth ǽ'ud) = tooth-hold = something to bite], toozle [touzle], Wroot [in Isle of Axholme (S e. Doncaster, Yo.)].
3. (uu) written *ou*, *ow* in benow, be out, bouncing, bounder, bow, breast plough [pluu eplúu], brown [clock, linnet, study], to butter down, by now, a or to clout, clout-nails, count, countess-closes, court, to cow, cow-cotton, cow-gate, cow-grass, cow-lady, cow-lick [observe a *cow* is spelled *coo*], cowl [for chimneys], crowle [crawl], crown [also written *croon*], crownation, crowner, dogmouth [also written *-mooth*], to do out [to clean out], to doubt [= to fear], to dout [extinguish], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (ǽ'u)], down [ill], downcome, downfall, down-ligging, down to the ground [completely], :dowsabell, dowse, to drownd, drownded, enow [just now, also written *i' noo*], flout, flowter [flutter], foul, foul-tongued [these were marked as both (fa'ul, fuul)], hound, house, house-boot, house-row, housen, how, howerly [dirty, muddy, indecent], lout, louting, 'lowance [allowance, and also with (ǽ'u)], nows and thens, out and out, outcasts, outing, at outs, outwen [backwater], to owse [to bail water], to plough (ploo, plúu), powse [(pǽ'uz, puuz) rubbish], proud, round, ronsin, rout [noise], rout about, scour, shroud, souter-hole, a sow, to towel [to beat], a towil [a troublesome boy], a town.

4. (oo) written *ou*, *ow* in bout [a struggle], bowk [the belly], fower [four], goule [outfall of a drain], gowl [lump or swelling on the body], grout [thin mortar for concrete], growsome [fit for growing], growze [to eat noisily], howle [wooden water tunnel], howler [the alder tree], howmswever [howsoever], insouling [outfall

of a ditch], knowl [toll a bell], koush [=kewse=hemlock], loup [leap], to low [blaze], and adj. low [both also (AA)], lowse [loose], nowstril [nostril, a blow on the head], owen [over], ower [over], oweralls [overalls], owertaken [overtaken], owler [alder tree, also written *howler*], powl [pole], rowl [a roll of paper], rowler [a roller for crushing], rowly powly pudding, a snowler [something large and powerful], sougling [noise of the wind], to sowle [to assail], stour and daub [also stud and mud, building of laths, wattles and mud], stowp [post], to thow [thaw], i' tow, a yow [ewe].

5. (AA) written *ow* in know, to low [and also with (oo)], to own, throw.

6. (u₁) written *ou* in double rough (ru₁f).

7. (a'u) written *ou* or *ow* in bouge out [bulge], bough-pot, boulder [a bolder], coulter, dowdy, dowly [weak], to dowk [duck], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (uu)], Howbeck dale [probably], 'lowance [allowance, both (a'u) and (nu)], a power, to power [to pour], a rowel, sour [said of hay and clover], souse, towze, to yowl [howl], yowls [lands in certain parishes].

8. (o) written *ow* in knowledge-box.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE dt.

Manley Wapentake, about Brigg (24 nne.Lincoln).

Written by E. Peacock, Esq., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and vv. wl.

1. sóe ái sèv, méuts, je síe nuu, dhét ái)m réit ebuut dha't lí't'l la's ku₁mín fra t' skuul jəndə.

2. shii)z egō'in duun dhe róed dhie thrif jən red jévt e)dhə left and sáid e)dhə wéu.

3. síubr eníf dhe béen ez gōbn stréit u₁p te)dhə dūer e)dhə rəq uus,

4. wíe shi)l tjanť find dhat dhe dru₁qk'n díef wíz'nd fele kaad :təməs.

5. wí aal naa im verí wél.

6. wíent dh)á'ud tǵap suun laan)e nət te duu dhat egien, pùe thiq!

7. luuk, iz'nt it tríu?

Notes to n.Li. dt.

1. *I* (ái) apt to run to (ái a'í).—*I am*, "is, are, be, not used," but (bént) be not seems to be occasionally used.—*from the*, the (t') is very doubtful, and (dhə) is more probable.—*yon* (jən) is commonly used for *that, yonder* is not so common.

2. *through*, this form is also given in Mr. P.'s Glossary, Brogden gives

(thru)f).—*hand*, in his wl. Mr. P. always inserted (h), here he notes " (h) never used, but in anger." Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, a native of n.Li., always omitted (h) in dialect.

4. *chance, maybe* would be more usual.—*called* more usual than (e)dhə néum e) of the name of.

5. *very*, also called (vari).

WINTERTON (22 wnw.Gt. Grimsby) es.

written by Rev. J. J. Fowler, sometime curate of Winterton, and corrected from his dict. in 1873 by AJE.

This es. was also read to me by the daughter of a labourer from Epworth (9 nww.Gainsborough), who was servant at Mr. Spencer's Hotel, King's Cross, London, a Lincolnshire house. The servant had been a year only in London, but her dialect was not certain and was confused, partly apparently from original

proximity to Doncaster (14 w. Epworth), which probably affects the whole of the Isle of Axholme, partly from London speech, and greatly from inability to understand what was wanted. Hence I subsequently felt that her version was not sufficiently trustworthy. Mr. Fowler himself was not always quite certain. Under these circumstances I give only an abridged form of Mr. Fowler's version.

1. wel, nébbe, juu en ii nu bóeth laf. úe kéez ?
2. dhat shel bi trúu. it iz'nt e vari láikli thiq, juu me pend.
3. djest dhuu od dhi dín, men, wáil a)m ete'lín dhe.
4. a)m síue ái íed em sèe—dhat a did, síuer enif—
5. et-t'-ju, qgest sa'n iz'se'n, e gríut lad e náin jír ood, níu iz féedhez tu, q terekli [directly], en ái)d tru, st 'ím te spēek trúuth oní dee, éi, dhat wod)i.
6. en dh)ood wu, men ese'n 'l tel oní on je, if je)l nobet aks)e, éi dhat she wil,
7. tuu e thrii táimz over en aal.
8. uu it waz en wier it waz en wen it waz et she fu, n dhat dhie dru, qk'n bíest ez she kaalz er u, zben.
9. she siid)ím wí er aan íiz, lígín u, pp)e)dhie gru, nd i iz gu, d su, nde kúet, klúes egíen dhe dúe stíed, duun bí)dh kaaner et jon dhie léen end.
11. it waz djest ez dhe :bíl wáif en æ waz e ku, mìn uut o)dh téeti gath [potato yard] fre íqín uut t' klóez,—dhe)d djest bín duu'ín e bit e weshín, en ed aadlínz get'n dher anz uut e dh wesh tu, b,
12. en)dh ket'l waz bóilín, en dhe waz djest e go'ín te ev e ku, p e tie.
13. en if juu)l belii'v 'mii, a níve naad noo móer, ne dæ'z'nt want tu néudher, sóe nuu je naa.
14. a mu, n ewee' óem te gít e bit e su, per a)í'v'e, sóe a mu, n bi wishín je gu, d niit.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE cwl.

written by Mr. Peacock, and corrected from his dict. in 1877 by A.J.E. Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, also gave me a wl. for Scotter (19 n.w. Lincoln), which I corrected vv., and when the pron. differed from or supplemented Mr. Peacock's, the words are here annexed with F. prefixed.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 ta'k téek. 5 ma'k méek. 6 méed. 7 sa'k séek. 8 hev. 9 bíheev. 10 haa [no tendency to euphonic (r)]. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kéek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 séem. 24 shéem. 25 méen. 27 F néev. 31 léet. 32 béedh. 33 reedhe raadher. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom ku, m. 41 theqk [occ. probably a modern vulgarism]. 43 ha'nd. 44 la'nd. 46 ka'n'l. 51 ma'n. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 ira'. 60 loq. 61 emoqst. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. A'- 67 góv. 69 nóv. 70 tób. 71 wób. 72 uu. 73 sóv. 74 tuu, F tób. 75 s, t, rók. 76 tóed, F tóed. 78 aa, e aaez me [he owes me]. 79 aan. 81 leen. 82 [no (wu)st is heard]. 83 móen. 84 móe+r. 85 sóv+r. 86 óets wots. 87 tlóvz [(tl) for (kl) initial, always]. 89 bóeth. 90 blaa. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 sraa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 99 thraan. 100 saan. A': 101 óek. 102 aks. 104 róed. 105 róed. 106 bróed. 109

1AA. 111 á'ut. 113 óel. 115 óem. 118 bóen. 121 góen. 122 nóen. 123 F ná'ut. 124 stóen. 126 F óe. 127 [(v óest) a cough]. 128 dhóez. 129 góest. 130 bóet. 131 góet. 133 root rect. 134 F óeth.

Æ- 138 feedhe+r fēdhe+r. 139 dréu. 140 éel [ale, ail pron. in same way]. 141 néel. 142 sniil snéel. 143 téel. 144 F egéen. 145 sléen. 146 F méen. 147 F bréen. — a'ut [(p'smáiv+r) more common]. 149 F blézz. 152 wa'tur. 153 se'terdí. Æ: 155 tha'k. 158 ef'te+r. 161 déu. 164 F mēe. 166 méed. 168 tal'he. 169 wa'n. 172 gres. 173 waa+r. 174 esh. 179 wa't. 181 pa'd. Æ'- 182 F síe. 183 tíetj. 191 íel. 192 mien. 194 ení. 195 mení. 199 bliet. 200 wiet. Æ': 205 thríud. 210 thēe. 213 éedhe+r. 215 F taat. 216 diel. 226 mōest. 227 wiit. 228 swiit.

E- 232 bríek. 233 spíek. 234 níed. 240 lēu. 241 réen. 242 F twēen. 243 plēe. 247 F wien. 249 wie+r. 250 swíe+r. 251 miēt. E: 260 F lēe. 262 wēe. 265 street. 267 jiid. 270 belos. 274 bintj. 284 thresh. E': 314 híed. EA- 319 géep. — kéu+r. EA: 321 [(sid) used]. 323 la'f. 323 fa'ut. 326 ood. 327 hood. 328 kood. 330 ood. 331 seld. 332 teld. 333 kaaf, F kaa'f. 334 éef. 335 aal. 340 F jaad. 343 waa'm. 345 daa+r. 346 jéet. EA'- 347 híed. EA': 350 dīed. 351 líed. 354 shief. 355 dief. 356 lief. 357 dhōe. 361 biēn. 362 slēe. 363 tīep. 366 gríet. 367 thríet. 368 dieth. 369 slaa. 371 strōe, F straa'b. EI- 372 áí, ee. 373 F dhēe. 374 F née. 376 be'ek. EI: 377 ste'ek. 378 we'ek. EO- 384 hev'n. 385 biniin. 386 joo. 387 níu. EO: 388 milk. 390 shu'd. 397 swóud. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 405 aath. 406 íeth. 407 faad'n. EO'- 413 div'l. 414 thii. 421 íotí. EO': 423 thii. 426 F féet. 430 frend. 432 íout. 434 bet. EY- 438 dii.

I- 442 áivín. 444 stiil, F stáil. 446 náin. I: 452 áí [(v) unemphatic]. 455 líg. 458 níit. 459 réit. 461 eliit. 462 sūt. 465 sítj. 466 tjaíd [but (b'een) bairn, used]. 468 tjaide+r. 471 tím'bu+r. 472 sriqk. 473 blínd. 475 wáind. 476 bánd. 477 fínd. 478 gráind. 479 te wind. 486 íest [F (baam) used]. 487 jístedi. 488 F jít. I'- 491 F sái. 493 F dráiv. 494 F fáim. 496 áren. 468 F ráit. I': 500 F láik. 501 F wáid. 502 F fáiv. 504 F náif. 505 F wáif [occ. (wáif wa'if)]. 506 wu'men. 507 wimín. 508 máil. 511 wáin. 512 F spáiv+r. 515 wáiz.

O- 520 ba'au. 521 íóel. 522 op'n. 523 hóep. 524 wóeld waald [first commouest]. O: 526 kof. 527 ba'ut. 528 thá'ut. 529 brá'ut. 530 ra'ut. 531 da'ute+r. 532 kóel. 534 hóel. 536 gráud, F guuld. 537 mra'ud, F muuld. 538 wu'd. 539 buul. 540 F olí. 542 ba'ut. 550 wad. O'- 558 luuk. 563 F mu'ndí. 565 nóez. 566 F u'dhe+r. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 F gráud. 572 F bláud. 573 fláud. 575 stund. 576 wenzdi. 577 bíu. 578 pliu [always, never (plí)]. 579 ení'f [sg.], euíu [pl.]. 580 taf. 581 sa'ut. 587 du'ín. 592 swaa'b. 594 buut. 595 fuut. 597 suut.

U- 599 ubuun. 600 F lu'iv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 ku'm. 605 su'ín. 607 bu'ite+r. U: 608 F u'glí. 612 su'm. 613 dru'qk. 615 pu'nd. 616 gru'ín. 618 wá'umd. 619 íu'ín. 621 wu'ín. 625 tu'q. 629 su'ín. 631 thozdi. 632 u'p. 633 ku'p. 634 thri'f, F thru'f. 635 wath. 636 faade+r. U'- 643 kuu. 641 F huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 646 buu. 649 thuuzend. 652 ku'd. 653 bu't. U': 654 shruud. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 662 F u'z. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 prund. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 677 F drái. 679 tjetj. Y: 685 rig. 686 F báí. 689 bíild [rarely, and (byld)]. 690 máind. 691 káind. Y: 700 wos. 701 íst. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 F thottiin. 708 háiv+r. Y': 709 fáiv+r. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 F bad. 714 F lad. 717 dréud. 718 tréud. 719 [(bu'lhed) used]. 722 dríen, F dréu. 723 F déeri. 725 séel. 729 fréem. 733 F skév+r. 735 F smesh. 737 F méet. 738 F prést. 742 F lévzi. E. 743 skriem. 744 meslínz. 745 tjetj. 748 u'nfledg [unfledged]. 751 píet. I. and Y. 756 simp [occ.]. 758 gel [(wentj) much used]. O. 761 lóud. 763 F róem. 768 kóek.

769 mǎ'udiwaap, mǎ'ud. 772 boonfáiv+r. 773 [F only (djak-as) jack-ass used]. 774 póeni. 778 vfoéd. 779 F óts [usually (lievínz)]. 780 F dǫs'l. 783 pu₁ltri. 784 F bu₁ns. 786 F duus. 787 F suus. 789 F ráu. 790 guun [(d) never added], F gáun. — druund, druunded [drown, drowned]. U. 792 F skwab'l. 793 F u₁g. 794 F dǫu₁g. 795 F sru₁g. 801 F ru₁m. 802 F ru₁m. 803 F dǫu₁mp. 805 F kru₁dz. 806 F fu₁s. 807 F pu₁s. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 F fés. 811 F plés. 812 F lés. 813 F b'ek'n. 814 F mécs'n. 815 F fa'ks. 816 fced. 817 redish. 827 F eegv+r. 828 F eegv. 834 shecz. 838 tréut. 839 b'el. 840 tjaambu+r, F tǫembe+r. 852 a'pen. 853 baagzu. 857 F kés. 858 F brés. 859 F tǫés. 860 p'ust [used for dough]. 861 t'ést. 864 biks. 865 folt. E.. 874 re'en. 875 féent. 876 d'énti. 878 sa'leri. 887 tlaadǫi. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. 893 fláuv+r. I.. and Y.. 898 náist. 899 miis. 904 F váilet. 910 dǫáist, F dǫáis. 911 sestén. O.. 913 kóetǫ. 914 bróetǫ. 915 F stu₁f. 922 F bu₁shel. 927 F tru₁qk. 928 u₁ns. 929 F kuukemb+r, kǎ'u-. 931 dǫu₁gle+r. 935 F kuuntri. 939 tlós. 940 kóut. 942 bu₁tǫ+r. 943 tu₁tǫ. 944 F eluu. 950 F su₁pv+r. 951 ku₁pl. 952 kós. 953 F ku₁z'n. 954 F ku₁shen. 955 duut. 956 F ku₁ve+r. U.. 963 k'áiet. 966 F fruut. 967 F suut. 969 súer. 970 F dǫu₁st. 971 F fluut.

D 21 = s.NM. = southern North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin at the confluence of the Irwell with the Mersey, then go n. over Chat Moss just e. of Astley and Tyldesley, through Peel (3 s. Bolton). Turn ne. and pass se. of Bolton, nw. of Bury and se. of Bacup to the b. of La. at Todmorden. Then go s. along the e. b. of La. to Ch. just n. to Mosley. Turn across Leatherbed Moss, Ch., to the ne. b. of Db., and pursue the e. b. of Db. to Stanedge or Stanage. Go. w. to the s. of Bamford and Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Man Tor. Here turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest liberty to Hay Dale, and then w. to Black Edge (1½ n. Buxton). [This b. from Stanedge to Black Edge is also the b. between (d,r, t,r) on the n., and (dr, tr) on the s.] Go nw. over Combs Moss to its nw. point; then just w. of Chapel-en-le-Frith, and keeping n. of Combs Edge township go nw. to the b. of Db. at Whaley Bridge (9 se. Stockport). Pursue the w. b. of Db. to the ne. horn of Ch., just at the junction of the Etherow and the Goyt near Marple, Ch. Then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to just w. of Stockport joining the Mersey and pursuing it to the starting-point at the affluence of the Irwell.

Area. The se. corner of La., the ne. horn of Ch., the High Peak or the nw. of Db. The s. slopes of the Peak are in D 26.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.

Ch. † Stockport, partly in La., † Stalybridge, partly in La., and incidentally with † Glossop Db. are given Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Hattersley, etc. to Compstall.

Db. † Chapel-en-le-Frith, † Edale, † Glossop (including Hadfield, Padfield, etc.), † Hope Woodlands, † Peak Forest.

La. † Ashton-under-Lyne, * Bury, † Failsworth, ° Manchester (twice), ° Moston, † Oldham, † Patrieroft, † Rochdale, † Rayton, † Stalybridge, partly in Ch. It will thus be seen that practically I am almost entirely indebted to TH. for information on this district, and he is the only informant who was capable of giving the necessary minute information.

Character. This district lies in the middle between the NM. group, D 20 to D 24, and the MM. group, D 25 to D 27. It is not itself perfectly homogeneous, but very nearly so. Two principal varieties may be distinguished. Var. i. the La. Form which

prevails in La., Ch., and the s. bank of the Etherow, and Var. ii. the Peak Form. Var. i. is strongly distinguished from the surrounding districts, by the use of (á'u) for U' in place of (aa¹) in D 22, the great variety of sounds for U' in D 24, and the use of (ái) for U' in D 25. Var. ii. is not so strongly distinguished as Var. i., because it uses (áu) for U', which is not an unfrequent variety of (á'u) everywhere, and as already shewn (p. 293) is really on the way to (aa) and (ái) through (áu). In the present participle Var. i. uses (-i,qk), a very characteristic La. form, but Var. ii. has (i,n), for the usual form (-iq). In the three interlinear es. given presently it will be seen that these are practically the only points of difference.

For the meaning of (u_o), which is here universal, see p. 291, and for (æ'u) see p. 292. Both are here pure, and as D 21 is TH.'s native district, his pron. of these sounds must be received as normal. On (r), which must be considered in the illustrations to represent (r), following TH.'s writing, see p. 293. On (h) see p. 295. The final -ng becomes generally (-qg), except in participles, where it is usually (n) in Db. as in most places, but occ. becomes (-qk) in the La. and Ch. portions of D 21.

The following peculiarities of TH.'s notation, but not his (ú_o), have been strictly observed in this his native district :

1. TH. has been very particular in marking *the medial length of vowels* as distinguished from long or short, both when occurring independently and as the last element of a diphthong. But this is by no means a peculiarity of any particular district, as appears from his continually marking the same kind of prolongation in every place which he visits. It is very rarely that I find any inducement to make this distinction in my own writing, but, except in the final element of diphthongs, which is frequently prolonged at pleasure, I follow his orthography when quoting him. TH. is very anxious to have it understood that the medial lengths he marks are strictly dialectal, and that to use either short or long quantities in their place would be inaccurate. Old John Hart, 1569, considered the second element of all diphthongs long, as (áií áuu), and certainly whenever a diphthong is much prolonged or emphasized, the second element is necessarily lengthened, an elocutionary device by which its character is not altered, whereas its character is always much changed by more or less lengthening the first element, as (âi áai, âu áau). Hence I mark initial but do not mark final lengthening of the final element of a diphthong, just as I do not mark elocutionary devices in general.

2. TH. much insists on his *notation of unaccented (i)*, as I write it, which he considers should be (i_o) or retracted (i_o), especially in final syllables. Thus he would write *infinity* as (infín*·*i*·*t*·*i). Here I do not follow him, but write (infín*·*i*·*t*·*i), considering that any difference of sound is an accidental, neither intentional nor invariable, effect of the absence of accent, which always obscures the sound and makes it difficult to appreciate. At first I thought it was a local peculiarity, but when I found that TH. recognised it from all speakers, peasant or educated, local or general, and in myself also, where I failed to perceive it, I concluded that it was a mere difference of appreciation and ceased to use (i_o), which as contrasted with my own habits of writing would have produced the impression of a difference of pron. which did not really exist. A glance at the following es. will shew the undesirability of such a notation.

3. TH. not only marks the medial length of vowels, but the *prolongation of final consonants*, especially “(1) in the pause after short and sometimes medial vowels, and diphthongs having both elements short, and (2) occasionally in connected speech.” In the case of (t v, th dh, s z, sh zh, r, l, m, n, q) of course they can be prolonged and often are prolonged even in received speech, especially in the pause or when dictating isolated words and aiming at distinctness, as (looth¹) loth, (loodh¹, loodh¹th¹) loathe, but this is elocutionary and not dialectal or permanent, that is, the consonant is not invariably so prolonged whenever the word is used. Again in the case of mutes as (p, t, k), which of course having no

sound cannot have their sound prolonged, the configuration may be suspended and released on flatus, thus (noot' t') note, for which (noot') would be written. [The French release on voice as (not').] But this again is elocutionary, not permanent, and its more or less frequent use does not belong to any special dialect. In noting down a person's pron. it is unobjectionable to mark it, as well as other passing usages, but in printing dialectal specimens it would be misleading, because it would acquire the appearance of permanence, which it does not really possess. Hence, as a rule, I omit them altogether. Of course TH. holds a different opinion and says that in all cases where he marks this prolongation of consonants, the phonetic representation of the dialect would be imperfect if they were not prolonged. Nevertheless I prefer not marking prolongation, but leaving it optional.

For a specimen of TH.'s complete style of writing palaeotype, which I do not find it right or convenient to adopt generally, see the Chapel-en-le-Frith dt. and cwl., pp. 322-329, which being written by himself after consultation with his friends there resident, is worth preserving as a portrait. I have also used his marks of prolongation and retraction in the three interlinear es. here given, in the eight interlinear es. of D 26, and the Combs Valley dt. in the four inter-linear dt. in D 25, so that the full effect of these (to my mind individual and not dialectal) prolongations and suspensions may be readily seen. But beyond the particular specimens named, I shall omit them.

The suspension of consonants, however, is quite different from the *suspended* (t') for the definite article, which here occurs sparingly, but is universal in D 24, 30, 31. The mode in which it makes its presence felt is peculiar. When it is possible it hangs on by a glide to the preceding vowel or consonant, as (in)t' kart) in the cart, but in (t')kart)s kumin) the cart is coming, this is impossible. It then modifies the position of the organs for (k), so that the glide on to (aa) in (t')kaa) is quite different from that in simple (kaa). Before (t, d) as (t' tuq, t' dæg) it intensifies the (t, d) in a remarkable manner. It never properly runs on to the following vowel, (t' óud tɔp) the old chap, and (tóud t' tɔp) told the chap, have different effects as well as meanings. The (t'óu) then more nearly resembles (t'óu), but is not so intense. In no case must voice or flatus intervene. To say (t'dæg, t'túud, t'kaat) the dog, the toad, the cart, with introduced (') or (˘), would be quite wrong. It is almost hopeless to understand (t') without studying its effect from native lips.

THREE INTERLINEAR ES.

- S Stalybridge, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1876 from the dictation of John Marsland, Esq., J.P., b. 1817, cotton spinner, native and resident.
 G Glossop, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1874 from the dictation Mr. Samuel Lyne, native of Hollingworth, Ch. (4 n.w. Glossop), b. about 1808, who has resided in the neighbourhood all his life, lodge-keeper at a large cotton-mill. Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Mottram, Hattersley, etc., to Compstall, in the ne. horn of Ch., and Hadfield, Padfield, etc., on the Db. side of the Etherow Valley, have all the same peasant speech.
 C Chapel-en-le-Frith (5 n. Buxton, Var. ii. pal. by TH., native, from personal knowledge. In this version the roman superiors ^{a, b, c} etc., refer to the variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which are also given in D 25 as variants from Pott Shrigley; they consist chiefly in the use of (ái) for (áu). The italic superiors ^{a, b, c} give the variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc., on the Peak. For both see notes, p. 321.

0. S *Stalybridge*. wái :dɔɔn)z nó dæ'uts.
 G *Glossop*. wái :dɔɔn(z næ'u dæ'uts.
 C *Chapel-en-le-Frith*. wái :dɔɔn)z næ'u ^adæ'uts.

1. S wɛl, mán, búɛdh ím uon dhì mi, laf' ɛt wɔt A)m
 G wɛl, mɔ'n, dhí ɛn ím mɛ búɛdh laf' ɛt wɔt A)m
 C wɛl, làd, ɔo ɛn ím mɛ ^bbuɛdh laf' ɛd dhiz ní,ùz

S tel'iqk)ɹe. A du_one kJEEER. dhat ma ter)z n'ó'ut'.
 G bæ'an)t' tel)ɹe. úe kJEEERZ? dhat)s noódher íer ner dhíer.
 C e)má'n. 'uu kJEEERZ? dhat)s noódher íer ner dhíer.

2. S dher)z n'ə mən'í, f'ók' d'ín bi'kooz dh'e)r laft àt, wi,(noon,
 G dher iz)ne mən'í, ez d'ín bi'kooz dh'e)r laft àt, wi,)noon,
 C dher iz)ne mən'í, ez d'ín bi'kooz dh'e)r laft àt, wi,)noon,

S du_one wi,[?] w'ət shu_od mak'em? it)s noon se lá'íklí,
 G du_one wi,[?] w'ət shu_od mak'em? it iz)ne ver'í, lá'íklí,
 C 'du_o)nt ez? w'ət shud mak'em? it iz)ne ver'í, lá'íklí,

S iz)í,t?
 G iz)í,t?
 C iz)í,t?

3. S shu_oz) 'á'u it)wer e)dhí's'n. se dju_ost ó'ud
 G et an'í, reet it)wer e)dhí's'n. se dju_ost 'á'ud
 C et an'í, reet dhí'z er th)faks e)th kJees. se dju_ost 'á'ud

S dhi, n'ó'íz, m'á'n, u_on shu_ot' dhi, m'á'uth wá'il A)v d'ú_on.
 G dhi, d'n, m'ə'n, en bi', kwá'ívt t'ín A)v d'ú_on.
 C ɹer 'ne'íz, m'en, en bi', kwá'ívt t'íl A)v 'dæ'm.

S ɹe'r)dhí,[?]
 G í'r)dhí,[?] [JEEER)dhí,[?]]
 C í'r)ɹe?

4. S A)m sh'ú⁵er A ɹe'rd su_om e dh'ú⁵z f'ók' et
 G A)m sá'rt'í_n A í'erd em SEE—A m'íen su_om e dhæ'uz f'ók' ez
 C A)m sá'rt'í_n A í'erd em SEE—A 'm'íin su_om e dhæ'uz f'ók' ez

S rek'nt t' noo ó' eb'á'út í,t SEE—

G went thræ'u th)wu_ol kensàrn fer th)fast dherselz—dhat A
 C went thræ'u th)wu_ol kensàrn 'fr'e th)fast dherselz—dhat A

S
 G d'íd shæ'uer enu_of'
 C d'íd shæ'uer enu_of'

5. S u_ot th)ɹu_oqk'st làd í'sSEL' e big' làd e n'á'ín, nood í's
 G es th)ɹu_oqg'í'st làd í'sSEL' e big' làd n'á'ín íer 'á'ud, nood í's
 C es th)ɹu_oqg'í'st làd 'í'sSEL' e big' làd n'á'ín íer 'á'ud, nood í's

S feedherz v'ó'is' ín e krak', fer oo it wer se ku'íer u_on
 G feedherz v'e'is' es se'un ez ú' í'erd í,t, ev it war kwéer en
 C feedherz'v'e'is' d'í,rekli,, ev it war se ku'íer en

S skwék'í,qk, u_on A noo th)làd ed Aales tel t' t'rá'n'sth,
 G skwíek'í,qk, en A)m shæ'uer ú'íl tel t' t'rá'uth,
 C 'skwík'í_n, en A)d t'ru_ost 'ím t' tel t' t'rá'uth,

- S A)m shúu⁵r.
 G an_i, táim.
 C an_i, táim, ·dhat A wú_od.
6. S u_n th)ó'ud wu_omen ɛrseɫ' el tel an_i, ɔn jɛ u_ot)s laf_iqk,
 G en th)a'ud wu_omen ɛrseɫ' el tel an_i, ɔn jɛ et er laf_iqk,
 C en th)a'ud wu_omen ^sɛrseɫ' el tel an_i, ɔn jɛ ez lafⁿ naa,
 S u_n stɹe'it' a'ut', en oo, bə'ut an_i, bəðher, iv jɛ)n
 G en tel jɛ stɹe'it' a'ut', tæ'u, bə'ut mɪtʃ bəðher, ev jɛ)n
 C en tel jɛ stɹe'it' fəret, tæ'u, ^fbə'ut mɪtʃ bəðher, ev jɔ)n
 S nəber aks ɛr, oo! wɪ)nt úu⁵?
 G nəber aks ɛr, oo! wɪ)nt æ'u?
 C oon_i, aks ɛr, oo! wɪ)nt v?
7. S shu_oz) a'u, úu tó'ud mɪ wen A akst)ɛr, mən_i, v
 G et an_i, reet, æ'u tə'ud i't mɪ wen A akst)ɛr, tæ'ù er thríi
 C et an_i, reet, æ'u tə'ud i't mɪ wen A akst)ɛr, tæ'ù er thríi
 S táim, u_n úu)d nɔ)bi, ru_oqg v dhat pó'int A)rek'n,
 G táimz óvɛr, en æ'u shu_od)ne bi, raqk eba'ud
 C táimz óvɛr, en æ'u du_oz)ne a'ut t' bi, ru_oqg ^seɛbə'ut sɪtʃ
 S wɔ)d'n jɛ thiqk?
 G dhɪs', wəd du_on jɛ thiqk?
 C v thiqg ez dhɪs', wəd du_on jɛ thiqk?
8. S wɛ'l, ez A wɛr se'i_iqk úu⁵)d tel jɛ, a'u wíer u_n
 G wɛ'l, ez A wɛr see'i_iqk æ'u)d tel jɛ búrdh a'u en wíer en
 C wɛ'l, ez A wɛr see'i_n æ'u)d tel jɛ ^hbúrdh áu en wíer en
 S wen' úu⁵ fu_on' t' d_ru_oqk'n bíest úu⁵ kooz ɛr)u_ozbent.
 G wen' æ'u fu_on' t' d_ru_oqk'n slɔtʃ ez æ'u kooz ɛr u_ozbent.
 C wen' æ'u fu_on' t' d_ru_oqk'n slɔtʃ ez æ'u kAAZ ɛr u_ozbent.
9. S úu⁵ sweer úu⁵ síid i_m wɪ, ɛr oon iin, fu_ol leqkth
 G æ'u sweer æ'u síid i_m ɛrseɫ, lá'i_iqk ó ev v leqkth
 C æ'u sweer æ'u síid i_m wɪ, ɛr oon iin, lá'i_in A' i_z leqkth
 S ɔn th) flúu⁵ɛr in i_z gù_od a'led_i, kúet, tɫɔs' bi)th
 G u_ope th) græ'und in i_z su_ond_i, kúet, tɫoos et)i_z
 C u_ope th ⁱgræ'und, in i_z gù_od su_ond_i, ^jkuut, tɫoos bi)th
 S a'us' dǎr, dǎn bi)th karnɛr v)th loon.
 G oon dǎr, dǎ'n et th) karnɛr v)th loon.
 C ^káuz dǎr, ^hdǎn et th) karnɛr v' ⁱjənd loon.
10. S úu⁵ sed ì wer mak_iqk v dɫn, fer oo th)wəld
 G ì wer mak_iqk v dɫn, æ'u se'd, fer oo th)wəld
 C ì wer mak_in v dɫn, æ'u se'd, fer AA th)wəld

S láik v púerli, tjáilt, er láik v lit'l wentj fret'i,qk.
 G láik v badli, tjáilt, er v lit'l wentj krá'i,qk.
 C láik v badli, tjáilt, er v lit'l wentj krá'i,i,n.

11. S u_on dhat wær, ez úu⁵ en er dóut_ur i_n laa káu⁵m
 G en dhat wær, ez ær en er dáut_ur i_n laa kæ'um
 C en dhat ap'nt, ez ær en er dáut_ur i_n laa kæ'um

S thrúu⁵ th)bak' jàrd fræ aqgi,qk th)wìt' tlúez
 G thræ'u th)bak' jàrd afte'r eqgi,qk t)tlúez
 C thræ'u th)bak' jàrt wen dhi,)d bin iqgi,i,n th)wät' mthuz

S æ'ut' v)th wE'ish'i,qk dee
 G æ'ut' v)th wEsh'i,qk dee
 C áut' t)^sd,æ'i ev v wEsh'i,n dee

12. S wáil th)tee kjet'l wer bó'i*l*,qk wæn
 G wáil th) kjet'l wer be'*l*,qk fer th)bag'*l*,qk wæn
 C wáil th) kjet'l wer 'be'*l*,i,n fer th)^mtee, wæn

S fáim brít' su_omer afte,rnu⁵n, næber v wik'
 G su_onshE'*i*, afte,rnæ'un, næber v wík
 C fáim brüt' afte,rnæ'un' i, su_omer, en it'l oonli, bi v "wík

S sin' t' neks tharzd*i*,
 G sin' t' neks tharzd*i*,
 C sin' t' neks tharzd*i*,

13. S u_on du_on)JE noo? eSh) shúu⁵er ez A)m kood :djak'
 G en du_on)JE noo? eSh shæ'uer ez A m íer,
 C en du_on)JE noo? eSh shæ'uer ez mái neem)z :dʒæn

S :shepert, A JÈrd nó,ut' ne múer eba'ut' i,t
 G A NEVER íerd nE'ut' aba'ut' i,t sin'
 C :shepert, A níver gjet t' noo ne múer v dhat kensàrn te

S u_op te nE'u, u_on A du_o)ne want t' dúu⁵ noodher, næ)dhen'!
 G en A du_o)ne want noodher, næ)dhen'!
 C dhiz dee, en A du_o)ne want noodher, nà)dhen'!

14. S u_on se)nE'u A)m gu'*l*,qk) k' mi, bag'*l*,qk. gu_od nit,
 G en nE'u A)m gu'*l*,qk wE'm)p' mi, su_oper. gu_od nít',
 C en naa A)m gu'*l*,i,n wE'm te mi, su_oper. gu_od nít',

S u_on du_o)ne bi se redi, t' kroo óer anibædi, egeen, wen
 G en du_o)ne kroo óer nu_obdi, egjeen, wen
 C en du_o)ne bi se redi, t' kroo óer ani,badi, egjE'n, wen

S dhe)r ta'k*l*,qk eba'ut' ó,ut'.
 G dhi, tAAk'n eba'ut' æ'ut'.
 C dhi, tAAk'n "eba'ut' æ'ut'.

15. S ì)z nàber v fùù⁵ ut tAAks bA'ut sENS. SE nA'u A
 G ù iz v sòft fæ'u ut preecs bA'ut sENS. A)S)SE)NB
 C ít)s v "wék fæ'u uz preecs 0bA'ut riiz'n. EN dhAt)s mi,

S dū_on. gu_od nít'.
 G múer eBA'út i,t. gu_od nít'.
 C last wA'rd. gu_od nít'.

Notes to Stalybridge es., p. 317.

1. *man* or (:tu_om', :bíl'), etc.—*thee*, the 2nd pers. sg. is employed in the usual way. TH. writes (dhi), but says, "In this and other words in which ì ii occur, the sound, when not a pure vowel, is a slight fracture nearly = (i_i)." This is in other cases written (ii) or (i_i): but I here retain TH.'s notation.—*telling*. "The termination (i_qk) is, in the town, restricted to *elderly* people. It was generally used about 1836-46. Mr. Marsland's father (d. 1864) invariably said (i_qk)." He also said (ru_okh) rough. (lòk_h) laugh.

3. *choose how*, a common phrase, for 'at any rate, take it as you like.'—*shut thy mouth*, or (shA_r u_op') or (shu_r u_op') shut up, the final (t) before a vowel becoming (r), as very frequently here

and elsewhere, see par. 12 (nàber v wik) nought-but a week.

4. *sure*, the ⁵ in (æ'u⁵) merely means "with protruded lips," as near Oldham, only not quite so much protruded.

6. *you will-en* (jA'n), the *will* is lost and only the *you-n* remains.

9. *by the house* or (eSáid e)th-), aside of the.—*corner of the lane* or (loo_n kA_rner) lane corner.

14. *going to my* (gu'i_oqk)k' mi), (k') is *to*, assimilated to preceding (qk).—*tea*, bagging. Most work-people have tea at six, which they call *bagging*, and have no supper. This word is used also over D 31. At the printers' of this book, in Hertford, a similar word, *packing*, is used for dinner.

Notes to Glossop es., p. 317.

1. *man* or Tom, Bill, etc.—*thee* used for *thou*, as at Stalybridge.

3. *until I've done*, (tín) is a Ch. word.

4. *certain* or (shæ'uer) *sure*.

5. *if* (i.e. although) *it were queer*.

6. *nought-but* or (oonli) *only*.

7. *two or three* or (tæ'uthri).—*wrong* or (ru_oqg).

8. *slotch*, sottish, or besotted fellow.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p) is (t) *to*, assimilated to preceding m.

15. *I shall say no more*, the (s) is (sh) for *shall*, assimilated to the following (s).

Notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith es., p. 317.

Variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which properly belong to D 25 :

^a dáits. ^b búgdh. ^c úv. ^d míen.
^e skwiek' i_n. ^f báit. ^g bááit. ^h búedh
^áí. ⁱgráind. ^jkáut. ^káiz. ^ldáin.
^mtluuz áit. ⁿebáit. ^obáit ríez'n.

Variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc. :

^adu_one wi,[?] ^bdèn. ^cdū_on. ^díre
 th'fárst dber-enz. ^ei_ossen'. ^fváiss'.
^gursen'. ^híluk [*hillock*]. ⁱjond, jón d_er.
^jwáird. ^kd_ráá. ^lbááil_n. ^mtii. ⁿwik'.

General Notes.

1. *lad*. The contracted Christian name is generally used, as *Tom*, *Tommy*.

—*you* or (dhí) *thee* : used as before.

3. *these are the facts of the case*, or (it wer v dhis'n) it was of this fashion.—*your*, or familiarly (dhi) *thy*.

4. *from the first*, or (bì_og'i'n'i_n) *beginning*.

5. *youngest*, or (ju_oqst).—*directly*, or (in a mánit) in a minute, or (us se'u_n uz ù írrl i't) as soon as he heard it.

6. *laugh-en*, or (laifs) *laughs*.—*too*, or (en AA) and all.

10. *crying*, or (lúer_in) *roaring*.

11. *yard*, or (jA'rt).

13. *do you know?* pl., if sing. (du_os t noo) dost thou know.—*John* or (:djak') *Jack*.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH dt.

pal. from personal knowledge by TH. 14 April, 1888, and checked on the spot the next day with a cousin, about 60 years of age, a farmer, who has resided in the immediate district all his life. On (*ú*_o) for (*e*'u) see p. 324, No. 1.

1. A *se*'_l *ladz* [tjaps], *jo s'in naa ez a*'m *rít' ebâw't dhat lî't*
wentj kamin frv's' *sk ú*'_o *ù jand*.

2. *ú*'_o *n*z *gu*'_i *n* *dâun* *th*)*rood* *dhier thr*'_ú *o* *th*)*red* *ject*, *u*'_o *pe* *th*)*lîft*
ond sâid *v*)*th*)*rood*.

3. *sî* *je!* *th*)*tjâilt*)s *gân* *st*'*re*'*it*' *u*'_o *p*' *te* *th*)*ru*'_o *q*' *dâr* [*ru*'_o *qg* *âus*'].

4. *wier* (*ú*'_o) *l* *ap*'_n *fâind* *dhat* *d*'*ru*'_o *q*' *k*'_n *dif*' *wiz*'_{nt} *fele* *ez* *dhi*,
kaan *â'ud* :*tu*'_o *m*'.

5. *wi* [*wi*'_l] *aa noon* *im* 'veri, *wâl*.

6. *wi*'_{ne} *th*)*â'ud* *tjap*' *s*'_ú *o* *un* *tûtj*)*er* *nan* *fer* *t*)*d*'_ú *o* *i*'_t *egj*'_e *n*,
pâer *thi*'_q *k*!

7. *lu*'_o *k*' *je!* *iz*'_{nt} *i*'_t *t*'_r'_ú *o* *ù*?

Notes with the pronunciation of words omitted from the dt.

1. *so* (*s*'_ú *o*).—*mates* (*m*'_e *t*'_s, *m*'_e *e*'_t'_s). —*wrong*. Observe (*ru*'_o *q*) before (*d*), and
 —*girl* (*g*'_j *e*'_l'), half refined. (*ru*'_o *qg* before *â**u*).

2. *hand* (*o*'_{nt}) in pause. — *way* 4. *chance* (*tjans*). — *shrivelled*, not
 (*w*'_e *e*'). used [*shr* = (*sr*); *shrimp* (*sr*'_{im} *p*)].—

3. *sure* (*sh*'_ú *o*'_{er}).—*enough* (*e*'_{nu}'_o *f*'). — *name* (*n*'_e *e*'_m).

SOUTH-EAST LA. AND NORTH-WEST DB., cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

R Rochdale (:ratjðe :ratjít) and adjacent villages, La.

O Oldham, La. Ex. youth looking at a picture of a wolf pursued by dogs: (*it*
iz)*ne* *v* *f*'_o *ks*, *shu*'_z *â'u*, *a* *k*'_o *n*'_e *g*'_a *a*'_m *it*, *w*'_o *t* *it* *iz*) it is not a fox, choose how
 [= at any rate,] I cannot understand it, what it is.

P Patricroft (5 w. Manchester), La. Ex. (*su*'_o *m* *f*'_o *k* *se*'_n, *dhi*)*n* *g*'_o *n* *t*' *bakert rood*
se lu'_o *qg*) some folk say-en, they have-n gone the backward road so long.

H Hope Woodlands (10 ese. Glossop), Db.

E Edale (7 se. Glossop), Db.

F Peak Forest (5 ne. Buxton), Db., collected in 1865.

S Stalybridge and G Glossop are prefixed to a few words from the three inter-
 linear es. on p. 317-321. The Chapel-en-le-Frith words are given
 separately in the next cwl.

The principal phonetic difference between Oldham neighbourhood and Staly-
 bridge, Gorton (3 ese. Manchester), Openshaw (2 e. Manchester), consists in the
 abnormal protrusion of the lips at Oldham in (*ôu*⁵) in bold, cold, etc., (*âur*⁵) in
 moon, noon, that is, in EAL and O'- words.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 23 O *scem*. — O *stéur* [to stare]. A: 43 R *â*'_i *nz* [hands]. 44 F *lond*.
 — E *g*'_o *ner* [gander]. 51 O *m*'_o *n*. 56 RS *w*'_e *'i* *sh*, G *w*'_e *sh*. A: *or* O: 60
 P *lu*'_o *qg*. 64 SG *ru*'_o *qg*, G *ra*'_q *k*. A'- 67 R *gu*'_i *n* [going], F *gu*'_n. 69 R
na'_u. *na*'_o, O *na*'_o. 74 O *tu*'_o *n*⁵. 81 EFSG *loon* [F giving place to *lœn*].
 84 O *m*'_u *er*. 87 SG *tl*'_u *ez*. 89 SG *b*'_u *edh*. A': 104 RP *rood*. 106 F *brood*.

115 ORF wə'm, OR wə'm. 117 R wə'n, t' toon [the one]. 118 E boon. 122 RO noon, S nò, G næ'u. 124 E stoon, F stuum. — F rūp [rope]. 137 G noodher. Æ- 138 SG feedher. — P siut [seat]. Æ: 154 R bak. 158 R a'fther, a'f'ter. 161 F dee. 172 R graa's. 177 PE dhat [‘demonstrative pronoun final, characteristic of E, F, etc.’ TH.]. Æ'- 187 E liiv. 200 E wiit. Æ': 218 F sh'ip. 224 RSG, wíer. 226 O máíst.

E- — O wi eet'n [we eat]. E: 261 P see. — R béd [bed]. 265 SG s'tr'e'it. — F fe'ilt [field]. 279 R we'ut. E'- 291 F dhe'i. 292 R mi. 301 R A JER'br [I hear her], S JE'r, G íer. E': 312 F e'ier. 314 R JERd. EA: 322 E lak'h [said in 1873 by an old woman]. 326 R ə'ud, O ów'd, S ó'ud, G ə'ud. 328 F kə'ud. 330 S ó'ud, G ə'ud. 332 R tóu'd. 333 R ka'f. 334 R epui [halfpenny]. 335 RO oo. 338 RSG koo. — R shar' it [share it]. 345 R darnt [dare not]. EA'- 347 R JED. EA': 360 R íem. 366 R greet, F gríit. EI: 382 O dhír. EO: 394 R JOND. 395 R ju'qg. 399 E bríit. EO'- 410 RF ə'u [nearly uu]. — F t'ríi [tree]. 420 O fúr. EO': 424 E ru'kh [old]. 426 R íe'it. 428 S se'iqk, G see'iqk [seeing]. 437 S t'ræ'uth, G t'ræ'uth.

I- 440 E wík'. 444 R stíil. 449 P g'jet, O giit [got]. I: 458 R n'íit, [nearly] nít, OE nít. 459 R r'íit. 469 F wú' [will]. 479 R waand. 485 HEF íis'l. 487 R ju's'ternit [vesternight]. 488 R JE'it. I'- 492 R saad, P sáid. 494 R taam taam. — R paap [pipe, normal, deviating in dir. of paap], this sound for I' occurs also in D 22, Prescot, Samlesbury, West Houghton, Wigan, but is rare out of Yo.]. 498 R raat. I': 502 R íAAV íAAV. 505 R [between] wAAf, waaí. 510 R [between] mAAN, maan.

O- — R brək'n [broken]. — H sməkt [smoked, old], F smək [smoke]. 518 E anibadi. O: 525 OR ə'f [off]. 527 R ba't. 528 R tha't, O thóu't. 529 R bra't. 531 S d'ó'u't'ér, G da'u't'ér. 535 P íòk. 538 E wə'uld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. O'- 555 F shə'un [shoes]. 557 O táu'. 558 F læ'uk. 559 R mu'dber. 560 R skúu, skuu. 562 E mə'um. 566 P u'dher. O': 569 O bə'n'k, F bæ'uk. 571 O gh'òd. 586 R dáu, O dáu'. 587 RSG dù'n. 588 R nə'n'n. 589 O spuun, spú'n. 594 E bæ'uts.

U- 603 R ku'm, kəmin [coming], F kəm. 606 OR də'r. U: — E pə'u [pull]. 612 P su'm-, F su'm'. 615 O pá'and. 616 G grə'and. — R u'nd'ér d [hundred]. 632 R u'p'. 634 S thráu, G thrə'u. U'- 641 SG ə'u. 642 O dha [unemphatic]. 643 RO nə'u. 652 E kə'uld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. U': 658 R dá'um daa'n, E dā'um [with elongated horizontal opening to lips]. 659 R tá'um. 663 RS ə'us, E ə'us. 667 PROSG ə'at.

Y: 686 R baa [(A)st baa noon], I shall buy none], F báí. 701 RE fərst. Y'- 706 SG wái.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 F làr [more frequent] là'r [in salutation]. — HF pləd [a plaid, the same at Chapel-en-le-Frith]. O. — R dag [dog]. — E thú'kh [clough, old]. U. 804 E d'ru'qk'n. 808 R pu't.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 O feez. 811 E plès. 830 R threen t'reen. — R vər'i [from boys reading inscription on Tim Bobbin's tomb, where it rhymes to (:mæ'r'i) Mary, obs. reverted r]. E.. 867 OR tee, F tíi. — E lə't'ér [letter]. I.. and Y.. 898 O ná'is. O.. 939 E tlòs. 940 F kuut, SG kúvt. 941 S íáu'. 947 S bó'íl, G be'íl. — H d'íA'rni [journey, it is (ár) in D 22, 24, and in most of D 21]. 955 SG dá'at, R dáut. U.. 965 óil [in the mill any one saying (ail) would be charged with 'talking fine'], E ail. 969 G shə'u'er.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH (5 n.Buxton) cwl.

Applying also to the township of Bowden Edge, e. and n. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. TH., who was born in Dec. 1819 at Raglow (1½ e.Chapel), wrote this cwl. especially to show the peculiarities of notation which he prefers, many of

which have already been indicated. As one to whom I am so much indebted for assistance in the M. counties and those bordering upon them to the South, it seemed right for him to shew, in recording his own native pron., the full forms that he advocates. But it would be evidently impossible for me to alter the whole of my book in accordance with them, even if I desired to do so. I have in the introduction to the M. div. (pp. 291-4), and especially to this district (p. 316), indicated the reasons of my dissent. Here it is necessary that the reader should bear in mind the following among TH.'s special habits of palaeotyping.

1. (*u*) is written for my (*æ*'u). The sound intended to be conveyed is identical in both notations, namely, (uu) commenced with too open a mouth, which rapidly closes to the proper position. But in (*u*) the tongue is supposed to be slightly more advanced than for (uu), and the mouth is supposed to be open at first only so wide as for (*o*). The ultimate effect is very like (*u*'). See *supra* p. 292.

2. (*i*) represents (*i*) with a slightly retracted tongue, and is insisted on by TH. in all unaccented syllables where I write (*i*). See p. 316. I have elsewhere sometimes written the result (*i*). But in truth I do not hear this difference of unaccented syllables from myself or any other speaker, whereas TH. hears it from all speakers.

3. TH.'s extensive use of the notation for medial vowels I find mostly unnecessary, and the intended effect would often be more intelligibly rendered by long vowels. But when a writer has once got the habit of using medial vowel signs, the long vowel mark seems to indicate for him altogether an abnormal lengthening which he shrinks from using. At any rate I found that effect on myself when for a time I gave in to their employment.

4. The lengthened or suspended final consonants, as (bak' dlad'), see p. 316.

5. The treatment of *r*, using (r) simply, without any indication that TH. does not mean the genuine trill, but rather (r), see p. 293.

Bearing these points in mind, the reader will appreciate the minute care and unceasing search after phonetic accuracy which characterise all TH.'s palaeotypic writing, and are very conspicuous in the cwl., a work of immense labour, scrupulously checked in every point, and hence of great value.

* * The hyphen (-) after a word, as in Nos. 4 and 5, shews that this form is used only in connected speech when another word immediately follows.

† before a number in the cwl. shews that the word having that number is not used in the dialect. In this case the word used is frequently added; and even when a phrase would be required, it is occasionally given.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 su. 3 beek. 4 tak- tæk- [generally]; tee- te'- [sometimes]. 5 mak- mæk- [generally]; mee- me'- [sometimes]. 6 meed. 7 seek. 8 av- äv-. 9 bi- ee'v. 10 eeg. †11 [(kröp') used]. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 draa. †15 [(Aafel) occ., (tereb'l) often]. †16 [sb. (bræk' v)dee] break of day, used]. 17 laa. 18 kjæk. 19 ted. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. 24 sheem. 25 meem. †26 [the moon's (past t' fu'el, gu'iu les') past the full, going less. used]. 27 neev. 28 eer. 29 a'r. 30 kj^{er}. 31 lect. 32 beedh. 33 ree'dher. 34 last. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 tlaa.

A: 38 äz, ez. 39 ku'm. 40 kam'. 41 thaqk. 42 en [(d) always omitted]. 43 ont [(lift ond säid)]. 44 lond. 46 kja'nd'l. 47 wan'dv'r. 48 suoq[g]. 49 aq[g] [to execute by hanging], iq[g] [to hang, or to hang up clothes, etc.]. 50 tuoq'z. 51 ma'n. 53 kjan'. 54 want. 55 es'. 56 wesh. 57 as'.

A: or O: 58 irv- [generally], iru' [in pause]. 59 lam'. 60 luoq[g]. 61 vuoq[g]. 62 struoq[g]. 63 thuoqk [adj.]. 64 ruoq[g] [sometimes (raqk)]. 65 suoq[g]. 66 [læ'dher le's, lash], leather lace, or leather lash of whip, used].

A- 67 guu. 69 ne'ü. 70 tuu. †71 [(sore, suoferiu) sorrow, suffering, used]. 72 uu. 73 suu su'u. 74 tu'u [quite distinct from 70]. 75 strook. 76 tuud. 77 la'rd. 78 oon. 79 oon. 80 a'led*i*. 81 loon. 82 wu'nt. 83 muu. 84 müer. 85 suerli [sorely]. 86 wu'cs üts. 87 thuz. 88 thoodh. 89 buudh. 90 bloo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 sa'ül. 98 noon. 99 throon. †100 [(sood) used].

A': 101 ðk'. 102 aks. 103 akst. 104 rood. 105 rüd. 106 brood. 107 löt'. 108 döt'. 109 loo. 110 i. nē'ut' : ii. [generally (nē) unaccented, and preceded by can, have, must, shall, will, etc. (kəuə, a'nə avue, mæ'ne, shənu, wɪnə), etc.]. 111 ɛ'ut'. 113 wə'ɔl. 114 muul. 115 wə'm. †116 [(u) the nominative, used]. 117 wə'n. 118 buun. 119 guu gū gu-. †120 [(sɪn') = since, used]. 121 gə'n. 122 i. nə'n : ii. n'ə'u-. 123 mæ'thi'n. 124 stuun. 125 oonli. 126 óvr. 127 ús'. 128 dh'ú'úz [those gen., (dh'e'm) occ.]. 129. goost. 130 bôt'. 131 gôt'. 132 wət'. 133 rət-. 134 óth'. 135 flóth. 136 i. oodher : ii. ɛr- [generally unaccented]. 137 i. noodher : ii. ner-.

Æ- 138 feedher. †139 [(wagi'n) used]. 140 eel. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 vɛj'ɛ'n. †145 [(kjilt) used]. 146 meen [principal adj.]. 147 breeen. 148 feer. 149 bleez. 150 list liist. 152 weete'r. 153 se'te'rdi.

Æ: 154 bak'. 155 thatj. 156 dlad' [frequently (feen) fain]. 157 reev'n. 158 aft'er. 159 az-, àz. 160 eg'. 161 dee. 162 te-dee. 163 lí. 164 mē- [(mEE) in pause]. 165 sē'd. 166 meed [meaning gen. a maid-servant or young single woman]. 167 deel. 168 tale. 169 wen'. 170 arust [old form], ɔrv'ist [modern form; but the forms hay-time (e-táim) and corn-time (kə'n-táim) are gen. used]. 171 bārli. 172 gres'. †173 [(wə'r) emph., (wɛr) unemph. both sg. and pl., used]. 174 ash. 175 fast. 176 at-, àt [emph.], et-. [unemph.]. 177 dhat-, dhàt [in pause]. 178 nat'. 179 wat-, wət [in pause]. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 see. 183 títj [(l'e'm) also used]. 184 liid. 185 rüd. 186 bratth. 187 liiv. 188 [(wini) whinney used]. 189 wē'ɔ. 190 kjee. 191 iil æ'p'. 192 miin. 193 tliin. 194 an'. 195 m'ini. 196 wə'r [emph.], wɛr [unemph.]. 197 tpiiz. 198 lɛr [gen. before : 'im = him, 'em = them, it], lɛt [gen. before- 'er = her], lɛ- [gen. before- me]. 199 bleet. 200 wiit. 201 ádh'n. 202 iit.

Æ: 203 sp'ítj. 204 dād. 205 thrüd. 206 red'. 207 nūld. 208 iver. 209 niver. 210 fleec. 211 gree. 212 wee. †213, †214 [the forms 136, 137 gen.]. 215 [(tätjt) and sometimes (lernt) used]. 216 diil. 217 e'ítj [rare, gen. (ɛp'is, ɔn ɔn ɛm, iveri' wan ɔn ɛm) apiece, all of them, every one of them, used]. 218 shíp'. 219 slíp'. 220 shepert. 221 fier. 222 ier. 223 dhier. 224 wíer. 225 flesh. 226 múst muust. 227 wáf'. 228 swat' [sb.]. 229 briith [occ., but (wáind) wind, is gen. used]. 230 fat'.

E- 231 th- [gen. form : (t') as (ɔn t'tóp') = on the top : also various forms of assimilation to a following consonant, as (s'seem) = the same]. 232 bræk. 233 speek. 234 need. 235 weev. 236 feever. †237 [(kjáibz) kibes, plur. used]. 238 edj. 239 seel. 240 lán. 241 reen. 243 plēe. 244 wíl [= 266]. 245 meel. 246 i. kwín. 247 ween. 248 meer. 249 weef. 250 sweep. 251 meet. 252 kjet'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 256 st'etj [also (ratj)]. 257 edj. 259 wedj. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 263 ewee. 264 eel. 265 st're'ít'. 266 wíl [= 244]. 267 iild iild iild. 268 [(a'udist) used]. 269 [(sel') used, plur. (selz)]. 270 i. bal'iz, ii. bal'. 271 tel- tel'. 272 elm. 273 me'n. 274 bentj. †275 [(stíqk) = stink, used]. 276 thíqk. †277 [(sook) soak, used]. 278 wentj. 279 went. 280 blév'n. 281 lenqth. 282 st'reqth. 283 meri. 284 thresh. 285 kres'. 286 are. 287 bázem. 288 lɛr lɛt- lɛ- [see 198]. — set-, ser- [set as sheaves of corn into kivers of 12 sheaves or ríders of 10].

E'- †289 [you 435 used] 290 í. 291 dhí, dhí, [unem.]. 292 ní [unemph.] mí. 293 wí [em.] wí wí, [unem.]. 294 fíid. 295 bred'. 296 bí]íiv. 297 félv. 298 fíil. 299 grín. 300 kjúp. 301 ier. 302 mait. 303 swát'. †304 [(mélit), mallet, used].

E: 305 í. 306 e'ít'. 307 ní. 308 níd. 309 spíd. 310 íil. 311 tɛ'n. 312 ier. 313 ɔrk'n. 314 ierd. 315 tít'. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 flá. 318 laít. 319 gjeep. 320 kjeeF.

EA: †321 [(s'íd) used]. 322 laf'. 323 fa'ut'. 324 e'ít'. 325 wa'k'. 326 a'úd. 327 ba'úd. 328 ka'úd. 329 fa'úd. 330 ɛ'úd. 331 sɛ'úd. 332 ta'úd. 333 kAAV. 334 AAV. 335 AA. 336 íAA. 337 WAA. 338 kAA. 339 àm [em.])m [unem.]. 340 i. járd. 341 marv. 342 ɔrm. 343 wárm. †344 [never used]. 345 dár. 346 Jet [for a garden, field, etc.].

EA'- 347 JE'd. 348 ï [pl. (ïn)]. 349 f_iù [rare (t_iùthri) *toothry* gen. used as t_iù thri, broth, a few=some broth, too few=not enough (en_iù)].

EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 red'. 353 brE'd. 354 shir'. 355 dif'. 356 lir'. 357 dhoo [rare and half refined, gen. (fer AA) for all. (iv) if, used]. 358 ni. 359 neeber. 360 tiim. 361 biin. †362 [(kjil) used]. 363 t_ip'. 364 t_iap'. 365 nar' [nearer]. 366 grE't- grE't- [often (grEd big')]. 368 dith. 369 sloo. 370 roo. 371 s_tree.

EI- 372 aa. 373 dhce [em.] dhi [unem.]. 374 nee. 375 reez. 376 bE't'.

EI: 377 stœk. 378 wE'k'. 379 eel. 380 dhE'm [em.] em [unem.]. †381 382 dheer [em.] dh'r [unem.].

EO- 383 sEv'n. 384 Ev'n. 385 [(u_endv_r) or (bi_iloo) used]. 386 J_iù [used e. of Chapel and in Peak Forest, but (J_iù) in Combs Valley, Dale of Goyt, etc.]. 387 n_iuu n_iu-.

EO: 388 milk. 389 Jøk'. 390 shù'd shu'd- [em.] shed sh'd [unem.]. 391 ãm [em.] m [unem.]. 392 Jønd. 393 bi_iJønd. 394 Jønd. 395 Ju_ullg. 396 wærk. 397 sô_ierd. 398 stârv. 399 brât'. 400 ern_ist. †401 [(lu_q' fâ'r) long for, used]. 402 le'rn. 403 fâr. 404 star'. 405 aasten [hearthstone, hearth not used without stone]. 406 Jæth [old for the earth, (wâld) world, gen. used, (Ethli) earthly as opposed to heavenly, half refined]. 407 fârdh_in. †408 [hood used].

EO'- 409 bi. 410 ð_en. 411 thrÿ. †412 [410 alone used]. 413 dÿ'l dev'l. 414 flÿ. 415 lÿ lÿ. 416 i. and ii. dÿr [adj. and sb.]. 417 tÿuu. 418 br_iuu. 419 Jô_ier [em.] J'r [unem.]. 420 fô_ier. 421 farti_i fâ_irti.

EO': s_ik' [about or inclined to vomit, or vomiting, (badli) is used for ill, unwell]. 423 thÿ. 424 ru_e'i. 425 lÿt'. 426 fE't'. 427 bi [em.] bi- [unem.]. 428 sÿ. 429 fÿnd. 430 frënd. 431 bi_ier. 432 fô_iert. 433 brE't. 434 hiit. 435 Joo [em.] Jø [unem.]. 436 t_rÿù. 437 t_rÿùth.

EY- 438 di. EY: 439 t_rÿust.

I- 440 wÿk'. 441 sÿv' [also (sÿi) for milk]. 442 iv_in. 443 :frâid'i. 444 stÿil. 445 ãi, ãi [(ãi dhi) he thee, occ., but (mak ãst) make haste, occ.]. 446 nâin nâin. 447 J'r [em.] J'r [unem.]. 448 dhÿz. 449 g_iJ'et [in pause], g_iJ'er g_iJ'et. 450 t_iuzdi. 451 soo.

I: 452 AA, A' [em.] A [unem.]. 453 wik'. 454 wit_i. 455 lee [reflexive, as, lay me, thee, him, etc., down]. 456 ev. 457 mâit'. 458 nât'. 459 râit'. 460 wE't'. 461 lÿt' [anything thrown or falling 'lights on the ground, but they (g_iJ'er of get off a horse, and (g_iJ'er ãut) get out of a vehicle]. 462 sât'. 463 t_il t_in. 464 wÿt_i. 465 st_i. 466 t_iãilt t_iãilt. 467 wâld wâld. 468 t_id_ier. 469 wÿl wÿl [em.], l [unem.]. 470 ãm [em.], i_m [unem.]. 471 timber. †472 [(ru_n' u_p') run up, or (ru_n' in') run in, used of flannel, etc.: (skrind_i) as from a hot poker; to be (terebli_i fÿust v) terribly afraid of]. 473 blâind blâind. †474 [they use (sô_iert) Ws. *swærd*, the sword of bacon; (pÿl) peel, of oranges, potatoes, etc.: (krÿst) crust of cheese, etc.]. 475 wâind wâind. 476 bând bând. 477 fâind fâind. 478 grâind grâind. 479 wâind wâind. 480 thÿk [gen.: plur. (thÿqz)]. 481 fÿg_ier. 482 iz [em.], s, z, i_s, i_z [unem., viz.: (s) after words ending in *p, t, k, f*; (z) after vowels and voiced consonants except *z*, and *zh*; (i_s) after *s, z, sh, zh, x, x* (gz) and before unvoiced consonants; and (i_z) after *s, z, sh, zh, x, x* (gz), and before vowels and voiced consonants]. 483 iz-iz' [em.], i_z [unem.]. 484 dhÿs' dhÿs- dhÿz- [em.], dhÿs- dhÿz- [unem.]. 485 fÿs' l. †486 [(bârm) = barm used]. 487 Jÿs, t_er_dee. 488 Jÿt'. 489 ãt [em.], i_t [unem.].

I'- 490 [(t_ilòs' bái) = close by; (nâ) = nigh or near; (vs' sâid v) = at the side of; by, for the instrument, is (wi) with, as (kjilt wi, lÿt'ni_n, Et'n wi, v tãig_er) killed by lightning, eaten by a tiger; but (bi) used in: by daylight, by moonlight, etc., as 'dhe- dhÿ- plead et t_iùt_bAA bi, m_iùmlât') they played at football by moonlight]. 491 sâik'. 492 sâid sâid. 493 d_rE'iv. 494 iâim tâim. †495 [a dog wÿz'nz], a man (muunz, grunz) moans groans]. 496 E'ïern. †497 [(g_iJ'et u_p) or (g_iJ'er u_p) = get up used]. 498 râit'.

I: 500 lãik lãik. 501 wâid wâid. 502 fãiv fãiv. 503 lãit lãit. 504 nãif nãif. 505 wãif wãif. 506 wu_emen. 507 wimÿn. 508 mâil mâil. 509 wãil wãil. 510 mâin mâin; mâi mâi [em.], mÿ, [unem.]. 511 wãin

wàin. 512 spàier. 513 wàier. 514 àist. 515 wàiz wàiz. 516 wizdem [it used]. 517 ví.ù-t.rá.

O- 518 bādì. 519 óur. 520 boó. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 oop. 524 wald. O: 525 i. v [gen.; but (on) is used in phrases like "enough of (on) it; I heard of (on) it"]; ii. of. 526 kaf. 527 bā'ut'. 528 thā'ut'. 529 brā'ut'. †530 [(warkt) used]. 531 dāu't'v.r. 532 koolz, kool. 533 du.ɾ. 534 ool. 535 fòk'. 536 grā'ud. 537 māulì, māult [mouldy, become moulded, said of the mould fungus on cheese, fruit, etc.]. 538 wà.đ [em.])d [unem.]. 539 bā'ul. 540 olì.n. 541 wine. 542 bā'ut'. 543 on' [em.] v [unem.]. 544 i. tì.n dhen [the first gen., the second occ.]; ii. dhen'. 545 op'. 546 fā'r [em.], fēr [unem.]. 547 bûert. †548. †549 [(ò.d.d'v.r u.ɔp') to hoard, used]. 550 wā'rd. 551 stā'rm. 552 kā'rn. 553 ā'rn. 554 kròs'.

O'- 555 shu.f [old], sh.ú.um [plur. (sh.ú.ùn)]. 556 t.ú.u [em.] t'v t' [unem.]. 557 t.ú.u. 558 l.ú.unk. 559 mādher. 560 sk.ú.uu. 561 bl.ú.uum. 562 m.ú.uum. 563 :m.ú.ndì. 564 s.ú.ùn. 565 nooz. 566 u.đher. 567 t.ú.dher. 568 br.ú.dher.

O: 569 b.ú.úk'. 570 t.ú.úk. 571 gr.ú.d. 572 bl.ú.d. 573 fl.ú.d'. †574 [(at) hatch, used, that is, birds hatched at once]. 575 st.ú.d st.ú.úd. 576 wēd'nzdì. 577 b.ú.ù. 578 pl.ú.ù. [old (pl.ú.f)]. 579 un.ú.f [plural (en.ú.uu)]. 580 taf. 581 [(s.ú.t) searched used]. 582 k.ú.uul. 583 t.ú.uul. 584 st.ú.u. 585 br.ú.uum. 586 d.ú.u. 587 d.ú.uum. 588 n.ú.uum. 589 sp.ú.uum. 590 fl.ú.uer. 591 mûer. 592 sweer swi'er. †593 [(m.ú.n) used, (m.ú.n) must not]. 594 b.ú.ut'. 595 f.ú.ut'. 596 r.ú.ut'. 597 s.ú.ut'. †598

U- 599 eb.ú.v. 600 lā'v. 601 fād fād. 602 sāu sāuu. 603 kām [em.], kām kem [unem.]. 604 su.umer. 605 sū.n. 606 dā'r. 607 bu.ɾ'v.r.

U: 608 u.gli. [but (fāuu) foul 655 gen. used]. 609 t.ú.l. 610 wu.ɾ. 611 bu.lek. 612 sū.n. 613 d.r.ú.qk'n. 614 ávnd [this and the next four (áu) or (áu)]. 615 páund. 616 grāund. 617 sáund. 618 wāund. 619 íu.n'. 620 gr.ú.n'. 621 wu.n'. 622 u.ú.d'v.r. 623 íu.n'. 624 gr.ú.n'. 625 t.ú.qg. †626 [(u.ú.qgr), if used; but the adj. (u.ú.qgrì) would gen. be made use of in the construction]. 627 :su.ndì. 628 nu.n'. 629 su.n'. 630 wu.n'. 631 :tharzdì. 632 u.p'. 633 ku.p'. 634 thr.ú.ù. 635 wath. 636 fār'. 637 t.ú.sh. †638. 639 du.st.

U'- 640 kjàu kjàu. 641 áu áu. 642 dhaa [em.] dha [unem.; affirmatively, as (dha)rt lect] = thou art late; but (t) interrogatively, as (wì)t guu? = wilt thou go?]. 643 naa nà. 644 su.k'. 645 doov. 646 bā.ú. 647 ául. 648 aar àr [em.] er [unem.]. 649 thā'zent. 650 eb.ú.t. 651 wì.dh.ú.t. 652 k.ú.d ku.d- [em.] ked [unem.]. 653 ber [this form always used, as (AA bur ìm, bur m.ú) all but him, but me; (nā'ut ber, nēber) nought but, the first occ., the second gen., in Peak Forest (nēper)].

U': 654 srāud srāud. 654* ru.f'. 655 fāuu [meaning ugly, as in 608; not used for dirty]. 656 rā.ú.m. 657 brā.ú.m. 658 dā.ú.m. 659 fā.ú.n. †660. 661 shā.uer. 662 ú.z [em.] vz [unem.]. 663 áus'. 664 lāus'. 665 māus'. 666 u.zbent. 667 áut'. 668 prā.ú.d. †669. 670 b.ú.ú.dh. 671 mā.ú.th. 672 sā.ú.th.

Y- 673 m.ú.t. 674 dād dād-. 675 d.r'e'. 676 lā.ú.l. 677 d.r'e'. 678 dìn. 679 t.ú.r.t. 680 bizi. 681 biz'nz. 682 lit'l.

Y: †683 [(nat) gnat, used]. 684 br.ú.ɾ. 685 rìd. 686 be'. 687. 688 bild. 689 ìnt. †690 [they use (s.ú)rt sort; (brìd) breed]. 691 m.ú.ind. 692 ju.qgi.st. 693 sin'. 694 wark. 695 àrk'n. 696 beth. 697 beri. 698 m.ú.th. 699 [only in composition, as (w.úl-r.ú.t) wheel-wright]. 700 was' [and] wār'. 701 fāst. 702 wā [in pause]; wìdh [gen. before a vowel]; wì wì [before a consonant]. 703 pìt'. 704 viks'n [used by a few in scolding a girl; perhaps half refined; may be used for a bitch-fox].

Y'- 705 sk.jà sk.à. 706 wā. 707 thart'in. 708 E'ier.

Y': 709 íe'ier. 710 àrk'n. 711 le'is'. 712 me'is'.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad'. 714 lād. 715 pad'. 716 ad'l [adj. occ. vb., to earn]. 717 d.jeed. 718 t.jeed. †719 [(bu.ú)E'd] bullhead, used. †720. 721 tag' [to

wearly]. 722 *dreem* [gen. (*su_of*) =sough]. 723 *dEERi*. 724 *baad*. 725 *seel*. 726 *taak*. †727 [(*puzary*) preserve used; to jam (*djam*)]. 728 *sham*. 729 *freem*. 730 *kjæm.tær*. †731. 732 *ap'n*. 733 [in Chapel to (*fîer*) gen., (*frîit'n*) occ., both to frighten; in Peak Forest (*skar*)]. 734 *dE'rn*. 735 *smash*. †736 [(*went*) =wench used]. †737 [(*bu_oti*) butty used]. 738 *preet*. 740 *wew*. 742 *lezzi* [seldom, gen. (*âid'l*) idle].

E. 743 *skriim* [(*skraik*) shriek, often]. 744 *miiz'lz máz'lz*. 745 *tjít'*. 746 *bríidh*. †747 *índee'vør* [half refined, usually to (*trái*, *as*) try, oss or offer]. †748 [fledged and unfledged not used, but stages of growth distinguished by different words, as: 1. (*oonli*, *doon on*) only down on: 2. (*fædherz* *AAV* *groon*) feathers half grown: 3. (*tu_ol-fædherz*) full-feathered]. 749 *lit* [hand]. 750 *beg'*.

I. and Y. 753 *tik'l*. 754 *pig'*. 755 *íalbert*. 756 *srámp*. 757 *táini*. 758 *gjeI'* [half refined, (*went*) gen.]. 759 *íet'* [*alj*. suitable]. †760 [(*wiz'nt*) *wizened*, or (*rîqk'lt*) wrinkled, used].

O. 761 *luud*. 762 *ookem*. †763 [(*roov*) =rove used]. 764 *kod'l*. 765 *:dja'n*. 766 *me'i dært me'dhert*. 767 *ne'iz*. 768 *kæ'uk'* [gen. in pl. (*kæ'uks*)]. †769 [(*m_oudi wárp*) *mouldy-warp* used]. 770 *:tu_omez*. 771 *fond*. 772 *hu_on'fE'ær*. 773 *dæki*, [*djak-as'*] jack-ass gen. used]. 774 *pooní*. 775 *b_oubi* [if used]. 776 *gu_od báí* [now partially used for a long parting, gen. (*gu_od-dæ*, *gu_od-náit'*) good-day and good-night, and when people take leave for a considerable time (*fEER dhí, wE'l*) fare thee well, or (*fEER jE wE'l*) fare you well, used]. 777 *shóp'*. 778 *ufóurd*. 779 *a'ts*. 780 *dps'l*. 781 *bodlier*. 782 *pu_odher*. 783 *pæ'ult'ri*. 784 *báams*. †785 [(*lól*, *sáid'l*), loll, sidle, used]. 786 *dáúz*. 787 *sáús'*. 789 *rá'ú*. 790 *gjænn gjæm*. 791 *báí* [half refined, (*låd*) used].

U. 792 *skwab'l*. 793 *u_og'* [to carry with some inconvenience, to squeeze or cuddle]. 794 *dju_og'*. †795 [(*u_oti u_op'*) hutch up the shoulders, used]. 796 *blíuu blíuu*. 797 *skwik'in*. 798 *kwíur*. 799 *sku_ol'*. 801 *ru_om'*. 802 *ru_om'*. 803 *dju_omp*. 804 *dru_oqk'n*. 805 *krudz*. 806 *fu_os'*. 807 *pu_os'*. 808 *pu_ot-*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *eb'l*. 810 *fès'*. 811 *plès' plees'* [occ. for a situation for a servant, etc.]. 812 *lès'*. 813 *beek'n*. 814 *mées'n*. 816 *teed*. 817 *redítj*. 818 *eedj*. †819 [(*pashun*) passion gen. used]. 820 *gjee* [possibly, applied to dress]. †821. 822 *:mee*. 824 *tjæp*. 826 *iig'l*. †827. 828 *ægi*. 829 *gjeen*. 830 *treen* [of railway carriages]. 831 *streen* [*di-* omitted]. 832 *mEER*. 833 *pEER*. 834 *sheez*. 835 *riiz'n*. 836 *siiz'n*. 838 *tjít'*. 839 *i. bed* [if used], ii. *baa*. 840 *tjæmber*. 841 *tjans*. 842 *plaqk*. 843 *brantj*. 844 *tjrentj*. 845 *entrent*. 846 *tale-tjandler* [=tallow-chandler]. 847 *dændjær*. 848 *tjændj*. 849 *stjændjær*. 850 *dans*. 851 *ænt*. 852 *apern*. 853 *bârgin*. 854 *bari*. 855 *kjæret*. 856 *pârt*. 857 *kjès'*. 858 *brès'*. 859 *tjès'*. 860 *pèst*. 861 *tèst*. 862 *sæf'*. †863. 864 *bikooz*. 865 *íot'*. 866 *pûer*.

E.. 867 *tee*. 868 *dje*. 869 *víil*. 870 *bíuti* [*bíuti'fel*]. 871 *ugrâ*. 872 *tjâíli* [occ. =gen., mostly]. †873. 874 *reeni* [pl. (*reeni'z*) reins]. 876 *dænti*. 877 *EER*. 878 *saleri*. 879 *fæe'neel* [unfrequented]. 880 *egza'mp'l*. 881 *sens*. 882 *panzi*. 883 *da'ndi'lá'æn*. 884 *prentiz*. 885 *veri*. 886 *frá'ær* [if used]. †887. 888 *sárti'n*. †889. 890 *bist*. 891 *físt*. 892 *nefi*. 893 *fláuer*. 894 *díseev*. 895 *ríseev*.

I.. and Y.. 897 *dí'láit'* [as (*íi teez v dí'láit' i dju_ou'in mistjái'*) he takes a delight in doing mischief]. 898 *náis'*. 899 *nás'*. 900 *pree*. 901 *fáin fáin*. 902 *máin máin*. 903 *íi*.; ii. *díner*. 904 *váilet*. †905. †906. †907. 908 *advái's'*. 909 *bríz*. 910 *djE'is'*. 911 *ses'tjurn*. 912 *ráís'*.

O.. 913 *kootj*. 914 *brootj*. 915 *stu_of*. 916 *u_oníen*. 917 *roog*. †918 [(*wík*) weak used]. 919 *E'íntment* [or (*SAAV*) salve]. 920 *pe'ínt*. 921 *ukwe'ínt* [half refined]. †922 [(*st'ráik'*) =strike = 4 pecks, used]. 923 *st'ret'*. †923. †923*. 924 *tjE'is'*. 925 *ve'is'*. 926 *spe'íl*. †927. 928 *áums*. 929 *kja'kæmber*. 930 *le'm*. 931 *dju_og'ler*. 933 *fru_ont*. 935 *ku_on'tri*. 937 *kæk'*. 938 *ka'rner*. 939 *i*. and ii. *tlo's'*. 940 *knut*. 941 *fíuu*. 942 *bu_otjær*. 943 *tu_otj*. 944 [see 198]. 945 *váuu* [sb.] [for the vb. (*swEER*) used]. †946.

947 be'ül. 948 báud. 949 mæ'uld [or ?] mæ'uid m.ú_uud. 950 su_per. 951 ku_p'l. 952 i. kùs' ; ii. kòs'. 953 ku_z'n. 954 ku_shen. 955 dàit dàut. 956 ku_ver. †959.

U.. 960 kje. 961 gr.ú_uj. 963 kwá'ut. 964 sh.ú_u'it. 965 é'íl. 966 fr.ú'ut'. 967 sh.ú'ut' [a suit of clothes]. 968 dis_t'v.r. 969 sh.ú_u'er. 970 dju'st. 971 fl.ú'ut' ilí.ut'.

Principal Variants for Combs Valley.

Combs Valley (se. of Chapel-en-le-Frith) properly belongs to D 25. Var. iv, where a dt. will be found in the same peculiar notation as this owl. But as it is in the parish of Chapel, and differs from it chiefly in three points, TH. has here furnished a list of the principal variants. Ch. = Chapel-en-le-Frith ; C. = Combs Valley.

First point. Ch. (uu, ù) become C. (ûv), rarely permissibly (úv).

A'- 76 tûed. 86 ûts. 87 flûez. 89 bûedh. A': 118 bûen. 124 stûen. 127 ûes'. Æ': 226 múest. O. 761 lûed. O.. 940 kûet. 952 i. kûes'.

Second point. Ch. (ü, ï) become C. (îv), rarely permissibly (úv).

Æ- 150 hîst. Æ'- 184 hîed. 186 bried. 187 liev. 191 iel. 192 miën. 193 thien. 200 wiet. 202 iet. Æ': 216 diel. E: 267 ield. EA': 350 diel. 351 hîd. 354 shîef. 355 dief. 356 hîef. 360 tiem. 361 biën. 363 tîep'. 368 dieth. EO': 434 biet. E. 743 skriem. 745 tîet'. 746 briedh. U. 793 [(skwîez) used]. 797 skwîek'î.n. A.. 835 rîez'n. 836 sîez'n. 838 tîiet'. E.. 869 vîel. 890 biest. 891 fîest.

Third point. Ch. (âu, âù, âü) become C. (âi, âî, âü) respectively.

U- 601 fâil. 602 sâi. U: 614 âind. 615 pâind. 616 grâind. 617 sâind. 618 wâind. U'- 640 kjâi. 641 âi âi. 647 âil. 649 thâizent. 650 ebâit. 651 wi_dâit. U': 654 srâid srâid. 656 râim. 657 brâin. 658 dâin. 659 tâin. 663 âis'. 664 lâis'. 665 mâis'. 667 âit'. 668 prâid. 671 máith. 672 sâith. A. 730 kjâin_t'v.r. O. 784 bâins. 786 dâiz. 787 sâis'. O.. 928 âins. 948 bâil. 955 da'it.

Also EO- 386 Ch. (jî'û) is C. (jâ'û).

D 22 = w.NM. = western North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin w. at the mouth of the Ribble and go up it to the ne. as far as its junction with the Hodder on the b. of Yo., just s. of Great Mitton. Then proceed along the b. of La., going first e. and then s. to Todmorden. Then turn sw. along the nw. b. of D 21, se. of Bæup, nw. of Bury and se. of Bolton, w. of Peel and e. of Tyldesley and Astley, and then turn s. over Chat Moss to the junction of the Irwell and Mersey. Go down the Mersey to the sea, and take the coast round to the mouth of the Ribble.

It has been thought advisable to pursue the La. b. against Yo., but it will be seen that the neighbouring D 24 greatly resembles D 22 on its w. side, and I formerly attempted to include Halifax, Huddersfield, Marsden, and Saddleworth with the e. parts of D 22. But on further examination these have been included as a variety of D 24.

Area. The whole of s.La., s. of the Ribble, with the exception of the se. portion in D 21.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., || in systematic spelling, ° in io.

° Blackburn, °† Bolton, °† Burnley, † Chorley, ° Clitheroe, † Cliviger Valley, ° Colne, † Earlstown, † Farrington, † Halliwell, † Haslingden, ° Higham, † Hoddlesden, ° Leigh, °† Leyland, * Mellor, † Newton-le-Willows, † Ormskirk, † Penwortham, † Prescott, ° Sabden, ° Samsbury, † Skelmersdale, † Walton-le-Dale, † Warrington, † Westhoughton, ° Whalley, °† Wigan, † Worsthorn.

These notes have superseded the numerous printed books, which were neither local enough nor precise enough for my purposes.

Character. There is a very fair amount of uniformity, but in such an extensive tract of country with large towns and outlying manufacturing districts, many varieties may be expected, and I have been induced to consider six, Var. i. Ormskirk, Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan, Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland, Var. iv. Blackburn, Var. v. Burnley, Var. vi. Old Colne Valley. The differences are often very minute, and they are here illustrated by a ewl. for each separate variety, by four interlinear versions for Var. i, ii, iii, v, by two interlinear dt. for Var. iv, and by a dt. for Var. vi.

The general character for the whole district is as follows :

A- generally (æ) as (uæm) name.

A' normally (úv) as (rúvð) road, occ. (oo), and the adv. *no* is often (uæ'u).

E- often (é'i) as (spe'ik) speak.

E'- (ii) or (î) and occ. (é'i).

I generally (i), but occ. treated as I'. In the unemphatic pronoun I the sound is regularly (A).

I' normally (ái), usually assumed as (ó'i), but not unfrequently (aa) in Var. i, ii, iv, and in Var. iv. both (ái) and (aa) are used.

O often becomes (óí) in Var. iv, v, as in D 24.

O' seems naturally inclined to (uu) in the form (æ'u), but occ. becomes (óí), probably as a variant of (úv).

U is regularly (u_o), see p. 291, but in a few words, as (kam) come, reaches (æ), a sound otherwise well known in the district for (ðæg tæg fæg) dog clog fog.

U' becomes generally (aa aa'): the transitional form from (áu) in D 21 was evidently (áæ), which occurs in Var. v, vi, with the first element thinned in Var. iv, as (á'æt) and even (éat) out, and from Haslingden, Var. iv, I obtained (t'éæn déæn) town down. But the regular sound in this part of La. is (aa), as it is in D 24, 26, or its refinements (aa', ææ'). It is this sound which is meant by the La. spelling *cauw*, invented by Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), and used by all La. dialect writers, whatever be the pronunciation of their district. In Collier's district at Rochdale, D 21, people now say (æ'ut). The forms (æ'u óu) are in D 22 reserved for EAL and OH words, as (æ'ud óuld, bóut), old, bought, and are never confused with (aa). In spelling, dialect writers use *ow* for this sound, in contradistinction to *cauw*.

Among consonants -t r -d r -t r -d r are used as in D 21, which may be considered as containing those legitimate forms throughout that have been degraded and altered in D 22. Otherwise (r) has the same values as in D 21, that is, (r), p. 293. It decidedly affects the preceding vowel, as (dær) door. The r is also at least occasionally reverted to (R) in the words *our Mary vary cares queer share*, and even sometimes there where.

In the w. parts of D 22 (q) final becomes (qg) as (ru_oqg), but this seems to die out eastwards.

The gutturals (kh kjh) were common in Var. vi. in 1840. Cases still occur in other parts of D 22, where old people use (kh) in rough tough (ru_okh tu_okh), but as a rule it is lost, though *Leigh* (5 se. Wigan) is stated to be pronounced as (:lE'ikjh).

The definite article seems to be normally (tb), but (dh) occurs before vowels, and even (dhv) is heard. The article is frequently assimilated, and becomes (t', s', k', p'). The form (t') is much more common than I had anticipated, and will be found in all the illustrations. But it is decidedly not the normal form here as it is in D 24. The final (s, f, t) frequently become (z, v, d), as (dhiz rúad, v kAAV, nòd), this road, a calf, not, but I do not know the law of change.

Medial or final (l) is sometimes omitted, as in (óvd fæ'u skæ'u) old fool school.

There is a large number of very characteristic words, which are not within the scope of this investigation, but may be seen (mixed with those of m. and n.La.) in Nodal and Milner's Glossary, where also a list of numerous printed works in the dialect is given.

The speech of this district is sufficiently homogeneous to render

it difficult to formulate the differences of pronunciation which determine a variety. Of course those dialect-connoisseurs by whom a man from each of the five modern varieties is immediately distinguished, rely on much beside pron. They are guided by intonation, and the use of certain words and peculiar constructions, none of which can here be considered.

Var. i. Ormskirk has a fine (aa¹, ææ) for U', as (daa¹n dææn) down, (daan) at Skelmersdale, and a broader sound (aa) or occasionally (aa) for I' in (taam, faav) time, five. The O' words have (áú) as (dáu) do, and the O .., OU .. words are treated in the same way.

Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan have generally only the finest (ææ) for U' words as (dææn) down, and often the broad (aa) or broadest (AA) in the I' words, as (taam tAAm) time. The O' words are uncertainly treated with (uu, æ'u) as (stuu, dæ'un) stool, done, and if it has been rightly appreciated, (dæænt) don't, TH. feels certain of the (r). The French O .. is (úv) in (kúet) coat.

Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland is more distinct. The U' words have the form (á¹a) as (dá¹æn), which on trial will be found to be a transitional pron. from (dá¹æn) to (daa¹n). The I' words have the distinct form (ái) as (táim) time, continually conceived as (tá'im). The O' and Fr. O .. words as before.

Var. iv. Blackburn. Here the U' words pass back to (aa¹) through (á¹v) as (dá¹æn daa¹n), but the (ái) remains or at most becomes (áá) as in (sáid, sáod) side. The O' words vary as (uu, æ'u), as (skuu, skæ'u) school, the French O .. in (kúet) remains.

Var. v. Burnley. The U' words have (á¹a) again as (dá¹æn), and the I' words continue to have (ái), as (táim) time. The O' words are variously treated as (uu, úu), but also most peculiarly as (uóin, spóin) noon, spoon, which appears for O: as (óil) hole, and for French O .. as (kóit, tlóis) coat, close. This form seems an alteration of (úv) through (óv). We shall find it very distinctive in D 24.

Var. vi. The old Colne Valley pron. is mainly distinguished by the constant use of the guttural (kh) as shewn below.

The extreme difficulty in finding phonetic differences, and the fading of the slightly different forms into one another, shew the propriety of considering these forms of speech as insignificant varieties of one main dialect. I have selected above merely those forms which shew some difference, the other forms are practically identical throughout, as the following examples and cwl. will shew.

Illustrations. Through the labours of TH., continued for many years, I am able to give satisfactory illustrations of the first five varieties in the following interlinear es. and dt. Only those who have tried to represent dialectal pron. with accuracy can sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of procuring and writing such specimens as are here given, and the long time and attention that they have demanded. The interlinear representation will enable the differences in the varieties to be more easily perceived. The notes shew variants or explain differences. For the old Colne Valley Var. vi. I am indebted to a correspondent who himself spoke the dialect in his youth, and witnessed the loss of (kh) and the substitution of (óu) for (əkh). The five cwl. which follow have been chiefly drawn up from wn. by TH., without introducing words from the es. They are all necessarily incomplete, because they contain words actually heard and noted at the time, and speakers frequently did not make use of such words as it would have been desirable to register, and constantly repeated other words, or made use of new words comparatively unimportant for our purpose. In Var. ii. I had valuable assistance from Bolton, and in Var. iv. from Samlesbury by other informants, but the want of TH.'s accuracy and phonetic

knowledge was much felt. Precise indications are given in the heading to each ewl.

FOUR INTERLINEAR es.

Four versions of the es. obtained and written from dictation by TH.

S. Skelmersdale (:skjɛːmerzdɪl) (7 n-by-w.St. Helens, 4 ese.Ormskirk and 12 ne.Liverpool), representing Ormskirk or sw.La. speech, taken in June, 1878, from dictation of Silvester Pye, joiner, native, b. 1823, and his wife. This illustrates Var. i.

W. Westhoughton (4 wsw.Bolton and 11 e.Skelmersdale), and representing that speech, except for P' Y' words taken in July, 1876, from dictation of W. Winward, formerly a mill-hand, then a clerk, native, b. 1846, assisted by his mother and sister. Westhoughton is called (:æ'ʊf'n), the (f) replacing the old guttural, and in refined form is (:æ'ʊf'n). This illustrates Var. ii.

L. Leyland (5 s.Preston) written in 1887 from dict. of Miss Susan Maria Ffarington, of Worden in Leyland, born 1807, and since deceased, an extensive landed proprietor, who took great interest in the language of the people, and endeavoured to give the speech as she knew it in her youth. The omitted words and phrases are given at the end of the notes. TH. subsequently read his version to natives of Farrington (2 n.Leyland), referred to as T and E, and one who had been long resident at Leyland, but himself a native of Ambleside, We., a working man, b. about 1827, referred to as W. Their suggestions will appear in the notes. This illustrates Var. iii.

B. Burnley (20 ene.Leyland), written in 1875-6 from dictation of James Fielding, cotton operative, b. about 1845, native, speaking the dialect ordinarily. This illustrates Var. v.

The correctness of (úu) for (æ'u) in S was ascertained by TH. in special visits in 1888. Westhoughton had both (úu, æ'u).

0. Var. i.	<i>Skelmersdale.</i>	wái :dʒa'n	ez no	daats.
Var. ii.	<i>Westhoughton.</i>	waa :dʒɔn)z	noo	dæ'ts.
Var. iii.	<i>Leyland.</i>	wái :dʒa'n	áz no	dá'ats.
Var. v.	<i>Burnley.</i>	wái :dʒɔn	[:dʒa'n]	az núe dá'ats.

1. S	wɛ'l, lād,	dhíi	en	ím	me	búeth	laaf	et	wət
W	wɛ'l, :tu'om,	ím	en	dhii	me	búedh	læ'uf	et	dhiz
L	wɛ'l, óúd tʃap',	jó	en	ím	me	búeth	laf' et)	tis	
B	wil, :dʒak',	ím	en	dhíi	me	búedh	laf' et	wət	

S	A)m gu'ín te tel)ɛ.	úe	kjə'rz?	dhat)s	noodher	íer	ner	
W	n'úuz v maan.	úe	kjɛ'rz?	dhat)s	noodher	íer	ner	
L	n'úuz v mán.			bu'od	dhad)z	noodher	íer	ner
B	A)m bá'an te see.	ber	A	kjéer	nóut'	ebá'at	it. dhat)s	

S	dhíer.
W	dhíer.
L	dhíer.
B	noodher íer ner dhíer.

2. S	dher)z	nəd	se	móni	ez	diiz	wi	bì'in	laaft	àt,	wi
W	dher)z	nət	se	móni	fòk'	dáz	thra'u	bì'in	læ'uft	àt,	wi
L			vare	fú'	fòks	diin	kooz	dhe)r	laft	àt,	
B	dher)z	núen	se	móni		dáz	bikaz	dhe)r	laft	àt,	wi

S noon, dónt wi? wət shəd meek em?
 W noon dhàt, du_onet wi? ææ ·ku_od dhi dii wi bì'in la'uft àt?
 L wət səd meek em?
 B noon, dúent wi ná'æ? wət shu_od dhi dá fa'r?

S it iz'nt veri láikli iz)it?
 W it)s not v laakli thi'qg, iz)it?
 L id)z nəd vare láikli, iz)id?
 B it iz'nt láikli, iz it?

3. S et ani reet it wez v dhiz rood, se dju_ost óud
 W æ'EVER it wər dju_ost v dhis'n, se dju_ost a'úd
 L á'ASEMEVER dhiiz is f'faks v)th ká'as', se óud
 B a'EVER dhis iz wət A)m bá'an te see, se dju_ost óld

S dhi náiz, má'n, en bi kwáit dhen A)v dū_on.
 W dhi ne'iz, má'n, en bi kwaat tìn aa)v dū_on. dju_ost
 L JER dìn en bi kwáit dhen ái)n dū_on.
 B dhi dín, má'n, en bi kwáit til A')v dū_on. ná'æ

S ə[rk'n!
 W aa'rk'n)dhí!
 L
 B àrk'n.

4. S A)m sertìn a íerd em see—su_om v dhéuz fook ez
 W aa)m sertìn a JERd em t' see—su_om v dhæ'uz fók əz
 L ái)m sart'n ái íerd em see—su_om v dhem ez
 B A' noo vari wíl A JERd em see—su_om v dhem ez

S went thrúu th)wool thi'qlg frə)th)fəst dhərselz — dhət A
 W went thrə'u AA)t thi'q dhərsel frə)t'—
 L nood it oo frə)t' fəst dhərselz—
 B went thrúu t' wíl dʒəb frə)t' fəst dhərselz—

S did, seef enu_of.
 W bigin'in te)th iind.
 L
 B

5. S us)s) ju_oqgíst lad issel', v gre'id lad náin íer óud,
 W us t' ju_oqgíst sù_on issel', v gre'id làd v naan jir a'ud,
 L dhət t' ju_oqst sù_on issel', v big làd v náin
 B dhət th)ju_oqkst làd issel', v gərt làd náin JER óud, ii

S nood is feedherz váis in v mìnət, ev it wu_os se
 W nood is feedherz ve'is in v mìnit, fer AA ez it wur se
 L nood is feedherz vois et wənst, dhó it wər se
 B nood is feedherz vóis et wu_ous, dhó it wə'r se

S *kwæə*lR en *skwaakin*, en a *kəd* t̪rʉ_ost ðm tɛ spɛ'ik
 W *ræə*stɪ en *kwæə*lR, ən a *biliiv* ez iɪd spɛ'ik
 L *kwæ*ɪər en *skwæekin*, en *ái* d̪ t̪rʉ_ost ʒən lād tɛ spɛ'ik
 B *kwæ*ɪər en sɛ *skwæekin*, en a *kəd* t̪rʉ_ost ðm tɛ spɛ'ik

S t̪ t̪rʉ_uθ ani *dee*, dhat a *kù*d.
 W t̪ t̪rʉ_ə'uθ ani *dee*, dhat a *dù*.
 L t̪ t̪rʉ_uθ ɔni *dee*.
 B t̪ t̪rʉ_uθ ɔni *dee*, *ái*, a *kù*d dhat.

6. S en th)óud wu_omen ɛrsel el tel ani ɔn ʒɛ ez laafs,
 W en tth)a'ud wu_omen ɛrsel el tel ani ɔn ʒɛ ɔz iz lə'uf'in
 L en dh)óud wu_omen ɛrsel 'l tel ɔni v ʒɛ
 B en th)óud wu_omen ɛrsel el tel ɔni v ʒoo ɛt)s laf'in

S en st̪rɛ'it fɔrɛd, en AA, baat mɪtʃ bɔdher, iv ʒo)l
 W sɛ mɪtʃ, en ùl tel)ʒɛ rɪt ɛwɛɛ baat' ani bɔdher, ɛv ʒɛ)l
 L st̪rɛ'it ɔf, bá'at ɔni bɔdher, if ʒɛ
 B ná'ɛ, en tel ʒɛ st̪rɛ'it fɔrɛd, táu^s, bá'at ɔni bɔdher, if ʒò)d

S bɔd aks ɛr, wɛɛnt úu?
 W dʒu_ost aks ɛr, a noo ù wɪl.
 L aks'n ɛr.
 B ɔnli aks)ɛr, wu_od'nt úu^s?

7. S ɛt liɛst úu tóud 'mɪ wɛn a aks)tɛr ɔodher túu ɛr
 W ɔz æə)t iz ù tɛ'úd 'mɪi wɛn a aks)t ɛr tuu ɛr
 L dʒu_ost ez ù tóud mɪi tuuthri táimz ɔɛr,
 B ɛt liɛst úu^s tɛld 'mɪi wɛn a' aks)tɛr v túuthri

S thrii táimz ɔɛr, en 'úu dɪd'n ɔut tɛ bi ru_oqg
 W thrii taamz ɔɛr, en 'uu ɛ'ut t' noo,
 L en 'uu shu_od'nt bi ru_oqg
 B táimz ɔɛr, úu^s dɪd, en úu ɔut tɛ noo

S v sɪtʃ v thiɪg ez dhɪs', wɔd'n ʒoo thiɪk?
 W wɔd'n ʒoo thiɪk?
 L thiɪk ʒɛ, ɛbá'at su_otʃ v thiɪg ez dhɪz.
 B a'l ɛbá'at it, wɔt thiɪks)tá'ɛ?

8. S wɛ'l ez a wɛs sɛ'jɪn, 'úu)d tel)ʒɛ wɔ'lR en wɛn úu
 W wɛ'l ez á wer sɛe'jɪn, 'uu)l tel)ʒɛ æw wíɛr en wɛn ù
 L wɛ'l ez ái wer sɛe'jɪn, 'uu ɛd tel)ʒɛ wíɛr ù
 B wɛ'l ez a wer sɛe'jɪn, 'úu^s)d tel)ʒɛ a'l ɛbá'at wíɛr úu

S fɔnd t̪ d̪rʉ_oqk'n thiɪg, ez úu kAAZ ɛr u_ozɛnt.
 W fu_on t̪ d̪rʉ_oqk'n piɪg' ez ù kAAZ ɛr u_ozɛnt.
 L fu_on t̪ d̪rʉ_oqk'n bíɛst ez ù kooz ɛr u_ozɛn.
 B fu_on dhat d̪rʉ_okh'n bɛgɛr [á'ɛnd] ɛt úu^s kAAZ ɛr fɛli.

9. S *úu swóer úu sñ im wídh er oon ín st,retjt AA t'*
 W *ù swóer ù sñid im wí er oon in lái)in st,retjt*
 L *ù swóer ù sñid im wí er oon in lái)in st,retjt*
 B *úu⁵ swóer úu⁵ sñi im wí er oon in lái)in lu_oq)*

S *leqth ən th)flúer, ín iz best kúbt, tlós*
 W *el_oqk u_ope t' græend, ín iz gù_od su_ondi kúbt, tlós*
 L *[leed] u_ope th)grá'and ín iz gu_od su_ondv kúbt, tlós*
 B *leqkth ən)t' grá'and, ín iz gù_od su_ondi kóit, tlóis*

S *bi t' door, daan et t' ka'rmer v*
 W *bi)t th)ææz da'r, dææn et t' ka'rmer v)t'*
 L *bi t' dúbr v)th á'es, dá'an et t' ka'rmer v*
 B *tu iz oon da'r, dá'an et t' ka'rmer v)t'*

S *jən loon.*
 W *loon jən'.*
 L *jən lúen.*
 B *lón.*

10. S *íi wuz róerín en bel'in*
 W *i wer meekin v ne'iz ən míunín issel, ù se'd, fer AA)t'*
 L *i wer wádnin ewee, ù se'z, fer oo)th*
 B *ii wer míunín issel*

S *láik v gre'it soft kAAV.*

W *warld laak v tjált ez iz púerli, er v lítl wentj ez iz pu_ot æ't*
 L *wa'rd láik v badli tjáilt, er v lítl wensh ín v fret'.*
 B *láik v lítl tjáild et wer púerli, er v lítl la's et wer márd.*

S
 W *v)t' rood wi su_omet.*
 L
 B

11. S *en dhat ap'nt v)th wash'in dee, ez úu en er*
 W *ən AA dhat ap'nt, ə)t' wa'ish'in dee, ez æ'r en er*
 L *en dhat ap'nd ez ù en er*
 B *en AAl dhis ap'nd ez æ'r en er*

S *dóu(t'v)r)in)lAA kúum thrúu t' bak' jə'rd, wen*
 W *da'u(t'v)r)in)lAA kuum thruu t' bak' JA'rt, dju_ost ez*
 L *dóu_vte_r i loo kuum thruu t' bak' fóud, fre*
 B *ladz wáif kúum thrúu t' bak' jàrd fre*

S *dhí)d bín iqqín th)tlúez àt,*
 W *dhí)d bín eqgín t' tlúez æ't fe t' dfe'í,*
 L *iqqín á'at t' wít tlúez te d'rái on(t' wesh'in dee,*
 B *iqín t' tlóiz á'at et wesh'in dee,*

12. S wáil t' ket'l wez báilín fer tee, wa'n fáin
 W waal t' ket'l wer be'ilín fer t' bagín, wa'n gredli
 L wáil [t'] kjet'l wer e bóilín fer [t'] tee, ən a brít
 B wəl t' ket'l wer bóilín fer t' tee, wən re'it

S afternún i) su_omer, oonli e wík' t' neks
 W faan su_omer afte_rnuun, næ'ubet e wík' sìn t' neks
 L fáin su_omer afte_rnuun, nabet e wík' sìn t' neks
 B fáin afte_r nún i) samer táim, nabet e wík' sìn t' neks

S thA'rzde.
 W tharzdí.
 L thA'rzde.
 B tharzdí.

13. S en, dōnt je noo? A niver ierd ne múer ebaat it te
 W ən dū_on joo noo? a never le'rt nō múer tín dhis
 L en iern je? ái never ierd əni múer e dhiz
 B en du_on je noo? a never jerd núe múer ən it frē

S dhiz dee, ɛsh shúuer ez
 W ebæed dhad bizniz fro dhad dee t' dhis', əsh shə'u_er ez
 L biznez u_op te tēde, ɛsh shúer)z
 B dhat dee te dhis', ɛsh shúuer ez

S mái neem)z wot it iz, en A dōnt kjéer ebaat it,
 W maa neem)z :djak :sheperd, ən a dōnt want t' dæ'u
 L mi neem)z :dja'n :wa't'n, en ái dōnt want noodher,
 B maa neem)z :djak, en A dúent wa'nt te dáu

S du_on)je noo?
 W noodher, su_o nææ jo an it.
 L dhíer- naa!
 B noodher, su_o naa dhen'.

14. S en naa a)m gu'in woom te)mi)su_oper. gu_od
 W en naa a)m gu'in wu_om)p' mi su_oper nææ. gu_od
 L en su ái)m gu'in úem te mi su_oper. gu_od
 B en ná'ɛ A)l bi páikín of wám te mi su_oper. su_o gu_od

S nit, en dōnt bi se redi te kroo ó_ler anibædi
 W nit, ən du_o)net bi se shæ'rp of kroo'in ó_{er} e tɔap
 L nit, en du_o)net bi se kɛik te kroo ó_{er} e bædi
 B nit, en dúent bi se redi egíen et takín fók of,

S egjE'n, wen i)z taakín ebaat óut.
 W f'neks taam ez iz taakín ebæet a'ut.
 L egjE'n, wen i tóks e wəd i nooz ən.
 B wen dhu)r taakín ebá'at óut.

15. S ï wu_od bi v sɔft fəu ɛs takt baat ani reez'n. ɛn
 W dhur wɛk fə'uz ɛs preeks bææt sɛns. ɛn
 L id)z wɛk fuu ɛs prɛts bá'at reez'n. ɛn
 B i)z nɛbet v gart fául ɛt taks bá'at sɛns. ɛn

S dhat)s AA ɛz A' EV tɛ sɛe ɛbaat ít. so gu_od nit.
 W dhat)s AA ɛz à av fɛr t' sɪ. gu_od nit.
 L dhad)z mi last wá'rd. gu_od nit.
 B dhat)s AA ɛt AA)v tɛ sɛe ɛbá'at ít. su_o gu_od nit.

Notes to Skelmersdale es., p. 332.

1. *lad* or (:tu_m), etc.
4. *safe* or (sháuer) sure.
5. *that the youngest*, there is an assimilation of (th) to (s).—*queer* or (kwæɹ), observe reverted (ɹ).—*trust*, observe dentality.
6. *without much bother* or (widhaat ani bəðhɜ).
8. *as I was saying*, or (ɛz A sɛ'd) as I said.—*thing* or (ɔg') hog, pig.
9. *best* or (su_{ndɛ}) Sunday.—*door* or (dɔar).

11. *daughter-in-law* or (dheer :djak's wáif) their Jack's wife.—*yard*, possibly with (ɹ).

13. *to this day* or (sɪn) since.—*as sure as my name's what it is*, or (ɛsh sháuer ɛs tu_p)s mu_tn) as sure as tup, i.e. ram, is mutton, or (ɛsh sháuer ɛz mái neem)z :djak :shɛpɜrd) as sure as my name's Jack Shepherd.

14. *I am going home*, or (A)l gu woom) I'll go home.

Notes to West Houghton es., p. 332.

0. *why*, at Westhoughton (waa), but at Bolton generally (wái), and so for other long I, Y' words.

1. *Tom*, (:djak) Jack, etc., represent the plainest peasant speech, (:tu_mni, :dɔni) Tommy, Johnny, etc., used to children and youths: adults in 'quiet and homely' speech say (:tu_muz, :wil'ium, :dɔemz) Thomas, William, not (:wil'um). James, etc.—*thee*. Children and young people *thou* each other generally, and adults *thou* children, parents *thou* their children of all ages, husbands and wives and older people who have been familiar from youth, *thou* each other: to *thou* a senior would be an offence. This is a general custom in the NM. group.—*laugh*, more rudely (lɔ'uf).—*cares*, or (kjéarz). TH. says W. gave the latter and his sister the one in the text, and that he also wrote

(kje'rz) and found it the most difficult word to analyse.

2. *there's not so many folk dies*, or (dlur)z v veri tuth'ri fɔk' ɛz dái)z there is a very two-three [small number of] folk as dies. *How could they die*.

4. *all the thing*, or (th)wool thi)g the whole thing.

5. *rusty*, between (ræsti) and (raa'sti), it stands for the dialectal form *rousty*.

7. *as how it is hoo told*, observe (ù, uu' for hoo = she.

10. *he were making a noise and moaning himself*.

11. *yard*, also (jæ'rd).

13. *till this*, sometimes (tɛn).—*so now you have-n it*.

14. *aight*, or (anithin) anything.

15. *say*, here (sɪ) but (sɛ) in par. 4.

Notes to Leyland es., p. 332.

0. *doubts*, (á'ɔ) appears to be the normal form for U' and ou- words, but in L. and Farington villages TH. observed several examples with the (ɔ) very faint, and in two or three heard (aa^l) only.

1. *you*, (dhi) is the ordinary form used as in Chapel, D 21.—*him*, Miss

Ff gave (i), but both T and E believe (im) to be the normal form, and also TH. thinks the proper form of *both* is (búədh).

2. *die-n*, Miss Ff said (dái) in error, probably both (diiz, diin) are used.—*laughed at*, Miss Ff wrote and said (la'f'n).—*what*, Miss Ff had (wat).—

make, TH. says (mak) most probably, W adds 'by elderly people.'

3. *howsoever*, Miss Ff had (a'asum-never) corrected by T.—*the facts*, (th) assimilated to (f), inserted by TH.—*your*, (dhi) is the ordinary form.—*until I have done*, for (ai)n, W would write (ai)v). Can (ai)n be an alteration of (ai)m, the (m) assimilated before (d) ? 'I'm done' for 'I've done' is not unfrequently heard.

4. *certain* (sərt'n), generally.—*I heard*, unemphatic. *I* is oftener (A) than (ai); all "(oo) certainly," TH.; (AA) Miss Ff.—*first* (fəst), T.

5. *fathers*, (fədherz), T., (fadherz) Miss Ff.—*voice*, (vəis) Miss Ff.—*I'd better* (A)d.—*squawking*, (skwākɪŋ) T and W, or (skriitɪŋ) W.—*speak*, (speɪk) T, (spek) Miss Ff.

6. *if you ask-en her*, or (if ʒə aks ɛr), or (iv ʒə nout bud aksɪt ɛr) T, if you nought but asked her.

7. *wrong*, (rɔŋ) Miss Ff. (ruŋg, raŋg) W.—*such*, TH. thinks that probably (sitɪ) is the normal sound, and says that he has heard (mitɪ) twice.

8. *as I*, or (ɛz A).—*beast* (bi:st) is sg. Miss Ff said (bi:s), which is plural.

9. *eyes* (iɪn) E, (ai:z) Miss Ff.—*stretched laid upon the ground*, or (ɛt fu:l lɛŋkθ ont' grəʊnd) E.—*Sunday*, this is E's reading. (best sʌndɪ kʊnt) is also used, W; (sʌndi) Miss Ff.—*close by the door*, or (tlɔ:s teɪt dɔ:ɹ) E.

10. *whining* or (beɪn) bellowing, W.—*world* (wɔ:rd) E; (wɔ:rd) Miss Ff.—*badly*, E's reading; (sɪk) Miss Ff.—*little wench in a fret*, (nɔ:ti wɛnʃ) naughty wench is much more idiomatic, E.

11. *happend*, (ap'nd) E; (ap'nt) Miss Ff.—*her daughter-in-law*, or (ɛr dɔ:ɹɪmz wɔ:ɪf) E.—*came* (kʊm) Miss Ff.; (kʊm) E.—*clothes*, (tlú:z) E; (tló:z) Miss Ff, which seems impossible.—*dry*, (drii) Miss Ff; (drii) E, who prefers the following rendering of the end of this paragraph, (iɹo iŋgɪn t' tlú:z á:t ɛθ wɛʃɪn de:), from hanging the clothes out on the washing day.

12. *boiling* (bóilɪn) E; báilɪn Miss Ff.—*tea*, also (bag'ɪn, dɹiŋkɪn) used at farms W.—*bright*, (o v bráit) Miss Ff; (ɔn v brɪt) E.—*nobbut* = only, (nɛbʊt) E; (nɔbʊt) Miss Ff.—*thursday*, (tharzdɪ) Miss Ff; (th'rzde) E.

13. *hear-en*, by elderly people.—*I never, I don't*, (A) is more usual than

(ai).—*sure*, (shú:ɹ) W.—*John want*, Miss Ff. adds (tu) to, which E excides.

14. *so I am*, (su (ai)m) E, (so ai)z, Miss Ff, which is n.l.a.—*home* (ú:m), E.—*do, not*, (dɔ:nd) E, where (r) seems an error if pronounced.—*quick*, (shɔp, redi) E.—*again*, (ɛgɪ:n) E, but W confirms the text for Leyland. E would render par. 14 thus, (ɛn naa A:m ɔw'ɪn ú:m tɛ mi sʌpɹ. ɔw'd nit, ɛn dɔ:nd [r] dɪstɪŋkt] bi sɛ redi tɛ kroo ó:ɹ v bɔ:di ɛgɪ:n, wɛn i tɔks v wɔd i nooz sʌmɪt ɛbá:t'.

15. *it is*, (it)s Miss Ff. E would render the paragraph thus: (id:z nout bud v fuu ɛs prɛts bá:t sɛns. bud A'l sɛ nout nɛ mú:ɹ. sáw ɔw'd nit).

Omitted Words.

As will be seen in the version Miss Ff omitted many words and phrases in the es. TH. questioned her and obtained the following results.

1. *neighbour*, (nɛbɹ) "used by elderly people, W" or (niibɹ), which TH. thinks should be (nɛbɹ).—*who cares?* (wɔ kje:ɹz?), T says (ú:ɹ).

2. *men*, mɛ'n.—*we know, don't we?* (wi noʊn, du:nɛ wi z).

3. *hold*, (ó:nd) Ff and W.—*noise*, (noíz), Ff and W.—*friend* (fɹɛnd).

4. *folks* (fɔks).

5. *great boy* (grɛt bá:ɪ.—*aye, I would* (ai, ai wú:ɪ). W corrects to (wú:d).

6. *too* (tu).—*only* (ɔnli).—*oh! won't she?* (o: wɛnɪt uu z).—*much*, (mitɪ) W.

7. *lastways* (li:st wez).—*when I asked her* (wɛn ai aksɪt,ɛr).—*did she* (dɪd uu).—*ought not* (ɔut'nt).—*point* (pɔint).—*what do you think?* (wɔd)'n ʒoo thiŋk z).

8. *how* (á:ɛ).—*when* (wɛn').

9. *at full length* (ɛt fu:l lɛŋθ), "sometimes (lɛnθ)," but this TH. doubts.

10. *girl* (gɔ:rl).

11. *yard* ɹá:rd.

12. *one* (wá:n).—*only*, see 6.—*come* (kʊm).

13. *do you know?* (du:n ʒə noʊ z)—*learned lãrd*.—*Shepherd*, (:shɛpɹt) Miss Ff; (:shɛpɹd) T.—*either* (ú:ðɹ).

14. *this, that, t'other* (dhis, dhát, tu:ðɹ).

15. *goodbye* (ɔw'd bá:ɪ), used only for a long leavetaking.

Miss Ffarington also gave the following account of an Easter "litting," as overheard by herself between 1827 and 1837 from an eyewitness, probably a servant or labourer, speaking in the Leyland dialect, and written down by her at the time.

wen :dʒeɪmz en :tʰu:məz en :dʒak' en
when James and Thomas and Jack and
:pi:tər kʉm tɛ lift :Elɪn, ʉ pʉnʃt
Peter came to lift Ellen, she punched
en ʉ skrit' en ʉ nɪpt en ʉ
and she shrieked and she nipped and she

skrat' ; en ʉ kʃikt :dʒeɪmz, en ʉ
scratched ; and she kicked James, and she
bɛstəd :pi:tər, en ʉ lʉgd :tʰu:məz, en
basted Peter, and she lugged Thomas, and
ʉ stampt ʉpə'th'flʉer, en ʉ skrit
she stamped upon the floor, and she shrieked
mɑ'rðer !
murder !

Here *basted* means beat violently, *lugged* pulled by the hair. This specimen was said by W to be (*greɪdli:məs*), that is, exactly in the Leyland Moss dialect.

Notes to Burnley cs., p. 332.

1. *Jack, thee*, salutations and address as in the other places.—*him and thee*, the fracture (*i*) is said to be not so marked as in Ch. D 25, (*i*) being nearer (*i*, perhaps (*i*)) may be meant, most persons would hear simple (*i*).—*but I care nought about it*, the (*t*) of *but* becoming a (*r*) as very usual.

3. *I'm bound to say*, meaning am going to say.

4. *through*, the sound has now been ascertained to be (*ʉu*) not (*ə'u*). In many words the lips are rather pouted or projected for the (*u*) in this fracture, thus (*ʉu*⁵), but not so much as at Oldham, see par. 6, *tuu*, *hoo* (*tʉu*⁵, *ʉu*⁵) etc.

8. *beggar or hound—fellow*.

9. *coat, close, lane*, the last taken as *lone*; these (*oi*) forms will be found again in D 24.

10. *lass that were married*, i.e. a spoiled child.

11. *and her lad's wife*, or (*en dhéer :dʒɪm waɪt*) and their Jim's wife, the 's omitted.

13. *as my name's Jack*, or (*vz AA)m ɪv*) as I'm here.

14. *piking off*, stealing off, going away quietly.—*taking folk off*, mocking people, or in the sg. (*takin v tʃap ɔf*, *wen ɪz tAAkin ɛbá'at ɔut*) taking a chap off when he's talking about anything.

Two INTERLINEAR dt.

illustrating Var. iv. Blackburn, both pal. in 1879 by TH. from dictation.

B Blackburn, from a moulder, a native, b. 1850.

H Hoddlesden (4 se. Blackburn, 2 ese. Over Darwin station), from a collier, a native, b. 1858.

1. B sɔ, A SEE, ladz, ʃɔ sii naa¹ A)m re'it ubaa't dhat lit'l
H súv, A SEE, ladz, ʃɛ sɪ ná'ɔ dhut A)m rit ɛbá'ɔt dhat lit'l

B las kʉmɪn frem)s skuu jænd.

H las kʉmɪn frɛ)t' skúu jænd.

2. B ʉ)z gu)ɪn daa'n th) rúed dhíer thruu)t' red gjeet ən't' left
H ʉ)z gu)ɪn dá'ɔn)t' rúed dhíer thruu)t' red gjeet ən)t' líft

B and sáid.

H ant sáad v)t' rú-ɛd.

3. B sii)ʝe, th)tʃáílt)s gən [gá'n] s,tʃe'ít uop te)t' dúer e)t'
 H sii)ʝe, th)tʃáíld)z gúven s,tʃe'ít uop' te)t' dúer e)t'

B ruoq á's.
 H raq á'əs.

4. B wíer ù)l ap'n fáínd dhat ,d,ruoqk'n def' fale et)s páínín
 H wíer ù)l ap'n fáíand dhat ,d,ruoqk'n díef wiz'nd féle

B ewee; íz neem)z :təm.
 H ez dhi koon :tuəm.

5. B wi oo noo im veri wiil.
 H wi oo noon im vare wiil.

6. B went th)óud tʃap suun te'ítʃ er nət te du ít egíen,
 H wənt dh)óud tʃap suun te'ítʃ er nət te du ít egíen,

B púer thiq!
 H púer thiq!

7. B sii)ʝe! ís'nt-ít trúu?
 H sii)ʝe! íz'nt ít ,t,rúù wəd a bín telín ʝe?

VAR. VI. OLD COLNE VALLEY.

Colne (:kóɪn) (6 m.e. Burnley) has now practically the same speech as Burnley, but in 1840 it was different. The district considered extends through Colne from Pendle Hill (:pen'l :íl) to Boulsworth Hill. My informant, Mr. Hartley Stuttard, was in 1878 national schoolmaster at Plympton, Dv. (4 e. Plymouth). He was a native of Pendle Hill, and states that when a boy he had "special opportunities of hearing the hand-loom weavers who lived in the small farm cottages in the hill-side in what was known in old times as Pendle and Trawden (2 se. Colne) Forests. During the 20 years he had been away the dialect had completely changed and become a bastard Yo., from the mechanics who were engaged fitting the mill machinery and from the 'hands' who cross and recross the Pennine chain."

The following table shews the pronunciation of a few words in 1840 when Mr. Stuttard was a child, and in 1855 when he left the place. He says that in 1877, when he revisited the place, he was able to speak the dialect of 1855, which his brother who had remained there all the time hardly recognised, and also found many words extinct which he remembered in use. I am indebted to Mr. John Shelly of Plymouth (see D 11, p. 162) for obtaining this interesting information from Mr. Stuttard.

COLNE VALLEY PRONUNCIATION.

in 1840.	in 1855.	rec. spelling.
tət	fətɪ	fetch
fʰəkht	thóut	thought
nɪkjht	nɪt	night
rekjht	re'it	right
rəkht	re'ikt	reached
bəkht	bóut	bought
sɪkjh	sáí	sigh
səkht	sóut	sought
səkh	su ₁ kh	sough
shuukh	shu ₁ f	shoe
tróakh	drəkh	trough
róakh	rəkh	rough
tóakh	təkh	tough

COLNE VALLEY dt. 1840 pron.

Mr. Stuttard wrote the following dt., in his own orthography, to represent the 1840 pron., and gave such ample explanations, that I think my interpretation gives a very fair representation of the sounds he meant to convey.

1. sú_o e a se tɔps ɔə sɪ naa'ɛ vɛ t ʌ)m re'ɪkjht e b́á'tat dhat lɪ'tl la'ɪs vɛt wɛr kámin frɛ)t' skúil ɔəndhɛr.

2. uu)z bá'an dá'an t' lóin dhíer thruu t' red ɔɛt v,t' left and se'id v)t' rúud.

3. síuer eɔkht t' tɔáild)z gúen re'ikht u_op tɛ t' dar v)t' raq á'ɛs.

4. wíer uu)l apen fáind dhat dhru_okhen díef wíz'nd felí kauld :tu_oms.

5. aal ɔn u_os noon im wíil eɔkht.

6. wíent dh)óud tɔap súin laarn ɛr tɛ núen duu)t ɛgíen, púer thíq!

7. síi ɔə! díd'nt ʌ tɛl súv?

Notes to Colne Valley dt.

1. *so*, the vowel here written (u_o) is said to be "a cross" between (uu) and (u).—*say*, with *e* in *leg*, which in these regions I interpret as (ɛ).—*mates*, recently come into use; *chaps*, *lads*, *lasses*, *folk*, were common.—*you*, (*ɔo*) plural only, (*ɔaa*) was equally common in 1840, but was generally used for the singular. There was the customary use of *thou* and *you*.—*see*, (*sɪ*) "shorter than *ee* but longer than *i* in *pin*."—*now*, "long *a* as in *land*" followed by (ɛ).—*right*, "*r* as in *Scotch*."—*from the school*. Mr. Stuttard writes the equivalent of (*frɛt' t' skúnil*), saying "the becomes (*t'*) suspended from the last word, but there is also added a very slightly-sounded and almost indistinguishable (*t*) to the next word,"

see p. 317. As (*t'*) represents that the position of the tongue for (*t*) is undisturbed till the next word begins, I have not written the (*t*) twice over.—*yonder*, the (*dhɛr*) was possibly Mr. Stuttard's interpretation of dental (*dɛr*).

2. *she)s*, (uu) "like the *oo* in *fool*, *h* is used when emphatic." In the emphatic form (*iz*), similarly (*ʌ am*, *ʌ wɛr*, *ʌ ɛv bɪn*, *ʌ səl bɪ*, *ʌ səl ɛv bɪn*).—*there*, "*the-ur* would rhyme with *see-ur* not *see-er*," this distinction I do not understand.—*through the red*, "with a slight aspirate before *r*," which I do not hear of elsewhere, possibly (*ɪrhɛd*).—*gate*, (*ɔɛt*) was the common form.—*on the*, (*v,t'*) with the *n* omitted and the (*t'*) suspended.—*hand*, the aspirate generally omitted

and rarely inserted. — *side*, “a very pure and fine long *i*, obtained by drawing back the corners of the *lip*, not as in Yo., where the word becomes *si-id*.” I have endeavoured to represent this, probably unsuccessfully, by the form (E*i*), but elsewhere in La. it is (á*i*) in this word.—*road*, with a slight sound of *w* after *r*, possibly (r₁wáud). It may be merely that the (u) begins before the (r) ceases.

3. *sure*, (s) very sibilant, not (sh).—*enough*, “like *ou* in *tough*, which is pronounced *toch* like *loch*.”—*right* or *straight* (sthre’it).—*up*, “Lancashire *u*.”—*door*, “rhyming with *car*.”—*wrong*, “*w* suppressed,” but he does not hint at (raqg) or (ru₃qg).

4. *chance*, (apu) happen is given as the common word, but (tuns, umer, upan), chance, hammer, pan, as the pron. “on the skirts of the district;

on the other hand, within the district *tongs*, *long*, *prong*, are called” (taqz, laq, praq).—*find*, “like *fined*, p.t. *fund*, pp. *fan*” (fáind, faud, fu₃n).—*drunken*, with (kh) as in L., “*drunk* is not used, but *I have drunken*, *they are drunken*.”—*wizzened*, (sr-) not (shr-) used, *shrimps* = (srumps).—*called*, “*name* is a new word in the district, pronounced” (nuem).

5. *him*, the (i) never omitted (A teld im) sg., (A teld em) pl.—*well enough* or *very well* (vari wiil).

6. *won't*, (wínet) is as common as (wíent).—*teach* is (tuit), but (laarn) is commoner.—*her*, “*r* not trilled.” I write (r) final as explained on p. 294. l. 1, but, as there shewn, believe the sound is at most (r) or some form of (r₃).—*not to do it* is rendered to *wone do it*.

7 *look* is (luuk) with long (uu).—*isn't it true* (inet it thu’₃).

VAR. i. ORMSKIRK cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. for

O Ormskirk (7 se. Southport). In 1888 TH. found (áu) to be normal.

Ex. (it A’lez du₃z juuz weetun v dhat tureen), it always does use waiting of [to wait for] that train.

S Skelmersdale (7 nw. St. Helens), see also the Interlinear es. p. 332.

Ex. (dha ma’nt sit su níer t’ waa er dha)l duóu dhi jed egjen t’ waa wi páuuin et dhæt tu₃f [to’] buif, thou mustn’t sit so near the wall or thou’lt jolt thy head against the wall with pulling at that tough beef.

P Prescott (4 wsw. St. Helens). (tr dr) not (tur dur) probably through influence of Liverpool.

Ex. (i sez dha)r guuin t’ plee su₃m klæg soolz temure), he says thou-art going to play some clogs/soles [do work] to-morrow.—(oo o! ka’ru gjer em stre’it et aa), o-oh! can’t [(r) certain to TH.] get them straight at all.—(so)en ju tu), so have-n you too.

N Newton (4 e. St. Helens), the dialect was reported by a railway porter (from St. H.) to have altered considerably since he came there 13 or 14 years before 1874.

W Warrington, generally (tur), but occasionally (tr). It was stated that the se. and ne. suburb varied in speech, thus se. (dáun dæg’ boon bá’ul), ne. (taa’unz iund daa’un dæg’ búen be’ul) town’s end down dog bone boil, confirmed in 1888.

Ex. (it wa’ks on it jued, en it wa’ks on it teel, en aa), it walks on its head, and it walks on its tail, and all.—(kuem on, dha)l sí’u), come along, thou’lt see.—(i neer wil bíi, ez lu₃qg ez dhaa)l kiup im fer thurtuin shilun v wík), he never will be, as long as thou’lt keep him for thirteen shillings a week.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 19 O teel. A: 43 P unz [hands]. 55 O th(es’)ool [the ash hole].
A: or O: 60 S lu₃qg. 61 S sutuqg. 64 W ru₃q. A’- 67 N guu, S guu.
69 S na’u. 72 OP úe. 74 OS tuu. 76 SP tued. 81 S loon. 84 O múer.
87 O tluez kluez. A’: 107 W luof. 115 O wum, ON wa’um, S wuom, W wa’um.
118 S búen. 122 S noon. 124 OSP stuon. 137 P nooduer.

- Æ'- — O rē'it̩ [to reach]. 190 O kje'i. Æ': 209 O níer, never.
 213 P eedher. 214 P needher. 224 S eni'wæ̩r. 227 S w'it.
 E- 232 S brē'ik. 233 O spē'ik. 235 S we'iv. 243 P plee. — OPW
 e'it [to eat]. 251 OP me'it. E: 261 P see. 262 W wee. — P tu pu_{ns}
 sikspu_{ns} [twopence sixpence, last (u_o) distinct]. E'- 290 S ï. 292 P
 m'ï. E': 305 S ï. 306 S e'it. 312 P iur.
 EA- 320 O kjær'. EA: 324 O e'it. 325 O wāk. 326 O a'ud, P óud.
 334 O eepni [halfpenny]. 342 S ə'irm. 343 S wə'irm. EA'- 347 SP
 jed. EA': 350 S diud. — O biem [a beam]. 360 OS tiem. 366 S
 gre'it. — S də'u [dew].
 EI- 372 P aa' [inclining to (æe)]. EO: 395 P ju_{og}. 419 P jər
 [your]. EO'- 410 W ïu. 411 P thr'ï. — S t'ri [tree]. — O sh'ut
 [to shoot]. EO': 423 S th'ï. 425 W lüt. 426 SP fe'it'. 428 S s'ï.
 434 O bjēt. 435 P jò.
 I- 442 S ivin. 444 S stiil. 446 P naan [inclining to (naan)]. I: 458
 O ne'it n'it. OS n'it. 459 S ri't. 461 W let [(ev ju let'n ən ïm, ïi) st'k t'iu
 ju aa n'it] if you light on = meet with him he'll stick to you all night, that is, till
 you go home]. I'- — P raad [to ride]. 492 P saad [inclining to (saad)].
 494 OW [between] taam taam. — O waap [to wipe]. — P thart'. I:
 500 O l'ik, P lauk. 502 P fauv. 508 P m'ail [probably refined for (maul)].
 509 O waal. 510 OP maau.
 O- 522 SW əp'n. O: 550 S wa'rd. O'- 558 P l'uk. 559 P
 mu_odher. 560 SPW sk'um. 564 P s'uum. 567 P t't' dhur. O': 569 P
 b'uk. 580 S tu'ï. 584 S st'au. 586 P d'uu'. 595 S f'ut.
 U- 603 O kam, W ku_om'in. 606 W d'uur. 607 W bu_o t'ur. U: 615 OS
 paa'nd. 632 W u_{op}. U'- 640 S kjaa [pl. (kjaaz)]. 643 O naa' nae. 650
 OSP ebaa't. U': 658 OP daa n, S daan, N daa'n d'au [a youth said colliers and
 country people at N. say (daa'n), and so for the U' words, but village people say
 (d'au)]; to TH. in 1874 the boys and youths of the village seemed generally to
 use (a'u) or a sound between that and (au), but that (aa' a') cropped up oc-
 casionally and unconsciously, and was the normal sound]. 659 O taenz. 663
 O æ's [as in (weshjæ's, eeljæ's) washhouse, alehouse], N ïus, W a'us. 667 O æ't.
 Y- 682 S h'it [a few, a small quantity of]. Y: 691 OP maand. 701
 O f'ust. Y': 709 O fe'ier.

II. ENGLISH.

- O. — P fag [fog]. — SP dag [dog]. — SP tlag [elog]. 766 S m'aid'ur'd.
 — O shaa't [to shout]. U. 805 S kru_odz.

III. ROMANCE.

- A.. 830 O threen [rather than (treen)], W t'reen t'reen. 839 P haa [ball].
 851 S ant [(ant) old]. E.. 867 SP tee. — S :n'ubru_r fæ_r [Newborough
 fair, 2½ n. S]. 890 P bius [cows, the sg. is (kjaa')]. I.. and Y.. — P
 sari [sirrah]. — P raa'nd [round]. — P mu_one [money]. 947 P ba'il. 948
 S bæ'u, P b'au. — W kraan [a crown]. U.. 963 W kwaat. 965 P a'il.

Var. ii. BOLTON AND WIGAN cwl.

- B Bolton (:bóut'n), from the wl. in io. furnished by Mr. Charles Rothwell,
 surgeon; conjecturally pal. by AJE. with the help of Bh and W below.
 The (a'u, ï), if they occur, have been confounded with (uu, ii).
 Bh Bolton from wn. by TH.
 W Wigan (:wigin), from wn. by TH. (r) frequent and of medial length, but
 not so specially marked.

Ex. (A)shed've bin tii-too'tel naa', ev it ad'ne bin fer :an, ïu)z se sha'rt),
 I should have been teetotal now, if it hadn't been for Ann, she's so
 short [hasty-tempered]—(wi)n gjet'n e veri gu_od start), we have-n
 gotten a very good start.—(it faverz su_omer wel'ï), it favours
 [=resembles] summer well-nigh.

Wh Westhoughton (4 sw. Bolton), wn. by TH., see also the interlinear es. p. 332.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 B *teek*, *tak*. 5 B *meek*, *mak*. 16 B *doon*. — Wh *egjeet* [agate, going on]. 20 B *loom* [rare]. 21 BW *neem*. 23 B *soom*. 24 B *shoom*. 32 B *bath* [same as noun]. 33 B *reedher*. 36 B *thoo*. A: 39 B *kuum*. 40 BWh *kam*. 41 B *thegk*. 43 B *ont*, Wh *ont ond*. 44 B *lond lont*. 47 B *wander*. 50 Bh *tu_oqz*. — Wh *ka_rnt* [cannot]. 51 B *møn*, *feli*. 54 B Wh *want*. 55 B *thjes*. 56 B *wesh*. A: or O: 60 B *lu_oqg*. 61 B *em_uqg em_uqk*. 62 B *st_ru_oqg*. 63 BBh *thru_oqg*. 64 B *ru_oqg*. 65 B *su_oqg*.

A'- 67 Bh *gn*, B *gúe*. 69 BW *u_ru*. 76 B *úud*. 83 B *múm*. 84 B *múr*. 86 B *oots*. 87 B *klúz*. 89 B *búuth*. 95 B *throo*. 99 B *thru_ot*. A'- 102 B *aks*. 104 B *rood*. 106 BW *brood*. 108 B *da'uf*. 111 BWh *á'ut*. 113 B *wu_ol*. 115 B *wu_om*, W *wá'm woom*. 122 B *uoon*. 123 B *naut*, Wh *naqk* [obs. expression for (nath_iqk) nothing, with its correlative (aqk) anything]. 124 Wh *stoon*. 128 B *dhuuz*. 135 Wh *tlá'th*. 136 B *oodher*.

Æ- BBh *feedher*. 140 B *eel*. 141 B *neel*. 142 B *sn_eel*. 144 B *egen*. 150 B *h_est*. 152 B *wa_tur*. 153 B *sa_turdi*. Æ: 155 B *thet_r*. 160 B *h_eg*. 161 BBh *dee*. 172 B *graas*. 174 *esh*. 175 B *faast*. 179 *w_or is't?* [what is it?]. Æ'- 182 B *se'i*, Wh *see*. 183 B *te'it_r*. 187 *liev*. 190 B *ke'i*. 192 B *míun*. 194 B *oni*. 195 B *m_oni*. 202 B *jet*. Æ': 215 B *tóat*. 216 BWh *diel*. — Wh *me'il* [a meal]. 223 B *dhíer* ["a rarer form, used when a job is completed satisfactorily," (dh_e'íer, 'dhat')'l *duu*], there, that will do, (dher) unaccented]. 224 BBh *wíer*. 225 W *fl_eish*. 226 B *múust*, W *múist*. 227 Bh *w_et*.

E- 231 Bh *tth* [often, ?(tth)]. 232 B *bre'ik*. 233 BWhW *spe'ik*. 234 B *ne'id*. 235 B *we'iv*. 236 B *lee_ver*. 245 Wh *me'il*. 247 B *ween*. — Wh *e'it* [eat]. 251 B *me'it*. E: — W *e'iv* [heave, raise]. 261 B *see*. 262 B *wee*. 266 Wh *wíil*. 269 W *mis_el* [myself]. 270 Wh *i. baliz, ii. balí*. E'- 301 B *Jer'im* [hear him]. E': 305 B *he'i*, Wh *ii*. 306 BWh *e'it*. 312 Bh *íer*.

EA- 317 B *líi*. 320 B *KEER*, Bh *kJEER*. EA: 322 B *la'af*. 323 B *fa'ut*. 324 Bh *e'itpens* [eightpence], Wh *e'it*. 326 BWh *á'ud*. 327 Wh *ba'ud*. 328 BBh *ka'ud*. 329 B *fa'ud*. 330 BBh *á'ud*. 331 B *sa'ud*. 332 BW *fa'ud*. 333 B *kaaf*. 334 B *AAV*, Bh *epni* [halfpenny]. 335 BW *AA, oo*. 336 BW *faa foo*. 337 BW *waa woo*. 338 WhBhW *kaa*. 340 B *ja_rd*. 342 B *æ_rm* [(æ_r) in 340, 342, 343 is conjectural, the sound is written *er* and thus described "a slightly extra stress on the vowel, a prolongation of sound as though the voice had to reach the saddle *e* from the horse-block *a*, a touch with one boot-toe and you are on, viz. *æ_rm*, yet they are one sound." I get (æ_r) at Blackburn]. 343 B *warm*. 345 B *daar dæ_r*. EA'- 347 BWh *jed* [the informant at Wh noticed that there was a habit of prefixing (j) to words beginning with a vowel in singing]. EA': 350 B *díud*. 353 B *bred breed*. 354 B *shíuf*. 355 B *díuf*. 356 B *líf*. 357 B *dho dhóaf*. 359 B *niiber*. 360 BW *tíun*. 361 BWh *bíen*. 366 BW *gr_e'it*. 368 B *diuth*. 371 B *stroo*. EI- 372 B *aa*, Wh *ái*. EI: 378 B *week*. EO: 393 B *bi_out*. — *dæ_rk* [dark]. 396 Bh *waark*. 399 B *briit*. — Wh *bru_on* [brur]. 403 Bh *fa'r*. 405 B *aarth*. 407 B *faardh_un*. EO'- 410 B *uu*, Bh *úu⁵*, W *ú*. 411 Bh *thrii*. 413 B *div'l*. 414 B *líi*. 417 B *tíun*. EO': 423 B *thii*. 424 B *ruuf*. 425 B *líit*. 426 B *fe'it*. 434 B *bret*. 435 B *joo*. EY- 438 B *díi*.

I- 440 BBh *wik*. — Bh *gjív* [give]. 444 B *stíil*. 446 B *no'in*. 449 Wh *gjet'n* [gotten]. I: 452 B *A*. 458 BBh *níit*, BhW *nít n'it*. 459 B *riit*. 462 B *síit*. 465 B *sít_r*. 468 B *tjilder*. 473 B *blínt*. 475 B *th_wínt*. 487 B *jes_turdi*. I'- 492 B *sá'id*, Bh *sáid*, W *saad*. 493 B *dre'iv*. 494 B *taam*, W *taam*. 496 B *e'íern*. I': 500 B *laak*, W *laak* [inclining to (laak)]. 502 BW *faav*. 503 Wh *laaf*. 504 B *naaf*, Bh *naaf*. 505 B *wa'í_r* *waaf*, W *waaf wáif*. 508 B *maal*. 509 B *waal*. 511 B *wó'in*. 515 B *wó'iz*.

O- — Wh *æ'un* [oven]. 522 B *op'n*. 524 B *worlt*. O: — Wh *fæg* [fog]. 526 B *ka'uf*. 527 BWh *ba'ut*. 528 BWh W *th_wut*. 529 BWh *braut*. 531 B *dau_tur*. 536 B *ga'ud*. — W *ta'u* [toll]. 539 B [not used, always basin, jug, or pot]. 542 B *ba'ut*. 547 B *búert*. — Wh *a's* [horse]. O'- 555 B *shuuf*. 564 W *sæ'nn*, B *suun sanner* [in sense of lief, liefer]. 566 B *oodher*. — *gríu'in* [growing]. O': 569 Bh *bæ'nk*. 571 Bh *gu_od bai*

[good bye]. 579 B *enuuf*, Bh *enæ'uf*, W *enu₃f*. 580 B *tæ'uf*. 581 B *sæ'ut*. 584 B *stuu*. 586 Bh *dæart* [do not, distinct (r)]. 587 *dæ₃n*. 590 B *flæuer*, W *flæ'uer*. 593 B [(*mu₃n*) used, occ. (*mu₃t*), (*met*) might, is common].

U- 599 B *ebæ₃v*. 600 B *lu₃v*. 605 B *su₃n*. 607 B *bu₃ter*. U: 608 B *u₃gli*. 612 B *su₃m*. 613 B *dræ₃qk*. 615 Bh *pæænd* *pæ'ænd*. 617 B *sæænd*. 618 B *wæ'ænd*. 621 B *wæ₃n*. 622 B *u₃nder*. 625 B *tæ₃q*. 626 B *u₃qger*. 629 B *su₃n*. 630 B *wæ₃n*. 632 B *u₃p*. 633 B *ku₃p*. 634 B *thruu*. 639 B *du₃st*. U'- 640 B *kææ*. 641 B *hææ*, Bh *ææ*. 642 B *dhææ*. 643 BBh *mææ*. 645 B *du₃v*. — Wh *kjæer* [cover, (*kjæer dhæ dæen*) sit thee down], 648 B *ææ'er*. 649 B *thææzend*. 650 Wh *ebææet*. 651 W *baat*. U': 657 B *lææn*. 658 Bh *B dææn*. 659 B *tææn*. 661 B *shææer*. 662 B *u₃s*. 663 BWhBh *ææs*. 665 B *mææs*. 666 B *u₃zbund*. 667 B *ææt*, WhBh *a't*, Bh *æ't*, W *aa't*. 668 B *pææd*. 671 B *mææeth*. 672 B *sææeth*.

Y- 673 B *mit₃*, Bh *mu₃t₃*. 677 B *dræ'i*. Y: 686 B *be'i*. 691 B *maand*. 699 B *riit*. — Wh *spæ₃r* [to speer, inquire]. Y'- — Wh *kjæt* [a kite]. Y': 709 B *fe'ier*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — W *merkit* [market]. O. 761 B *læud*. 767 Bh *ne'iz*. — Wh *kjæ'it* [quoit]. U. 796 Wh *blæ'u* [old people say (*blæ'u*)]. — Wh *tjæ'un* [a tune]. — W *æri* [hurry]. — juur [hair, old *hure* head covering, uncertain origin]. 808 B *pær it dæen* [put it down], *pær'im* [kick him].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — W *pleen* [plain]. 830 W *tjæen*. — Wh *tjæn* [chain]. 850 B *doons*. E.. 867 BWh *tæ*. 874 B *re'ininz* [almost always in pl.]. 890 Wh *bias* [pl. for cows]. 893 B *flææer*. I.. and Y.. 898 W *nâis*. 901 Bh *fâin*, Wh *faan*. O.. 924 *tjæis*, *tjæ'is*. 925 Wh *ve'is*. 932 B *umææent*. 934 B *bææenti*. 939 B *khuus*. 947 BWhW *be'el*. 948 B *bæ'ulz* [for the game only, a ball is (*baa*)]. — Wh *ræ'u* [a roll or pad], *ræ'dar* [a roller]. 955 B *dææet*. U.. 963 Wh *kææat*. 965 BW *e'el*, B [also] *âil*. 968 B *dæister*. 971 Wh *flæ'ut* [old people say (*flæ'ut*)].

VAR. iii. CHORLEY AND LEYLAND cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

C Chorley (10 ne. Bolton).

L Leyland (:leclun) village. The dialect of L. Moss is said to be much 'broader,' see also the third interlinear es., p. 332.

F Farrington (2 n. Leyland). Differences said to exist between L and F—

1. (*aledi kûet*, *su₃nde kûet*), both at F, second only at L.
2. (*ælstæu'nin*) hailstoning F, (*æclin*) L.
3. (*A*)m *næt ez wæs ez dhii* F, I am not as worse (ill) as thou, (*badli*) L.
4. (*A*)v *welt it* F, (*wild*) L, I have wheeled it.
5. (*ægiun*) F, (*ægje'n*) L, again.
6. (*re'it*) F, (*rit*) L, right.

W Higher Walton (2 se. Preston).

Ex. *man* (*æt :daren dher*)z *noodher me'n ner a's'ez*, at Darwen there's neither men nor horses. *wife* (*næ'u*, *ber dher*)s *feluz en tits*, no, but there's fellows and tits, a very common word for small horses, properly small birds.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 54 L *want*. 55 W *as*. A'- 74 C *toothri* [two or three, a few]. 76 L *túrd*. 81 F *lúen*. 84 L *múer*. 85 *sáur*. A': 101 L *ðk'*. 104 L *rúrd*. 106 C *brood₃r* [broader], L *brood*. 110 L *nóat*. 115 F *úem*. 118 L *búen*. 130 L *búet*. 131 L *gút*.

Æ- — I stərz [stairs]. Æ: 177 C *ædha:tnuəs* [in that way]. Æ'-
186 F bréid bré'id. 192 F míun. 193 C tliin, ? thien. 198 C líit. 200 F
wíut. Æ': 211 I grece. 216 W díel.

E- 233 CL spē'ík. 235 C we'íver [weaver]. — LF e'ít. 251 CF me'ít.
— F ma'úr [mere, lake]. E: 261 C se'. 265 F s'tre'ít.

EA: 328 L kóud. 336 L fò. EA'- 349 L fú. EA': 350 L déud.
— W krium [cream]. — W stíam [steam]. 365 W nàr [nearer]. 366 L
gre'ít gret. 368 L díeth. — L da'ù [dew, this should give (tá'u) for 349].

EI- 372 C aa' áa'v. EO: 392 C jənd, *du:stə liv jənd rood ɔn* [dost thou
live along that road?]. 394 CL jənd. 399 F brit. EO': 426 C íe'ít.

I- 440 C wík. 449 F giit [got], L gjet'n [gotten]. I: 458 L nit.
459 L rit. 466 C tjadlt. I'- 494 F táim.

O- — C brək'n [broken]. — L un [oven]. O: 527 L bóut. 528 C
thə'út, L thóut. 531 F dóu,t'ér. 544 LF dhen [for until (*ù livd wi u:z dhen*
ù went tɔ :prest'n), she lived with us till she went to Preston]. — W tɔmɔ'm
[to-morrow]. O'- 555 L shuun [shoes]. 558 L láuk'n. 559 L mu:ðher.
560 L skáu. 564 L suun. O': 569 L búk. 587 L dún. 590 C tháuer.

U- 599 F əbuun. 606 C da'r. U: 636 C for' [(táu máil fɔr' nɔr wíer
:AA liv) two miles further than where I live]. U'- 650 C ebá'et. U':
655 C íá'v [ugly]. 657 C braa'n. 658 CF daa'n. 663 L á'as. 667 L á'at.

Y- 673 L má'p. 681 F bíznɔz. 682 C láit' [few]. Y: 700 L was'.
Y': 709 C íá'úr [(A kɔrn bit t' íá'úr) I can't beat, i.e. light, the fire, (r)
"quite prominent" in (kɔrn)], L fe'úr.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — C stərt [to start]. O. 761 L lúud. — F dagz [dogs]. U.
798 C kɔceer. — CL ɔri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — C t'reel [trail]. E.. 885 L vare. O.. — C sáil [soil].
— C raa'nd [round]. — F súert [sort]. 940 L kúet. 947 C báil, bó'íl. —
C tá'm [turn].

VAR. iv. BLACKBURN cwl.

B Blackburn (:blɛgbɜrn), wn. by TH. in 1878-9, see also dt., p. 339.

Ex. (*t*)s sítɪ v lí'tl too, íz dhat v :səmz), it's such a little taw, is that of
Sam's.—(aa, but jɔ ká'rnt), aye, but you can't.—(*í* kúum á't wí
e'ít'ín sandwítɔz, wán ín íz and), he came out with eighteen sand-
wiches, one in his hand.—(*í*)z smák'ín íz líps at ɔm naa', lád), he's
smacking his lips at them now, lad.

Bf. Blackburn, according to Fielding, given in io.

Hs. Haslingden (7 se.Blackburn), wn. by TH.

Ex. (:dʒaən v :tɔ:mz v :dɪks v t' :túed :óil), John of Thomas's of Richard's
of the Toad Hole farm.—(gu t' rúed ɔt' kroo)z flá'ukh'n), go the road
that the crow has flown.

Hd. Hoddlesden (4 sse.Blackburn), see also dt., p. 339.

S Sablesbury (:səmzburi) (6 w-by-n.Blackburn), complete wl. in io. by Wm.
Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., native, which I have rendered into pal. with the
help of B. and Hd., omitting medial lengths and the use of (*í* *æ'u*) which
will be replaced by (ii, uu), and also not marking any dental (t, r, d, r), for
these points were of course not indicated.

W Whalley (3 ssw.Clitheroe). A few variants for this place furnished by S.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 S bæk. 4 B tek, S tek. 5 S mek. 6 S med. 7 S seek. 8 S ev.
9 S bi:ev. 10 S ag, heeg héeg. 11 S maa. 12 S séev. 13 S néev

[common]. 14 S drAA. 17 S lAA. 19 S teel. 20 S leem. 21 S noem. 22 S teem. 23 S seem. 24 S sheem. 25 S meen. 26 S [(wiz'n, ged les en les) used]. 27 S neev [(wastrel, póns) wastrel, pouse, used]. 28 S e'ur. 31 S lat. 32 S bath [to foment]. 33 S reedher [usually (liifer)]. 34 S la'st. 35 S aAL. 36 S thAA. 87 S klAA.

A: 39 S kunn. 40 S kóm. 41 S theqk. 43 S and. 44 S land. 46 S kand'l. 47 S wander [(ra'mb'l) ramble is most used]. 48 S [not used]. 50 S toqz. — Hs kón'te [can'st thon]. 51 S mún. 52 S [not used]. 54 BS want. 55 S a's. 56 HsS wesh. 57 S a's.

A: or O: 58 B fer ier [from here], S free. 59 S la'm. 60 S loqg [(u,qg) rather than (oqg, aqg) was expected]. 61 S emaqq. 62 S stroqq [(vare eeb'l, vare kant) often used]. 63 S [(thraqg, kraad) used for a throng]. 64 S raqq. 65 S soqq. 66 S thoqq [(lash) often used].

A'- 67 BS gúv, Hs gn'in [going], dhi gu_n [they go]. 69 B nAA, HdS nóu. 70 S túv. 71 S woo. 72 BS úv. 73 S súv. 74 S tun. 75 S stráuk. 76 S túed. 77 S lord. 79 S oon. 80 S a'ledv. 81 BfS lóin. 83 S múen. 84 S múer. 85 S súer. 86 Hs úvts. 87 S klúez. 88 S [(dres, dón iz klúez) used]. 89 S búedh. 90 S bloo. 91 S moo. 92 S noo. 93 S snoo [(daan too) down fall, often used]. 94 S kroo. 95 S throo [(thru_t) often used]. 96 S [(set) used]. 97 S sool. 98 S noon. 99 S thru_o. 100 S [(set) used].

A': 101 S úk. 103 S a'ks [but see speer, after 699]. 104 BS rúvd. 105 S rúed. 106 S brúed breed. 107 S lúet. 108 S dúet. 110 BS nóut [nought], S nod [not]. 111 S óut. 112 S [(kant) often used]. 115 B oom, BS úem. 116 S úv. 117 B wa'n, d(ɔ) t' túen [do the t'one]. 118 S búen. 121 S gúen. 122 BS núen. 124 S stúen. 125 S oonli [(nóbet) often used]. 127 S úes. 128 HdS dhunv. 129 S gúest [(bóert) often used]. 130 S búet. 131 S gúet. 132 S ot. 133 S rúet. 134 S úeth. 135 S klúeth. 136 S oodher.

Æ- 138 HdS feedher. 139 S drece. 140 S th)eel. 141 S neel. 142 S sneel. 143 S teel. 144 BS egién. 145 S sleen. 146 S meen. 147 S breen. 148 B fa'r. 150 BS liest. 152 B wa'ter, S weeter. 153 S saterdi.

Æ: 154 B bák', bak. 155 S thak. 157 S rev'n. 158 S after. 160 S eg. 161 BS dee. 163 S [(i wór kru_d'ld daan) he was laid down]. 164 S mee. 165 S sed. 166 S meed [(las) often used]. 167 S deel [(klu_f) clough, often used]. 168 S ta'le. 169 S wen. 170 S a'rest. 171 S baarlí. 172 BS gres. 173 S [(wór) used]. 174 S esh. 175 S fast. 178 S nat. 179 S wad. 180 S bath [as also 32]. 181 S pad.

Æ'- 182 HdS sív. 183 S te'itj. 184 S lied. 185 S riid. — B spre'id [spread]. 186 S bre'id. 187 S liev. 188 S nee [(win_i) much used]. 189 S wee. 190 S ke'i. 191 S iel u_p. 192 S míen. 193 B tle'in, S kle'in. 194 S oní. 195 B moní. 197 S tjúiz. 199 S bleet. 200 S wíet. 201 S iídh'n. 202 S íet.

Æ': 203 S spii'tj. 204 S diid. 205 S thred, [to thread (thréud)]. 206 S red. 207 S miid'l. 209 B nev'er. 210 S klee. 211 S gree. 212 S weg. 215 S tóut. 217 S iitj. 218 HsS shiip. 219 S sliip. 221 S fiir. 222 S [júuer ? (jóer), rhymed to (óer) over, by Waugh is used, from old *houre*, head-covering, not related to hair]. 223 B dhíer dhi'e'ijer [see p. 344, No. 223], S dhíer. 224 B wa'r, HsS wíer. 225 S flesh. 226 S múest. 227 S wiit. 228 S swíet. 229 S breth. 230 S fat.

E- 232 BS bre'ik. 233 S spe'ik. 234 S ne'ied. 235 S we'iv. 236 S feev'er. 238 S edj. 239 S seel. 241 S reen. 242 S tween. 243 S p'ee. 244 B wiil. 246 i. S keiin. 247 S wéen. 248 S méer. 249 S wíer. 250 S [(kás) curse used]. 251 S me'it. 252 S ket'l. 253 S net'l. 254 S ledher. 255 S wedher.

E: — BHs fotj [fetch]. 258 S sedj. 259 S wedj. 261 S see. 362 BS wee. 264 S [(is il, is badli, vare bad) used]. 265 B st're'it. 267 S [(gev in, giv u_p) used]. 268 S [(óudst) oldest used]. 270 S i. belus, ii. balí. 272 S elm. 273 S men [(telez) much used]. 274 S bentj. 276 S thiqk. 277 S drientj. 278 S wentj. 280 S ðev'n. 281 S leqkth. 282 S streqkth. 283 S meri. 284 S thresh. — Hs baa'ru [barn]. 285 S kres. 286 S arb. 287 S bez'm. E'- 289 S soo. 290 S ii. 291 S dhii. 292 B má. S mií. 293 Bf wèi, S wií. 294 S fiid. 296 S billiv. 298 S fiil. 299 S griin. 300 BS kiip.

301 S jar. 303 S swiit. E': 305 S e'i. 306 S e'it. 307 S [not used, replaced by (naar)]. 308 S niid. 309 S spiid [(bat) much used]. 310 S iil. 311 S ten. 312 Hs iur. 314 S iurd. 315 S fiit. 316 S nekst.

EA- 317 S floe. 318 S gaap *grp.* 320 S kiev [(tent) much used].

EA: 321 S saa. 322 Hd lakjh [said by a man who died about 1873], S lakh. 325 S waak. 326 S oud. 327 S boud. 328 S koud. 329 S [(lap) used]. 330 BS Hs oud. 331 S soud. 332 BS toud. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 335 BS oo aa. 336 S foo. 337 S woo. 338 Hd koo. 340 S jerd. 343 BS warm. — B sha[rp] [sharp]. 345 S dar. — BHS pa'rk [park]. 346 S jet.

EA'- — HdHs jaa, Hd aa [vea]. 347 B e'id, S ied. 348 S ii. 349 S fuu.

EA': 350 BS diud. 351 S liud. 352 S red. 353 S briud. 354 S shief. 355 S dief. 356 S lief. 357 S dhoo. 359 S niiber. 360 S tiem. 361 S bian. 362 S slee. 363 S tjuip tjep. 365 S naar. 366 S gret. 367 S thriet. 368 S dieth. 369 S sloo. 370 S raa. 371 S straa.

EI- 373 S dhee. 374 S nee. 375 S reez. 376 S beet. EI: 377 S steek. 378 S week. 379 S [(he'i) often used]. 381 S sween. 382 S dhør.

EO- 383 S sev'n. 384 S ev'n. 385 S biniith [(u'nder) is often used]. 386 S jiu. 387 S niu [(bran niu) often used].

EO: 388 BS malk. 389 S juék. 390 S shuod. 393 S bijord [(faar) for far often used]. 394 B jond. 396 S waark. 397 S súerd. 399 B brit, S briit. 400 S iernest. 402 S laarn. 403 S for. 405 S aarth. 406 S ierth. 407 S faard'n.

EO'- 409 S bii. 410 Hs iu⁵, S uu. 411 B thrii, S thrii. 412 S shuu. — B kraa'd [to crowd]. 413 S dev'l [th]a'ud lad]. 414 BfS dii. 415 S lai. 416 S dier daar. — B sha'u't [shoot]. 417 S tjuu. 418 S briu. 420 S foort. 421 S foorti.

EO': 423 S thii. 424 Hd ru⁵kh [said by a man who died about 1873], S ru⁵f. 425 HsS liit. 426 S fe'it. 428 S sii. 429 S find. 430 S frend. 431 S bier. 432 S foort. 433 S brest. 434 S bet. 435 BfS joo. 436 S triu. 437 S triuth.

EY- 438 BfS dii. EY: 439 S tru⁵st.

I- 440 S wik. 441 S siv [(sai) used]. 442 S divi. 443 S fraide. 444 S stii. 446 Bf moin, S nain. 449 B gjet'n [gotten], S ged. 450 S tiuzde. 451 S [(stij) stitch used].

I: 452 S ji. 454 S witi. 455 S [(kaar) cower used]. 457 S mu⁵t. 458 B nit, S niit. 459 S riit. 460 S we'it. 461 S [(riit daan) used]. 462 HsS siit. 464 S witi. 465 B su⁵ti, BS siti. 466 Hd tja'ald, S tja'ild. 467 S wald. 468 HsS tjalde⁵r. 471 S timber [(wu⁵d) often used]. 472 S shriqk [(wiz'n, ratin) sometimes used]. 473 S bla'nd. 474 S [(t' pil'n) the peel, used]. 475 S t' wand. 476 S ba'nd. 477 Hd fa'and, S fa'and. 478 S gra'nd. 479 S oist. 481 S figger. 482 B iz. 484 S dhis. 485 S this'l. 486 S jest [(be'erm) much used]. 487 S ju⁵sterde. 488 BS jet.

I'- 490 S [(naar) used]. 492 B sa'nd, Hd sa'nd. 493 S draav. 494 B ta'm, Bf to'im, S taam. 496 S aiern. 497 S vrazz [(ged u⁵p) used]. 498 S ra'it. 499 S [klk] used].

I': 500 S laak. 501 S waad. 502 Bf f'iv, S faav. 503 B elai⁵v [alive], S laaf. 504 Hd na'af, S naaf. 505 S waaf. 506 S wu⁵men. 507 S wimin. 508 S maal. 509 S waal. 510 Bf moin. 511 S waan. 513 S waier. 514 S ais. 515 S waaz. 516 S wizdem. 517 B jiu⁵t rii, S viu.

O- 520 S boo. 521 S foil. 522 BS op'n, Hd op'n. 523 S úep. — B vfuere [afore]. 524 S waarld.

O: 526 S kaaf. 527 S boat. 528 B thout. 529 S brout. 530 S rout. 531 B dou⁵t'er i loo [daughter-in-law]. HsS da'u⁵t'er, S dou⁵ur. 532 BS koi. 533 S du⁵l [gaames] used]. 534 BS ol. 536 S goud. 537 S muud. 538 S wod. B wodn't [would not]. 539 S bool. 540 S li. 542 S boat. 545 S op. — B skuer [a score]. 547 S buerd. 548 S fuerd. 549 S uerd. 550 S waerd. — B madherd [murdered]. 551 S staarm [(blu⁵steri blu⁵sterds) stormy]. 552 HsS kaarn. 553 S aarn. 554 S kraas [for the adj. (kaqkerd) cankered is sometimes used].

O'- 555 Hd shuu'n, S shu⁵f. 557 S tuu. 558 B luk, S lu⁵k. 559 BHs

mu_odher. 561 S bluun. 562 S muun. 563 S mu_onde. 564 BHS s_iun, S suun. 565 S núez. 566 B vu_odher, S u_odher. — B groou [grown].

O': 569 S bu_ok. 570 S tu_ok. 571 S gu_od. 572 S blu_od. 573 S flu_od. 574 S bruud. 575 S stu_od. 576 S weden_ode. 577 S buu. 578 S pluu. 579 HS enú_o⁵, S enuu. — HS fla'ukh'n [flown]. 580 Hd takh [said by a man who died about 1873], S t_of. 581 S sóut. 582 S [not used]. 583 S tuul. 584 S stuu. 585 S bruun. 586 S duu. 587 S du_on. 588 S nuun. 589 S spuun. 590 S flúer. 591 S múer. 592 S swúer. 593 S [(m_on used)]. 594 B bú_ot, S buut. 595 S fu_ot. 596 S ruut. 597 S su_ot. 598 S suuth.

U- 599 S ebuun. 600 S lov. 601 S faal. 602 S suu. 603 B ku_om kam, S kam. 605 S su_on. 606 S drar dúer. 607 S bu_oter.

U: 609 S fu_ol. 610 S wu_ol. 611 S bu_olek. 612 S su_om. 613 S dru_oqk. 614 S aand. 915 S paand. 616 S graand. 617 S saand. 618 S waand. 619 Hd fu_on, S fu_on. — HS. bá'én [boun, going]. 620 S gr_on. 621 S wu_on. 622 S u_onder. 625 S tu_oqg. 626 S u_oqger. 628 S nu_on. 629 S su_on. 630 S wu_on. 631 S th_orzde. 632 BHS u_op. 633 S ku_op. 634 S thru_on. 635 S wath. 636 S faar. 637 S tu_osh. 638 S bu_osk. 639 S du_ost.

U'- 640 Bf k_oe kjaa, S kaa. 641 S aa. 642 S dhaa. 643 B naa¹, S naa. 644 S duu. 646 S bo_o. 647 S u_olet. 648 Bf aa¹r, S aar. 649 S thaazend. 652 S ku_od. 653 S bu_od.

U': 655 S faa. 656 S raam [following the regular analogy, and not /ruum/]. 657 S braan. 658 B daa¹n, S daan. 659 HS fá'én, S taan. 660 S baar. 661 S shaar. 662 S u_oz. 663 B á'as à'ls éus, S aas. 664 S laas. 665 S maas. 666 S u_ozbunt. 667 B à't'. Bf. 669 S u_onk_oth. 670 S buudh. 671 S maath. 672 S saath.

Y- 673 B ma_oti, S miti. 675 S drái. 676 S lái. 678 S din. 679 S t_oóverti. 680 S bizi. 681 B bízuz. 682 S lá'l, smoo.

Y: 683 S m_odi. 684 S brádi. 686 S bái. 677 S flaat. 689 S b_old. 690 S kaand. 691 S maand. 693 S s_on. 694 Bf warti [to ache]. 696 S b_oarth. 697 S beri. 698 S marth. 699 S riit. — S spar spúer [speer, used for ask]. 700 S w_or. 701 BHS f_ost. 703 S pí_ot. Y'- 705 S skái. 706 S wái.

Y': 709 BS fe'ær. 711 S láis [(tiks) more common]. 712 S máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 S bad [(nóut) often used]. — HS baqk [bank]. 733 S sk_oer [(friit'n) used]. 734 S daarn [ottener (mend)]. — B st_ort [start]. 737 S meet [(komred. bu_oti) used]. 740 S weev. 742 S lezi [(l_odher) frequently used]. E. 743 S skriim [skráik] often used]. 746 S briidh. 747 S endeever. I. and Y. 757 S tíni. 758 S garl [(las) often used]. O. 761 S láud. — HS-Hd dog [dog]. 767 HS nóiz. 768 S kúek. 769 S [(muudewarp), used]. 772 S bu_on-faar. 778 S efúerd. — B lóiz [lose]. 780 S [(d_ojól), jolt used]. 783 S paaltri. 785 S laand_o. 787 S saas. 788 S flaat. 790 S gaan. U. 805 S kru_odz. 808 HS pu_ot, S pu_od.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 S fees, W fíus. 811 S p_oes, W plíus. 814 S mees'n. W míus'n. 816 S feed [d_okláin wiz'n wídh_or]. 819 S reed_o [(tantremz) occ. used]. 824 S t_ofi_or. 826 S eeg'l. 827 S eeg_or. 834 S shee. 835 S ríez'n. 836 S síez'n. 837 S líush. 838 S tríet. 840 S t_oember [(raam) room often used]. 850 S d_ons. 851 S ant. 852 S [(brat) used]. — B r_oar. 853 S baarg_on. 859 S t_oees, W t_oíus. 860 S peest, W píust. 861 S teest, W tíust. 863 S t_oaa_of t_oaa_ov. 864 S b_okeez. 865 S faat. 866 S p_oúr.

E.. 867 HdS tee. 869 S víel. 874 S reem. 878 S saleri. 881 S sens [also (gu_omsben)]. 884 S aprentes. 888 S saartin. 889 S [(st_op) used]. 890 S bíest [pl. (bíes)]. 891 S fíest. 892 S nevi. 893 S flaar [(p_oús) for posy, often used]. — Bf àr [hour]. 894 S díseev. 895 S ríseev.

I.. and Y.. 897 S dilaat. 898 B náis, Hd ná'as, S naas. 901 S faan. 902 S maan. 904 S váilet. 905 S raat. 906 S vaaper. 908 S advaas. 909 bríiz. 910 S díáíst. 911 S sestern.

O.. 913 S kúrtj. 914 S bróitj. 916 S u_unjen. 917 S rúeg. 918 S [(week) weak used]. 919 S óintment [(SAAV) often used]. 920 S póint. 925 Hs vó.s. 928 S aans. 929 S kaakumber. 932 S emaan. 934 S baanti. 939 S klúus. 940 BHdS kúrt. 941 S fuu. 944 S alaad [allowed]. 946 S maal. 948 S bool [ʔ (bá'ud)]. 949 S maald. — Hs ta'rn [turn]. — B dja'rní [journey]. 952 S kúers. 954 S ku_oshen. 955 B daa't, S daaf. 956 S ku_over. 959 S [(tek) take used].

U.. 963 S kuccet. 970 B dju_ost.

VAR. V. BURNLEY CWL.

From the following sources :

B Burnley (:barnli), wn. by TH. especially from the family of Fielding, who dictated the Burnley cs., p. 332.

Ex. (wəʔeɹ)te adlɪnʔ, what art thou earning ?—(á'ɹ lu_oq w)te leekin fa'ɹʔ, how long are you playing [out of work] for ?—(A kilz em aal wi t're'idɪn ɔn em), I kill them all with treading on them.—(A m bá'an tɛ gú en gjet sheevd), I am bouu [starting] to go and get shaved.—(A sii(d v r i)k' krəft dhis ma'rnɪn vsáid v a'ɹ fúeks), I saw her in the croft this morning, aside of our folks.—In reply to asking the way to a certain street, (jo)n fáind it t' gu_o dá'lan dhis fəst opɪnɪ, en dhen gu_o st're'it daa'n), you will-en find it to go down this first opening, and then go straight down.—(not kə'm wáil náin ɛtlək'), not come while [=until] nine o'clock.

B' Burnley, from a wl. in io. by Mr. Healey, native, only a few supplementary words are given.

C Cliviger (:tlivɪpɹ) and occ. (:tlivɪdɹ) Valley (2 se. Burnley) and extending to Holme (4 se. Burnley), wn. by TH.

Ex. Mother to child, (dha)d e'it 'mii'v v a wer need v spáis), thou wouldst eat me if I were made of spice.—(uu)z brá't ez v su_op v th be'tɹ súrt), she's brought us a sup of the better sort.—(ù tlapɹ v tloək dá'an en ù never jɛrd ɔn't frɛ dhad dec tɛ dhis), she clapped her cloak down and she never heard of-it from that day to this.

W Worsthorn (:warstha'rn) (2 e. Burnley), wn. by TH. from a native b. 1818.

Ex. (i ed ez egjeet v dig'in), he had us agate [astir] of digging.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — W aa¹ [A letter]. 4 B teen [taken]. B' tak. S B e'v [have, emphatic]. 10 B eeg [obs. g]. 12 B' [occ.] seeg. 21 B neem. A: 39 B ka_um kúu²m. 40 B kúum. 50 B' taqz. 51 W má'lan. 54 B want. 55 B' as. 56 B wesh. A: or O: 63 B' thraq. 64 B' raq. A'- 67 B gúv. 69 B nóu. 70 B' túv. 73 B súv. 76 B' túvd. 81 B lóin. 83 B' múen. 84 BW múer. 85 B' súer. 86 B' úets. 87 BB' tlóiz. 89 B' búeth. 91 B' maa. 93 B' snaa. 94 B' naa. 95 B' thraa. 97 B' sóvd. A': 101 B' úek. 104 BB' rúed. 106 B' brúed. 107 B' lúef. 108 B' dúef. 113 B' wu_o. 115 B' wom, W woom. 118 B'W búen. 121 B' gúen. 122 B noon, B' núen. 124 W stúen. 127 B' ús. 128 B' dhúez. 129 B' gúest. 130 B' búet. 131 B' góit. 133 B' rúet. 136 B oodher. 137 B noodher.

Æ- 144 W egíen. 150 B' kúst. 152 B wa'tɹ. Æ: 161 B dec. 172 B gars. — B lat [late]. 181 B' pad. Æ'- 182 BB' sív. 183 B' te'itj. 184 B' lívd. 187 B' lív. 190 BB' kje'í. 191 B' jɛl. 192 B' míen. 193 B' klíen. 194 B' ɔni. 195 B' a'mni [how many?], B' mɔni. 200 B' wíet. 202 B' jɛt. 205 B' thriid. 216 B' díel. 223 B' dhíer. 224 B' wíer. 226 B' múst. 228 B' swíet. 229 B' brieth.

E- 231 B' t' th [as] gí mɪ't' th)or'ndj. 232 B' bré'ik. 233 B' spe'ik. 234 B' ne'id [(pad'n) kneaded]. 235 BB' we'iv. 238 B' edj. 247 B' wɛen. 249 B' wíer. 250 B' swíer. — B e'it [eat]. 251 B' me'it. E: — W

fɔtʃ [fetch]. 265 B s'trɛit. 270 B' i. balis, ii. bali. 284 B' thresh. E'- — W ii [letter E]. 290 B ä. 296 B biliv. 300 B küp. 301 BB' jar. E': 305 BB' e'i. 306 B' e'it.

EA- — B sheev [shave]. 317 B' flii [(flee) means frighten, properly to put to flight]. EA: 324 B [from elderly people] ekht. 326 B' kóud. 328 B' kóud. 330 B óud, old. 333 B' kAAV. 334 B' AAV. 345 B' daar. 346 B' gjeet [older pron. (jeet), B' jeet EA'- — BW ie [yea]. 347 B' ied e'id, BB' jE'd. EA': 350 B' died. 351 B' libd. 353 B' brid. — W kriem [cream]. 360 W íem. 361 B'W biem. 363 B' tɛp. 365 C nier. 366 BW gart, B' gref. 368 B' dieth. EI: 378 B' wæk. EO- 384 B' ev'n. EO: 389 B' júek. 395 B juq. 396 B' waark. 397 B' súerd. 402 B' laarn. 405 B' aarstúun [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 B' uu. 413 B' dev'l. 414 B' flii. 420 B' fóur. EO': 423 B' thii. 424 B [from elderly people] ru_kh. 425 B' liit. 437 B' tɹiuth. EY- 438 B' dii.

I- 444 B stiil. 446 B náin. 448 B' dhiez. I: 452 B A [mostly], a. 458 B' niit. 459 BB' rE'it. 462 B sit. 475 B wínd. — W másti [misty]. I'- — B lkend [liked, desired, also] líek. 494 B táim.

O- — B uun [oven, as (sín,de,r-óunz, pət-óunz, pət-óunz) cinder or coke ovens, pottery ovens]. O: — B fag [fog]. 531 B dóu't'gr. 534 B ól. 535 B túek. 544 B' dhé'in, dhén. — B a's [horse]. O'- 558 B luuk. 559 BB' mu_dher. 560 B skúul [only half pointed] skuul. 562 B' muun. 563 B' mánd. 565 B' núz. O': 569 B báu'k. 571 B' gu'd. 572 B' blú'd. 573 B' flú'd. 577 B' buu. 580 B' tɔf. 586 B' dúent [dout']. 588 B' nóin, B' nuun. 589 B' spóin, B' spuum. 591 W múer.

U- 603 BW kam [pp. kam]. 606 B' dær. 607 B' bu'ther. U: 615 B' pæ'and, pá'and. 616 B' pá'and, B' grá'and. — W bá'an [boun, going]. 619 B' úen. 620 B' grú'n. 634 B' thruu. U'- 643 B' ná'l, BW ná'á. 650 C' ubá'at U': 658 B' dá'an. 667 B' á'at' éat. 671 B' má'ath.

Y- 673 B' mitɹ. 677 C' dɹai. Y: 684 B' brig. 691 B' má'and. 694 B' wark. 700 B' waar. 701 B' farst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W lá'uid. E. 749 B' lɛft. I. and Y. 757 B' tiini. O. 761 B' láud. — B' tlag [clog]. — B' dæg [dog]. 767 B' nóiz. — B' spúert [sport]. — C' shá'at [shout]. U. 804 B' dɹuqk'h'n [very often with (kh)].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 867 B' tee. 885 B' vari. — W' sàrmen [sermon]. — W' sàrvent [servant]. 890 B' bíust [pl. (bús')]. 891 B' fíust. 893 B' flá'ar. — B' á'ar [hour]. O.. 913 B' kúutɹ. 914 B' bróutɹ. — B' dɹé'm [join]. 935 B' kú'ntɹ. — B' a'dher [order]. 939 B' tló's. — B' ráust [roast]. — B' túest [toast]. 940 B' kóit. U.. 963 B' kwáit.

D 23 = n.NM. = northern North Midland.

This forms the borderland at the extreme n. of the M. div., adjoining the N. div. in La., but preserving much of the character of D 22. This applies to the mainland district. But the Celtic Isle of Man seems to have acquired its English chiefly from La., and hence I include it under D 23, making the mainland Var i. and the island Var. ii. Of course the English of the Isle of Man is not an independent English dialect. It is entirely imported and indeed recently acquired, the Celtic Manx not having entirely died out. But I could find no better place for it than this.

VAR. i. THE FYLDE, LA.

Boundaries. Begin at Cockerham (8 ene. Fleetwood) on the n. coast of La., and go ne. and e., passing just n. of Wyersdale (6 sse. Lancaster) and Abbeystead (2 e. Wyersdale) to the b. of La., and then follow this b. to the Hodder and pursue that river to the Ribble, which follow to the sea, and then go n. round by Fleetwood to Cockerham.

The n. b. from Cockerham is rather conjectural, as I have no information immediately n. of it, but it cannot be very far from right, and it is only a little to the n. of the boundary of Amounderness and Lonsdale hundreds. At Wyersdale the pron. belongs rather to D 23 than D 31, that is, is rather m. than n. La. It cannot be supposed that pron. follows the co. b. precisely, but in the absence of direct information I am obliged to assume that it does.

Area. m. La. being the whole of the hundred of Amounderness, with a small portion of the s. of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and that part of the hundred of Blackburn which lies n. of the Ribble. The last portion is doubtful from want of information. Mr. Bellows, writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, says, on the one hand "the Fell dialect," that is, the N. dialect, extends as far s. as Longridge Fell (11 ne. Preston), and on the other hand that "the Fylde dialect covers all the country between the Wyre and the Ribble, and up to the Cocker as far e. as the railway," we shall see that it is quite distinct at Goosenargh (6 n. Preston), which is 3 miles e. of the railway, "and then, modified, right to the foot of Longridge Fell, Goosenargh, and Claughton" (:tláit'n) (8 n. Preston, and about one mile e. of the railway). Mr. Bellows also says, "s. of Chipping (10 ne. Preston) comes in the low Laneashire dialect (Blackburn, Bolton, etc.)." This is not distinct, and in the absence of better information, I think the area I have assigned the most probable.

Authorities.—See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‖ systematic, ° informants' orthography.

La. † Abbeystead, ° Blackpool, † Cockerham, ° Fylde district, † Garstang, † Goosenargh, † Kirkham, † Poulton, † Preston, † Wyersdale.

Character. Var. i. This m. La. district is a transition from the M. to the N. div. Much of D 22 has disappeared. The exceedingly characteristic verbal pl. in *-en* is generally supposed, even by dialect speakers, to be lost, and certainly seems to exist only in some common phrases. But it will be found in the Poulton es. below, par. 2 (*du_on dhv?*) do-n they, par. 7 (*wət_un jaa thi:k?*) what)do-n you think? par. 13 (*du_on jə noo?*) do-n you know? And in the Goosenargh es. par. 2 (*wi_on núm ən_əz fərgjet'n*) we have-n none of us forgotten; par. 7 (*du_on jə thi:k?*) do-n you think? par. 13 (*du_on jaa noo?*) do you know? Also in the Poulton phrases 17 (*an jə bin*) have-n you been, and 19a (*ja noon*) you know-en, with Mr. Lawrenson's attempt to account for the double use of (*noon, noo*) p. 358, No. 19. These shew that the verbal pl. in *-en* still exists in an almost evanescent and not very recognisable form. T.H. heard one example from a Wyersdale farmer at Lancaster: (*wi_on dhv let dhv gu ínte :wái:urzd'í*), will-en they let thee go into Wyersdale?

The chief mark of distinction between D 23 and D 22 to the feeling of the natives of the Fylde is the treatment of the U' words, as shewn in Poulton phrases

5, p. 357. That is, in D 23 the normal form is (áʊ), as in Chapel-en-le-Frith D 21, avoiding the (aa aa¹ ææ áæ) of D 22. But this is also the same as about Lancaster, and characterises Lonsdale s. of the Sands. It is therefore here a transitional form.

But TH. finds (AA¹) to be "a distinctive sound in the Fylde." Writing in 1876 he says: "At present I hear it as a higher position upon the normal (A)." He states that at that time he had known the sound for 16 or 18 years from natives of the Fylde, but had not previously analysed it. In connection with this there is another sound he hears in this district which he writes (o₁) in the es., in (ó₁ùd tó₁ùd) old told, that is, EAL words like those in which (AA¹) occurs in (AA¹ fAA¹ kAA¹) all fall call. The (ó₁u) diphthong is also written in (ó₁ut dó₁u tēr) ought daughter, and the (AA¹) in (lAA¹) law. Now it is difficult to conceive that (a¹ o₁) should differ materially from each other or from (o), and probably I should have appreciated both sounds as (o) and written (óud tóud óut dóu tēr ool fool kool loo). What the real sounds were which had the effect of higher (A) and lower (o) to TH. it is impossible to say. I have, however, followed his writing. But I would call attention to the Leyland (koo) call, (fó) fall, (kóud) cold, p. 346, and to the Blackburn (oo), p. 348, all given on TH.'s authority in D 22, and to a similar treatment of (AA) in Hexham, Nb. It is sometimes very difficult for an Englishman to distinguish (oo, AA), and Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (supra Pt. IV. p. 1303, col. 1) appreciates the Italian *o aperto* as (o₁) when accented and (o) when unaccented, shewing the very slight difference which he attributed to the signs. This (o₁) occurs also in D 23 in the forms (fó₁il kó₁il) foal coal, p. 359, which in D 22, Blackburn variety, appear as (fóil kóil) and similarly (óil) hole, p. 348. These examples tend to confirm my suspicions. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte also for a long time did not distinguish (o₁ o). It is much a matter of appreciation.

The fractures (o'u) or (úu) and (íi) so common in D 21, 22, 25, are here written simply (un ii), though TH. is careful to say that there generally is a slight initial fracture, see notes to Poulton es. pars. 1 and 4, p. 356. It is to be observed that (úu íi) or (ú₁u í₁i) occur in the N div. D 31, and that the form of the fracture in D 23 may be an intermediate one.

The (r) when not before a vowel again occasions difficulty. TH. notes that it was decidedly 'strong' at Poulton. The precise meaning he attached to this term is not clear, but his remarks in Poulton es. notes to par. 1, *cares*, shew that it was not a degree of strength of trill, but of a buzz similar to those of (r, r r₂). It is therefore possibly (r), p. 293.

There is a remarkable form (dú_c d) for *did*, see Poulton es. notes par. 4, p. 356, and also (sá'uer) sure, and (dæ'u) dew. The guttural (kx) is still found among old people, but is fast perishing.

The characters generally are:

A = (ee) as (*neem seem*) name same.

A' = (úv) as (túvd úek) toad oak.

ÆG, EG = (ee) as (*dee wee*) day way.

Æ' = (iv) as (*lied íet*) to lead, heat.

E = (E) or (E'í) as (*spe'ík*) speak.

E' = (ii) or nearly (íi) as (*gríin*) green.

EAL = (AA¹) or perhaps (oo).

I' = (ái) as (*sáid*) side, never (aa).

O = (ó₁i) or perhaps (óí), a form of (úv), but O: is generally (o).

O' = (un) or an unknown approach to (úu), written (ú₁u).

U = (u₂) as in D 22.

U' = (úu) as (*dáum*) down.

This really differs from D 22 only in the treatment of U' and oec. I'. For particulars see illustrations.

Illustrations. Mr. Bellows, the printer, of Gloucester, first wrote out a es. for Poulton from Mr. Lawrenson, to send to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, but as Mr. B. had not a sufficient knowledge of phonetic writing, I prevailed upon TH. to see Mr. Lawrenson himself. The

result was all that could be wished, and the palaeotypic transcript of the es. is given below. TH. also stayed some time with the Lawrensons, and thus obtained from them a set of phrases, see p. 357, and words, now put into a cwl., p. 358. The same year, 1876, he was also fortunate enough to obtain a es. for Goosnargh, which for easy comparison is given below in double columns with the Poulton version. This shews that in the e. of Amonnderness hundred the dialect was identical with that in the w. Mr. Kirk (who dictated the Goosnargh version) also furnished a considerable list of words. These, exclusive of the es., are recorded in the cwl. together with some wn. by TH. at Kirkham. The hundred of Amonnderness is thus well represented, and as already stated the small portion of the hundred of Blackburn n. of the Ribble is here assumed to be practically the same, as an inference from Mr. Bellows's remarks.

TWO ES. IN PARALLEL COLUMNS.

1. Poulton-in-the-Fylde (:pú,ut'n i)th :táid) (13 wnw.Preston), pal. in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. T. Lawrenson (:la'rens'n. b. in 1833, general dealer, of that place, native, and accustomed to use the dialect daily with his customers.
2. Goosnargh (:gúuzner' (5 nne.Preston), pal. in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Edward Kirk, editor of the *Eccles Advertiser*, Manchester, b. 1832, native, who spoke the dialect till 1858, and was closely connected with the district till 1863. Mr. Kirk has so much altered the es. that it was impossible to give the two versions interlinearly, and hence they have been arranged paragraph by paragraph in parallel columns.

On the (r) see Poulton, notes, par. 1, p. 356.

POULTON.

0. wái :dʒən)z nə)dáuts.
1. wɛl, ɪn ɛn dhii mɛ búedh laf ɛd dhiz náuz ɛ máin. úɛ kjɔ̃ɛz? dhat) s noo'dher ier ner dhíer.
2. nat mɔni mɛn dii fɛr bi)in laft át, du)ɔn dhu? wɔt shɛd mɛk)ɛm? it)s nat varɛ láiklɛ, iz)id?
3. ɛd ɔni reet dhis is)f fakt ɛ'th matɛr, su ɔ)ud dhi nó)iz, ɛn bi kɛa)at dhɛn á)ɛv dɔ)ɔn. árk'n.

GOOSNARGH.

0. wái :dʒən)z nə)dáuts.
1. wái, mán, dha mɛ grɪn' ɛz árd ɛn ɛz lɔq ɛs tɛ lá)ks, ɛn búedh ɔn)ɛ puu' ɛr fɛsɛz ɛz lɔq ɛz ɛ bárn dúer ɛk' ɛt wɔt á)ɛv tɔ)ud ɛ, fr)ɔ)ut)s á) kjɛɛr. it)s ʌ) nó)ut tɛ mɪ needher wee jár grɪn)in.
2. dhíer)z nəbet ɛ varɛ túethri fúek dii wɪ bi)in grɪnd át. á)st thi)k wɪ)n núɛn ɔn)ɛz fɛrgjɛt'n th)ɔ)ud wɔ)ɔn ɛt :blɛgbɛn ɛz wɛr laft át, ɔn lívd mɔni ɛ jír ɛt áftɛr. díer)a mii! wɔt)s dher i laf)in tɛ mɛk fúek dii thi)ks)ɛt? du)ɛ)t thi)k ɔ)ut ɛ'th súert) s lá)kli tɛ [hap'n i dhái táim?
3. bíliiv mɪ ɛr bíliiv mɪ ná't, it)s ɛ fakt wɔt á)ɛv tɔ)ud ɛ, súɛ ɔd dhi dɪn ɛn bi kɛaa't tɪn á) tel)it dhi ʌ)ɛ. lu)ɔ)dhu.

4. *ái*)m sàrt'n *ái* íerd)em see
—su_om v)th fúek ez went thrù
A¹)th thi_q frè)th farst dherselez
—dhat *ái* dù_od sà'uer enu_of.

5. dhed)th ju_oqkst làd issel, v
gret làd náin jier ó₁ud, níú is
fad'ez tu_oq es suun ez ù íerd
ím spe'ík, dho id wes se kwíer
en skwíek'in, en *ái*)d trist'ím
te tel)th t'ruuth oní dee, áí wa'd.

6. en)dh ó₁ud wu_omen ersel
el tel oní on je ez lafs, en tel je
st're'ít of tù, wídháut oní bødher,
iv je)l nabet ash er, dhat ù wíl.

7. ed oní reet ù tó₁ud it mì wen
ái ash)er, túethri táimz úer, ù
dù_od, en ù ó₁ut nat te bí raq on
sítj v pó₁int ez dhís, wət)en jaa
thíqk ?

8. ez *ái* wes see)in, ù)d tel)je
búedh áu, wíer en wen ù fu_on)th
dru_oqk'n pig u_oz v kaa'z er
u_ozben.

9. ù swíer ù sì im wi er oon
iin, lá₁)in st'retjt et)th fu_ol
leqkth v)dh gráund, in iz gu_od
su_onde kúet, tlós usáid v)dh áus
dúer, dáum et)th ka'rner v jənd
lúen.

10. i wez wáinín ewee, ù se'z,
fer AA¹)th wa'rd láik v mart
tjáild, er v lít'l las fret'in.

11. en dhat ap'nd ez a'r en
er dó₁u)ter i lAA¹ ku_om thru)th
bak járd frè iqín th)wít tlúez
áut te drái on v wesh'in dee,

12. wáil)th ket'l wer bó₁ilín,
wən fáin su_omer afte'nuun,
nabed v wik)s'n ku_om thá'rzde.

13. en du_on) je noo ? *ái* never
gít te noo oní múer dhen dhís
v dhat bízneuz u_op te tedee, es
sà'uer ez máí neem)z :djak

4. *ái*)m sàrt'in en sà'uer *ái*
íerd em see—dhat)s su_om v)th
fúek, *ái* míen, ez went thruu
AA¹)th bəz'lgjaq ən)t dherselez,
dhat a' dù_od es seef ez egz iz egz.

5. es)th ju_oqkst sù_on ísse'l, v
big'ish mak ev)v làd náin jier
ó₁ud, níú is fadh'ez vó₁is in v
krak, iv it wa'r se kwíer en
skwíek'in, en a' dár t'ru_ost'ím
te spe'ík)th t'ruuth oní dee, dhat
ái dár.

6. en)th ó₁ud wu_omen ersel,
uu)l tel)je dju_ost mít)th best on
je ez iz laf'in, en weent ù tel je
st're'ít en AA¹. dhe)r)z nó tuu
wéez ebáut a'r: jaa nabet aks)er,
weent ù tel je ?

7. oníwee ù lít mí ev it rit
enu_of tù er thrii táimz óer ù
dù_od dhát, en ù ó₁ut'n)te bí fàr
raq v sítj v pó₁int ez it, du_on)je
thíqk ù shù_od ?

8. wel ez *ái*)r see)in, ru)d
tel)je, wen en wíer en áu en
AA¹, ù fu_on)th ó₁ud swalekín thi_q
ev)v u_ozben ev a'rz.

9. ù swíer ù sì im wi er oon
iin, lá₁)in v)th fù_ol ratj v)th grín
swárd, in iz su_onde kúet, níerli
óerni'nst th)áus dúer, dáum et)th
bend v)th lúen jən.

10. i wer fráinín en wáinín,
ù se'z, ez níer ez nó₁ut láik v
màrd tjáild ez iz badli v bit,
er)v lít'l las i)th pet.

11. ən AA¹ dhís' ap'nd v)th
wesh'in dee ez ù en dheer :djemz
wáif wer ku_omín thru)th bak
fó₁ud frè iqín th)tlúez áut,

12. wáil)th teeket'l wer bó₁ilín
fer)th afte'nuunz d'riqkín,
wən greedli fáin su_omerz afte'r-
nuun—let)s sì, it)l bí dju_ost v
wik sen' v thá'rzde.

13. ən du_on jaa noo ? *ái* never
lárnt enu_odher wa'rd on t frè dhat
dee te dhís', es sà'uer ez máí
neem)z :djak :sheperd, en *ái*)l

:shepard, en *ái* dò)nt want te noo noodher, nà dhén!

14. en su (*ái*)m gu)in úem te mi su_oper, gu_od nít, en dò)nt bi se shàrp te kroo úer v b_odi egjé₁in, wen i tAA¹ks v dhís dhàt en)dh u_odher.

15. i)z v wèk fuul ez preets wídháut ríez'n. en dhat)s mí last wá'rd. gu_od nít.

bi haqd iv a¹ kJEER eedher, se náu!

14. *ái*)l bi páikín of' úem náu te mi su_oper. se gu_od nít, en NEVER dhii bi in v óri egjé₁in te t_oldar óer v t_oap, wen i)z telín is teel.

15. ii)z nabut v varv shale fuu⁵ es preets báut i nooz w_ot fá'r. dhat)s AA¹. gu_od nít.

Notes to Poulton es.

1. *well*, omitting neighbour, which Mr. L. says is not used after *well* in addresses, nor, so he said, would the Christian name or other familiar word, as (ma'n. hād). But TH. observed when familiar acquaintances came into Mr. L.'s shop, he would say: (we'l, :t_omez; we'l, :r_obert), etc.—*thee*, there is the usual employment of *thou*, as on p. 337. As to the vowel, it is “very nearly pure (ii).” There is sometimes a slight fracture, but it does not reach (i) as in D 21. It might be (i₁i) or (i₂i). but as TH. is contented with writing (ii) after making the above remark, I follow him.—*cares*, (r) generally when not before a vowel, is “moderately strong, but in *cares prayer*, etc., it is considerably stronger.” says TH., “the end of the tongue being somewhat retracted, and approaching, but not reaching, the cerebral (r) of the sw. of England.” This would give (r, r_o), and this must be borne in mind, though only (r) is written, see D 21.

2.—*not* (nat), less frequently (not), not many, or lyte (láit) = few.—*die* (dii) or (dí,i).—*do they*, the (du_on) is an example of the verbal pl. in -en, which is nearly extinct in this district.

3. *at* (vd).—*this is the fact*, (f) for the assimilated to the following (f).—*quiet*, observe (aa) as in D 22, Bolton.—*till* (dhen), possibly an alteration of (tín) rather than of *then*.

4. *through*, TH. says that the sound is not quite pure (uu, ù), but might be

written (ú,u) and might reach (úu). He, however, contents himself with this note, and writes (uu), saying “sometimes there is a slight fracture,” the lips being “rather opener in the first element, and closing to the normal (u) in the second.”—*did*, the form (dú_od) here, and in Goosnargh, is remarkable, it recalls the old *lust* list lest, *suster* sister, *gult* guilt, *hulles* hills, *put* pit, etc., see supra Part I. p. 298.—*sure*, the form (sa'uer) is strange.

6. *and the old*, (dh) is used for the definite article as well as (th), with the general rule, (th) before consonants and (dh) before vowels or silent *h*. But this rule is not exact, as shown by (v)dh gráumd) in par. 9, and by numerous (th) before vowels in the G. version.—*ask*, or (aks).

7. *asked*, or less frequently (aks t).—*ought not to be wrong*, or (ó,ùt' te bi rit) ought to be right.—*what do-n you think*, another instance of the verbal plural in -en.

8. *pig*, sometimes (bíust).—*husband*, the (n) was lengthened, but is weaker than in an accented syllable; this is not written.

9. *lane*, (lúem) would descend from either Ws. form *lāne lone*.

10. *a marred child*, that is, a spoiled child.

13. *do-n you know*, another example of the verbal pl. in -en.—*want*, or (wánt).—*neither* or (*oodher*) either.

Notes to Goosnargh es.

1. *man*, *thou*, greetings and use of *thou* as on p. 337.—*pull*, perceptibly, but not much protruded lips.—*pull your faces as long as a barn 'heck*, or weather-board at a barn door to keep out the rain.—*for aught as I care*—*all nought*, the vowels (o₁, a¹), which are

practically identical and probably = (o), have been considered on p. 353.—*neither* (*noodher*) also used.

2. *two or three*, few. *we have-n none of us*, instance of verbal pl. in -en. *Blackburn* (:blegbrun).—*afterwards*, perhaps literally *that after = after that*.

3. *quiet* (kwa'a't), obs. (aa¹).—*till* (tin).—*look thou!*

4. *maze*, or gypsy-track, see Peacock's n. l. i. glossary under Boswell.

5. *father*, either (fa'dh'er) or (fa¹'d'er).—*squeaking* or (skwee'kin).

6. *just meet the best of you*, *meet* means precisely, exactly.—*ask*, (ash) used by elderly people.

7. *do-n you think*, an example of verbal plural in *-en*.

8. *I was*, the (ái)r stands for *I wor* (ái wer).—*and all*, too, also.—*swallowing*, the form (swalukin) seems to preserve the original guttural ags. *swolgen*.

9. *reach* (ratɪ), hence stretch.—*green sward*, called (grii'n súerd) by elderly

people.—*Sunday coat* or (tu'dhur kúet) the other coat, a workman being supposed to have only two, working and bettermost.

10. *frining and whining*, whimpering and whining.—*badly*, ill.

11. *their Jim's wife*, Mr. Kirk says *daughter-in-law* is not used, but Mr. L. at P. uses it.—*fold*, courtyard.

12. *gradely*, very, truly, properly, completely.

13. *from that day to this*, or (frc dhen¹ te náu) from then to now.—*Jack* or (:dʒɒn) John.—*either*, or oodhur.

14. *piking off*, taking myself off.—*to tolder over*, this word is not in the glossaries, but its meaning "to crow over" is clear.

POULTON PHRASES.

from Mr. Lawrenson's family, noted by TH. : those marked * were taken from the aunt, b. 1797.

1. (A do)nt fil i gù'd fet'l), I don't feel well.
2. (uu)z varɛ kant), she's very well and lively, used of old people only.
3. (ar)te gu'in te íet dh)un tædee ?), art thou going to heat the oven to-day ?
4. (br'iq)th ka'der íer), bring the cradle here [the common word, but (kred'l) is also used].
5. (ái)m báun dáun)th táun, te báí v ráund páund v bu_oter, en fetɟ v ku_opfɛ v sa't water), I am boun (i.e. going) down the town to buy a round pound of butter, and fetch a cupful of salt water. [This is a sentence concocted by Fylde (:fá'ild) people and pronounced by them as above, to laugh at the s. l. a. people who come to Blackpool, and who are accused of sayin (A)m gu'in daan t' taan, te báí v raand paand v bu_oter, en fetɟ v ku_opfɛ v sa't weeter).]
6. (i)z v gredli gù'd ma'n, en dhát)s v gredli bad en, gredli il), he's a really good man and that's a really bad one, really ill.
7. (dɔf' dhi thúz,—kúet), do-off [=take off] thy clothes,—coat, not applied to shoes.
8. (i)z gjet'n dh)amz en dh)ər'indɟ), he has got the alms and the orange.
9. (ím vs kips v shɔp enínst máin), he that keeps a shop over-against mine.
10. (as)te ed dhi br'e'ikfest), hast thou had thy breakfast [for (ed) over the Wyre, at Pilling (6 mw. Poulton), they use (en)].
11. (iv)it [ʔ th koosu] gjets ewee frəm) f fru_ont v)dh áus, it)s i)th rúud), if it [ʔ the causeway, paved space] gets away from the front of the house, it's [said to be] in the road.
12. *(ái)m bəd midlin), I'm but middling, in health.

13. *(ja)r ɐ vast grɛt wáil ɛfúer jáu kəm), you're a vast great while afore you come. [Observe (kəm) not (kuəm).]
14. *(th) kùth s̥t̥rúek mi), the cold struck me [the (th) not quite certain].
15. *(it)s vast plezənt if fòk bi wiil), it [the weather] is [vastly] very pleasant if folk be well. [Obs. subj. mood.]
16. *(ái sàrft t' pìgz ɛn sàrft t' kAAVZ), I served [regular word for attended to, applied to domestic animals] the pigs and served the calves.
17. (an jɛ bɪn badli AA deɛ dhɛn' ?), have you been ill all day then? [Obs. (an) verbal pl. in -en.]
18. (wɔ)den jɛ wənt ?), what do-en you want? [Obs. verbal pl. in -en.]
19. a. (ja noon dhi)z dhɛm u_odher thi'qz), you know-en there's those other things [something rather remote, pointed out by (noon), Mr. L. thinks]. b. (wɛl ja noo A)m láik tɛ gu tɛ)th t̥jɛrt̥), well, you know [something present, and hence (noo) not (noon)], I'm like [am obliged] to go to the church. [It is not at all likely that Mr. L.'s opinion about this distinction is well founded. The verbal pl. in -en had, he thought, died out, and he was probably endeavouring to account for a particular case.]

WYERSDALE, La. (6 se.Lancaster), dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mr. John Gornal, Border Side Farm.

1. náu jɛ s̥i, t̥japs, ái)m rɛ'it ɛbáut dhat lit'l las ku_omɪn frɛ th skuul.
2. shu)z gu'ɪn dáun t' rúed dháier, thrúu t' rod geet, on t' left and sáid.
3. kɔnsàrn it! it)s gá'n s̥t̥rɛ'it u_op tɛ)t rɔq dáuer.
4. wɛr shu)l ap'n fáind dhat d̥ru_oqk'n diɛf wiz'nd fɛlɛ kAAɔ :tɔm.
5. wi AA' noo ɪm vərə wíil.
6. mái wòrd! bət wɛnt th óad t̥jap suun làrn ɛr not tɛ du it ɛgjeen, púer dhíq'.
7. s̥i jɛ! iz'nt it t̥rúu?

Notes to Wyersdale dt.

1. *school*, or (jɔn skuul).
3. *it's gone*, or (t̥jáild)z gɔ'n), child has gone.—*wrong door*, or (rɔq' áus).
4. *happen*, or (tɛn tɛ wá'n), or (vərə láik).

THE FYLDE (:fáild), La., cw1.

From the following sources.

- P Poulton, wn. by TH. in 1876, from the family of Mr. T. Lawrenson, of Poulton, and a visitor there, a working man, b. 1821. Those marked * were from an aunt, b. 1797, and illiterate. The (uu, ii) were not quite pure, see notes to Poulton es. p. 356.

K Kirkham (:kjærkəm), (8 w-by-n.Preston), wn. by TH.

G Goosnargh (5 nne.Preston), wn. by TH. from dictation of Mr. E. Kirk, see also es. p. 354. Garstang (:gjaa'stān) is said to have the same pron.

W Wyersdale, wn. by Mr. TH. in 1881 added here for comparison. The preceding dt. shews that (āi)m and not (āi)z is used, and that (th) occurs for the def. art. These keep the dial. away from D 31.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 P EV. 14 G draa¹. 18 P pænkeeks [pancakes]. 19 G teel. 21 W neem. 23 K seem. A: 40 G kōm¹. 43 P and wadāut dh) ètj [hand without the H]. 44 G land. 51 P ma'n [used for husband, see 297], W mæn. 54 P want, wōnt. — G kja't [cat]. A: or O: 64 W roq raq.

A'- 67 G guj'in [going]. 69 W noo. 76 G tūed. 81 W lūen. 82 G wōnst. — G sūep [soap]. — G rūep [rope]. 86 W ūets. A': 101 P ūek. 104 PG rūed. 106 P brūd. 107 PG lūbf. 109 [W older speech (lār la'kher) lower]. — G dā'id [a dole]. — G fūem [foam]. 115 GW ūem. 117 K wa'n, G elūen [alone]. 118 G būen. 122 W nūe, nūen. 124 GW stūen.

Æ- 138 W fadhēr fa dēr. — G ladhēr [ladder]. 140 G eel. 144 *P vǵjé'in. 146 G meen [see 457]. Æ: 161 GW dœ. 172 W græs. — K kār't, kær't. 181 P pad. Æ'- 182 P sūe. 184 W līed. 185 P riid. 192 K mīen. — mīen [mean adj.]. 194 *P ōi. 200 W wīet. 202 P iet. 210 G tlee. 211 G gree. 221 P fūr. 222 G iuer [this is probably not the same word as hair, written *hure* and various other ways in Prompt. Parv. p. 249 and 252, meaning 'head covering,' or 'cap,' ags. hūfa, and is probably only the hair of the head, not horsehair for ex.]. 223 K dhīer, W dhīer. 224 W wīer.

E- 231 P th dh t', G th t' [no (dh)]. 233 W spē'ek. — P e'it [eat]. E: — K re'itj [reach]. 261 W see. 262 GW wee. 270 ii P belī. 274 G beush. 277 G d'rensh. 278 G [not used, replaced by (las')]. E'- 290 W i. 297 P felī [used also for husband, see 51]. 299 G grūn, W grīn. E': — P briēr [briar]. 314 W ier. — G tāit [tight, (tīi it tāit) tie it tight].

EA: 322 W laf. 326 K a'ud, PW óud. 328 *P th)kūth [the cold sub.]. 335 PG aa¹. 336 PG faa¹. — P amest [almost]. 338 PG kaa¹. — P sa't [salt]. EA'- 347 P e'id, W e'id. — lēp [leap]. EA': 350 W dīed. 355 P dīef. 359 KG neber. 360 P tīem. 361 P bīen. 363 P tīep. 366 P gret, W gert. — dā'u [dew]. 370 G roo. EI- 372 *P āi. EO- 387 G nūu. EO: 392 K Jan. 396 GW wark [sb. see 694]. — kjārν (earve). 398 G stārv. 399 G brit. 402 W lār. 403 K fār, fær. EO'- — G t'ri [tree]. — PG t'ruk [choke]. 417 G t'ra'u. EO': 423 K th'ii th'ii. 424 W [older speech] rā'kh. 425 G lit. 435 *P ja jāu. 437 W t'rāuth. EY- 438 W dii dīi.

I- 446 G nāin. 448 P dhīerz. I: — P bārd [bird]. 457 G mit en meen [might and main]. 458 GW nit. 459 P rit, W re'it. 462 G sit. — G bi'ind [behind]. 487 W ju's,t'v,r,d'e. I'- 492 G sād. 494 W tām. I': 501 G wād. 506 P wu'men. 513 G wāier. 517 G vīu.

O- — PG smūk [smoke]. 518 G bōdi. — P unu [oven]. 521 P fō'īl. — P v'fūr [afore] — P kūt [a cote, as a doveote]. O: — P fræg [frog], G fræg. — G fōg [fog]. 529 P brō'ut. 531 W dōu't'v,r. 532 G kō'īl. 541 W wēt. — PW skūr [seore]. 550 PG wa'rd. — G ma'r'der [murder]. — P tema'rn [to-morrow, TH. noticed the (r) as 'rather strong']. O'- 555 W shū. — GW fōdher [fodder]. 559 W wu'dher. 560 K skuu. 562 G mu'nth [month]. 565 G nūez. O': 575 K stū'ed. 579 W wu'o'ī. — P puu [pool, nearly pure (uu)]. 587 GW dū'n. 588 W nuun.

U- 600 G lū'v. 603 *P kām, K kāmīn, G ku'mīn, kū'm. 605 KGW sū'ōn. 606 W dūr. U: — K puu⁵ [pull, inclined to (pāu⁵)]. 612 G sū'ōm. — G wu'nd'v,r. U'- 640 W [pl.] kāi. 645 *P ebunn. U': 658 P dāun. 663 W āas.

Y- 674 W dū'd. Y: 686 P bāi. — P shūf [shelf]. 694 P wark, wartj [in sense of ache], G wark [verb, see 396]. — G wari [worry]. — G wa'rm [worm]. Y': 709 G fāier. 712 G māis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W lād. 718 K t^reed. 736 W las. I. and Y. 758 W gærl. O. 763 G room. — PG dæg [dog], G (dæg). — GP tlag [elog], G (tlæg). — P mu_oqki [monkey]. U. — P tūn [a tune]. — G ka'r [a cur]. — G ori [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 *P plē_s [TH. asks whether the vowel were formerly deeper (ē₁) than now (ē)]. — G pee [pay]. 824 W t^rээр t^rier. 830 K t^rreen. 841 W t^rans. — G sleet [slate]. — G plect [plate]. — P koo_{sb} [causeway]. E.. 867 PK tee. 890 W bies [pl. cows]. I.. and Y.. 901 G iāin. O.. — PG rúest [roast]. — PG túst [toast]. — G rúvz [rose]. 940 P kút. 941 P fuul [nearly pure]. 947 P bō₁il. — fa'r, far [fúr]. — P taa'rn [turn]. 954 *P wa_oshen. U.. 965 P ó₁il. — PG a'rt [hurt].

VAR. ii. THE ISLE OF MAN.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists, under the following names, where † means obtained by TH.

Ma. † Kirk Christ Lazayre, † Kirk Christ Rushen, † Kirk Patrick, † Peel.

Area. In March, 1879, the Rev. W. Drury, vicar of Kirk Braddan (2 w. Douglas, Ma.), wrote to me: "The Manx peasantry are remarkable for their good English. Indeed, it has often been observed by Englishmen resident in the island, that their accent is much more correct than that of the English peasantry generally. The Manx language is fast getting out of use, but still in many parts it is very generally spoken. It will not be what we call extinct, for two or three generations yet." The English, therefore, extends over the whole Isle, but it is an English spoken by foreigners, and, as is the case with Welsh-English, is not entirely book-learned, but more or less tinged with the neighbouring dialect.

Character. The dialect is mixed. It is by no means the remarkably "good," that is, "received," speech, which Mr. Drury seems to imagine, possibly from intercourse with the better educated. The use of *I am* in the form (a)m separates it from D 31, which uses (a)z *I is*. The use of *the* (dhə) as the def. art. again separates it from D 31, which uses (t'), but also separates it from D 23, Var. i., which uses (th) and occasionally (dh) before a vowel. This *the* is, however, almost the only important mark distinguishing Var. ii. from Var. i., and the use of (dhə) is of course strictly inculcated in the schools, so that it was to be expected. The U' words have one of the diphthongs (ə'u, ə'u, óu, á'u), at any rate it varied in the pron. of the informants examined, but there was no approach to the (úu) of part of D 31 lying to the n. of s. *hoos* line 6, and though the small part of D 31 s. of this line uses (óu) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands and (áu) in Lonsdale s. of the Sands, the Isle of Man, or D 23, Var. ii., is separated from both by *I am* and *the* for *I is* and *t'*. Var. i., however, has (áu), which is nearly reached in the (á'u) of Var. ii. There is no approach to the peculiar sw.La. (aa¹, ææ) for U'. I' words have (ái, ái) in both Vars. i. and ii. The words

with A-, A:, A', Æ, Æ', E, E', EA, EA', EO, EO', and probably U, are treated substantially alike in both varieties. TH. appreciated and wrote (*u*_o), but the palaeotyping was done in Manchester, where (*u*_o) is general, and most of the persons interviewed had been in Manchester some time. Hence the Manx sound may be (*u*), although (*u*_o) is here recorded. Hence phonetically it is impossible to regard the speech of the Isle of Man as anything but a variety of m.La., having numerous points of agreement and only one point of real difference—the treatment of the def. art. *the*; for the absence of the verbal plural in *-en*, already nearly extinct in Var. i., can scarcely be considered in Var. ii.

Illustrations. Mrs. Roscoe, of Kensington, a native of the Isle of Man, having given me an introduction to Miss Cannell in Manchester, TH., who lives there, very carefully pal. her version of the dt., and subsequently he discovered other natives of the island, residing in Manchester, whose account of the pron. at home, assisted by that of friends who came over, he was also enabled to pal. Thus I have obtained three dt. and several wn. from the n. m. and s. of the island, shewing slight differences, but substantial agreement. As the speech is no true dialect, the localisation of the differences has no dialectal value, and the interlinear presentment of the three dt. points them out at a glance. But the occasional use of (t) for (th) especially before (r) in the n. and m. of the island, and the regular (th) in the s., should be noted. Thus in the n. and m. we have (t_rroon t_rɛ'd t_rɛt t_riɪ t_rruu) thrown thread threat three through, and in the n. (t_r'k t_riq t_rartiin) thick thing thirteen. This is in some respects comparable with Orkney and Shetland habits.

THREE INTERLINEAR dt.

L. *Kirk Christ Lazayre* (2 w. Ramsey, on the ne. of the I. of Man), dictated by Mr. T. Curphey, joiner, b. 1853, who was brought up there, but had resided several years in Manchester, when this was pal. in 1881, and revised three times in 1884 by TH.

P. *Peel*, above the middle of the island on the west coast, dictated in 1881 by Mr. F. Kaye, joiner, native, b. 1853; having resided several years in Manchester, he took the opportunity of having it revised by his sister, about 25, and a friend of hers, about 19, residents in Peel, who came to Manchester for a few days in 1884, and the dt. given, as thus revised, was pal. by TH.

R. *Rushen* (:ru_oshen), the most s. parish in Man, dictated to TH. (in Sept. 1881, and revised March, 1882) by Miss Cannell, head schoolmistress at St. Margaret's Day School for Girls, Whalley Range, Manchester, then about 27, and Miss Cubbin, also a schoolmistress in Manchester, then about 30, both natives.

1. <i>Lazayre.</i>	ná'u ái see,	bô'iz,	ju sî ná'u	dhut áim rə'it	vbə'ut
<i>Peel.</i>	wel,	bô'iz,	ju sî	dhur a)m rə'it	vbə'ut
<i>Rushen</i>	wel,	bô'iz,	ju sii	dhur a)m rə'it	nə'u vbə'ut

L	dhat	lil	gʲɛl	komen	frəm)dhv)skuul	ɔn,ɔɛr.
P	dhat	lil	gʲɛl	komen	ɔn,ɔɛr	frəm skuul.
R	dhat	lil	gʲɛl	ɔn,ɔɛr	komen	frəm skuul.

2. L shi)z gòen dǝ'um dhe)ròed dhier t̪ruu dhe)red
 P shi)z gòen dǝ'um dhe)rood dhier t̪ruu dhe red
 R dhier shi is goon dǝ'um dhe)rood, thruu dhe)red

L gjèet, ɔn dhe)lef and sáid v̪(dhe)ròed.
 P gjèet, ɔn dhe)lef an sǝ'id v̪(dhe)rood.
 R gjèt ɔn dhe)lef ha'n sǝ'id.

3. L lùk, bôiz, dhe)t̪áil ez)gá'n rǝ'it uop̪ te)dhe)rəq
 P wɛl shúer enuof, dhe)t̪ǝ'il ez)gá'n strǝ'it uop̪ te)dhe)rəq
 R aa shúer ɔnuof dhe)t̪ǝ'il v̪ gán' sthǝ'it uop̪ te)dhe)dóer

L dǝ'uer.
 P [hǝ'us.
 R v̪(dhe)rəq hǝ'us'.

4. L whier shi)l meebi fáin dhat d̪ruoqken dǝf
 P kǝier a)m thi)qken shi)l)ap'n fáin dhat d̪ruoqken dǝf
 R an' mèvi shi)l fáin dhat dǝf d̪ruoqken

L púer lùken feler v̪e :tǝma's.
 P ôul kree)ter :tǝmi.
 R blǝ'i ɔv̪e :tǝmes.

5. L wì aal noo [hìm ver' wɛl.
 P wì aal noo)em wɛl enuof.
 R wi aal noo hìm wɛl enuof.

6. L wònt dhe)á'ul fɛlɛ suun lǝrn)er nǝt te)du)et ɛgjeen, púer
 P wònt dhe)ôul fɛlɛ lǝrn)er nǝt te)du)et ɛgjeen, púer
 R wònt dhi ǝ'ul fɛlɛ lǝrn)er nǝt te)du)et ɛgjeen, dhe

L tiq!
 P t̪ǝ'il!
 R ba'kh!

7. L sì! iz'nt)et rǝ'it wǝt a)wɛs)seen?
 P wɛl nǝ'u! iz'n)et t̪rǝ'u?
 R luk'! iznɛt t̪rǝ'ù nǝ?

Notes to Lazayre dt.

1. *about*, or (v̪ɛ'ut).—*little* or (lit'l). 6. *learn* = teach, or (tel ɛr) tell her.
 3. *right*, sometimes (s̪t̪rǝ'it).—*door* —*thing*, or (t̪áil) child.
 or (hǝ'us). 7. *what I was saying*, or (wǝt a)tǝ'ul
 4. *maybe* or (praps) perhaps. ɛ) what I told you.

Notes to Peel dt.

1. *that*, the form (dhet) converted into (dher) before a vowel. 4. *happen*, or (praps, meevi) perhaps, maybe.

Notes to *Rushen* dt.

1. *that*, see note to Peel.—*boys*, mates not used in the dialect.
2. *gone*, or (*gòn*).
4. *blý*, a good-for-nothing, lazy, do-less, etc., creature, or (*wès,tʃrəl*) waistrel, apparently a Manx word.
6. *the bach*, the little thing, apparently a Manx word. *bach* = little in Welsh.

ISLE OF MAN CWL.

from wn. by TH. from Mr. T. Curphey, who dictated the Lazayre dt., and his wife, who was born and lived chiefly near Peel; from Mr. F. and Miss Kaye and Miss Leece for Peel; and Miss Camell and Miss Cubbin for Rushen, in addition to the words in the dt.

L Lazayre (:luzéer). P Peel. R Rushen (:ru:sh'en).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 21 L *néem*, P *neem* *nee'm*, R *neem*. A: 43 P *han an*. 46 P *kjand'l*. 51 R *mæ'n*. A'- 73 P *soo*. 86 L *òets*. 87 L *klooz*. 99 P *t'roon*. A': 104 L *ròed*. 115 L *óem*. 117 P *wá'n*. 124 L *stoon*.
 Æ- 138 LR *faadhur* [when used, generally (*dee*) *dad*]. 148 P *fier*. — P *heren* [herring]. 152 L *waa'ter*, P *waa'ter*. Æ: 161 LR *dee*. 172 P *gres*. 179 P *k'eat*. Æ'- 182 P *see*. 183 PR *tect*. — P *stierz* [stairs]. 200 L *whét* *whét*, P *wheet* *k'eat*, PR *whét*. Æ': 205 P *t're'd*. 222 P *hier*. 223 P *dhéer*. 224 P *whiér*, R *whéer*.
 E- 233 L *speek*. — P *ect*. 252 L *kjed'l* *kjet'l*. E: 261 P *see*. 262 LP *wee*. 265 L *s'tre'it*. — P *fiil* [field]. E'- 290 R *hi*. 299 LR *grin*. E': 312 P *hiér*. 314 PR *hàrd*.
 EA: 322 R *láf*. 326 L *á'ud*. 328 L *ká'ud*. 331 L *sá'ud*. 332 LP *tá'ud*, P *tá'ud*. 334 P *épmi* [halfpenny]. 336 P *faal*. EA'- 347 L [*h'e'd*], R *h'ed*. EA': 361 L *beenz*. 364 R *t'rap*. 366 L *grèet*, R *greet*. 367 L *t'ret*.
 EO: 394 L *jond'ur*, P *jandh'ur*. 402 P *lám*. — L *sist'ur*, P *sisth'ur*. EO'- 411 LP *t'rii*. — LP *t'rii* [tree]. EO': 436 R *t're'n*. 437 R *t're'uth*. EY- 438 LR *dái*.
 I- 440 L *wik'*. 442 P *ibun*. I: — L *t'ik* [thick]. 458 P *ná'it*. 464 P *k'wít*. 466 L *t'p'il*, P *t'p'á'il*. 480 L *t'iq*, P *thiq*. 487 P *vistherde*. I'- 492 L *sáid*. 494 LPR *táim*. 498 L *rá'it*. I': 504 L *ná'if*. 505 LP *wá'if*. 514 P *áis*.
 O- — P *shu'f'l* [shovel]. — P *t'root* [throat]. O: — R *shru'ob*. 531 R *daa'ter*. 540 P *hófen*. O'- 555 P *shuu*. 562 L *muum*. 568 L *brodher*. O': 571 P *gu'd*. 584 L *stuul*, P *stúd'l* [little stool]. 587 LP *dú'cn*. 588 R *nuun*. 590 L *thá'uer*.
 U- 605 LR *sú'cn*. 606 L *da'uer*, P *dúer*. 607 P *bu'ter*. U: 612 R *su'cn*. 613 L *d'rú'qk'cn*. U'- 634 L *t'rum*. 640 L *ká'u*. 641 L *á'u*. 650 LP *ebá'ut*. U': 654 P *shrá'ud*. 657 L *brá'um*. 658 P *da'um*. 659 L *tá'um*, P *tá'um*. 663 L [*h'á'us*] *hóus*. 667 P *á'ut*. 668 L *prá'ud*.
 Y- 677 L *d'rái*. 682 P *il*. Y: 691 L *máind*. Y'- 707 L *t'ar'tiin*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 L *là'qr*. — L *príz'ezs*, P *príd'ezs* [potatoes]. I. and Y. — P *whíp* *k'wíp'*. O. 791 LP *bói* *boh*. U. — P *lu'ump* [lump].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 L *plécs*. 824 L *tjéer*, P *tjêer*. 830 P *t'reen*. 841 P *tjans*, R *tjans* *tjans*. — L *paged* [packet]. E.. 867 LP *tee*. — P *la'ter* [letter]. — P *sàrv* [serve]. — P *perikut* [petticoat]. I.. and Y.. 898 P *ná'is* *ná'is*. 901 L *fáim*. O.. — P *t'roon* [throne]. 935 P *ku'nt'ri*. 939 L *klòs*. 950 L *su'ber*. U.. 970 LP *dju's*.

D 24 = e.NM. = eastern North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin on the n. at the b. of La., at a point 4 ne.Colne, La., and following the s. *tee* line 5 go across the deanery of Craven, Yo., between Skipton in Mid Craven and Keighley in South Craven, keeping nearly due e. to about Burley (8 n.Bradsford), where the n. *theeth* line 5 joins the s. *hooose* line 6. Turn along this line 6, following the Wharfe to Harewood (7 nne.Leeds), and then deflecting to the se. pass e. of Thorner (6 ne.Leeds), Aberford (8 ene.Leeds), Sherburn (11 e.Leeds), and Gateford (14 e.-by-s.Leeds), where the line turns nearly s., through Haddesley (15 ese.Leeds), w. of Snaith (11 e.Pontefract) and w. of Thorne (8 ne.Doncaster), and e. of Doncaster to the n. point of Nt. Then follow the b. of Yo. past Nt., Db., La., till reaching the starting-point near Colne, La.

Area. The whole of the s.Yo., comprising the great industrial centres of Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Sheffield, and Rotherham on the w. and s., with the country towns of Wakefield, Pontefract and Doncaster on the e. A most diversified country. The w. parts inhabited by a great manufacturing population, rejoicing in their dialect. The e. parts populous, but not manufacturing.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., § per CCR., || systematic, ° io.

Yo. || Armitage Bridge, ° Barnborough, † Barnsley, † Birkenshaw, § † Bradford, ° Brotherton, † Calverley, ° Campsall, ° § Dewsbury, * † Doncaster, ° East Hardwick, † Elland, § † Halifax, † Haworth, ° Holmfirth, ° § || Huddersfield, ° † ‡ § Keighley, § Leeds, † Manningham, ° † Marsden, † Osset, † Ripponden, ° Rossington, § Rotherham, || Roundhay, ° Saddleworth, || † Sheffield, † South Oram, † Thornton, ° † Tickhill, † Upper Cumberworth, † Wakefield.

Characters. In such a wide and varied region there must necessarily be considerable differences. I have found it best to distinguish nine varieties. The Western Group containing Var. i. Huddersfield, and Var. ii. Halifax, in many respects greatly resembles the adjoining parts of La., and has particularly the verbal pl. in *-en*, mildly but clearly developed, the article (th) occ., and (uu) hoo=she, more or less used, (shuu) the general s.Yo. form for *she*, also occurring. The North Central Group consists of Var. iii. Keighley, Var. iv. Bradford, Var. v. Leeds, Var. vi. Dewsbury, in which the peculiar character of the district is most developed, but there are diversities, and Dewsbury has affinities with Halifax as well as Keighley and Bradford. These names of large manufacturing towns are used, but of course the real dialect is heard in the surrounding villages. The South Central Group, containing Var. vii. Rotherham and Var. viii. Sheffield, is distinctly related to the adjacent Db., D 26, and has evident traces of the verbal pl. in *-en*, of which there are none in the n. central group. The Eastern Group consists of Var. ix. Doncaster and the whole e. slip, has Nt. affinities, evinced by a great absence of fractures, the (áu) treatment of U', and the absence of (shuu) she.

The particulars of each of these groups are given further on. The main character of the whole group centres at Leeds, and

reducing it to the smallest and most distinctive elements, we may take

O, O' = (óí, úí) as in (óíl, spúín) hole, spoon.
 U' = (éú, aa) as in (éús, aas) house.

Somewhere in D 24 the use of (u_{\circ}), which is a mere transitional sound between (æ) and (u) (see p. 292), ceases, and (u) alone is used, and of course for some intermediate distance between the borders of the (u_{\circ}) and the (u) regions there is a mixed region in which both may be heard. The difference between (u_{\circ} , u) has escaped most observers, and I am obliged to take the authority of TH. exclusively. CCR. probably was quite unaware of (u_{\circ}) as distinct from (u), and hence gives (u) only. TH. made several journeys on purpose to discover where the change occurred and where the mixed forms prevailed, but his observations were necessarily incomplete, because he was able neither to examine places enough, nor people enough in each place, to determine with any amount of certainty what was the prevalent usage. Still his observations, as I have stated, are my only guide, and hence the following results obtained from his note-books are valuable. I make 4 classes.

1. only (u) heard at Skipton, D 31, and in D 24 at Keighley, Haworth, Thornton, Bradford, Calverley, Halifax, South Oram, Elland, Ripponden, Osset, Sheffield.
2. prevailing (u) but some (u_{\circ}) noticed at Wakefield, Doncaster, Tickhill, Fimbley, Nt. (but half in Yo.), and even in D 30 at Hull and Hornsea.
3. prevailing (u_{\circ}) but some (u) at Marsden, Upper Cumberworth, and Barnsley.
4. only u_{\circ} heard at Manningham (close by Bradford in the mid-st of an (u) region, and hence possibly because too few people were observed, see p. 389, l. 18), and Thorne in D 30.

My own information derived from other sources gives (u) only and entirely ignores (u_{\circ}). It is as follows :

CCR. Skipton, Keighley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, including Barnsley, where TH. found prevailing (u_{\circ}), and Rotherham.

Mr. Stead, Hull and Hornsea in D 30.

Dr. J. Wright, Windhill (2 n. Bradford).

Dr. Sykes, Doncaster.

Prof. Parkes, Sheffield.

Where this information conflicts with TH.'s it only shews that both (u_{\circ} , u) are heard or that my informants did not discriminate them. But the exclusive hearing of (u_{\circ}) at Manningham, almost a part of Bradford and surrounded by Shipley, Idle, Calverley, Bradford, Thornton, where (u) alone is heard, shews that TH. was unfortunate in the persons observed, and that at any rate his observations were not extensive enough. Marsden (between Huddersfield and Oldham, La., and hence in an (u_{\circ}) region), which has altogether a La. character, seemed at first to have exclusively (u_{\circ}), but TH. on making a second special visit, found that while (u_{\circ}) was almost universally used, cases of transition from (u) to (u_{\circ}) occurred in old speakers, and occasionally (u) itself remained, shewing that (u_{\circ}) was a recent development.

Under these circumstances I shall assume that (u) is used in all D 24, but that there is frequently an intrusive (u_{\circ}) on the borders

of La., Db. and Nt. This practically assumes the b. of Yo. as the s. b. of (*u*), but does not assume any n. b. for (*u*_o), that is, it assigns no precise area to the mixed use of (*u*, *u*_o). It is quite possible that the sound of (*u*_o) in the s., as in D 28, 29, may in future years pass over into (*ɜ*), and that the (*u*_o) in the n., as in D 21, 22, may spread even into Yo., preparing it for a similar change of (*u*) through (*u*_o) into (*ɜ*). The spread of education and the (at least attempted) inculcation of rec. pron. in schools may produce even greater changes within a century. Here, however, we have only to discover so far as possible existing habits, and must leave the future to take care of itself.

Illustrations. Through the kindness of CCR., author of the *Leeds* and *Mid Yorkshire Glossaries*, I obtained eight glossic versions of my cs. for this neighbourhood. These when written were very carefully considered by me, and all points of doubt were queried, giving rise to many interesting communications from CCR. For better comparison I give seven of these cs. interlinearly, so that the eye can at once observe the differences. The eighth, which gave the refined town speech of petty traders at Leeds, I have reduced elsewhere to a comparison with received speech, but I have added a new eighth, given me by Prof. Parkes, for Sheffield. These interlinear versions are placed first. Afterwards I consider each variety separately, giving first an introduction containing some dt. which I have recently obtained and a portion of a cs. from TH. and also a dt. from Dr. J. Wright, which are important checks on CCR.'s work. These relate to Upper Cumberworth Var. i., Elland Var. ii., Keighley Var. iii., Windhill and Calverley Var. iv., and Barnsley Var. vi. Then the notes on the corresponding cs. and dt., and finally a cwl. made up from the lw. and wl. that may have been furnished me by CCR. or other informants for further illustration of the variety in the neighbourhood of the chief centre. In the case of Leeds itself I give a remarkably complete cwl., carefully written in glossic by CCR. himself, with some wn. by TH. from Calverley, near Leeds. I give also an incomplete wl. compiled from Mr. Banks's Wakefield Glossary. The last variety, Doncaster, is illustrated by a tolerably full cwl. pal. by me from the dict. of Dr. Sykes, of Doncaster, who paid me two visits for the purpose. The numerous comic publications, such as the *Bairnsla Foaks' Annual* (published at Leeds) and the *Saunterer's Satchel* and *West Riding Almanac* (published at Bradford) are neither accurate nor local enough to be of any service in such an investigation as the present. But the account of the pronunciation prevalent at the borders of these unexplored regions shews within narrow limits what the pronunciation within them must be.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR ES.

These es. have been arranged interlinearly for ready comparison, forming a conspectus of pron. in D 24. The side numbers indicate the numbers of the varieties already explained. The notes for each version are given subsequently. As Mr. Robinson in his desire to record idioms has sometimes dealt very freely with the text, the lines do not exactly correspond, but sufficiently so to make reference from one to the other easy and rapid. The following is the meaning of the numbers of the lines.

i Huddersfield (:udhezfil), or, according to TH., (:uðherstild), and adjoining villages. See also the cwl. for Var. i. including Holmfirth, Marsden, Saddleworth, and Upper Cumberworth.

ii Halifax (:éulifeks) and adjoining villages, as Ripponden. See also the parable of the Prodigal Son in the Halifax dialect in Part IV. p. 1400, in which some of the palaeotype forms are now superseded by those here used, but this will occasion no difficulty to the reader.

iii Keighley (:kiithle) or Lower Craven. Mid and Upper Craven belong to the N. div.

iv Bradford (:bradfeth) and adjoining villages.

v Leeds and its district already described, country speech.

vi Dewsbury and its neighbourhood, excluding Wakefield, but including Barnsley.

vii Rotherham.

The above seven were written by CCR in Glossic.

viii Sheffield, written in 1875 by Mr. D. Parker, formerly President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and Prof. of Hebrew at the Wesley College, both of Sheffield, who had been well acquainted with the dialect for 60 years, and had lectured upon it before his Society, in a systematic orthography, supplemented by notes and correspondence. Nevertheless in many common unaccented words there is an element of uncertainty in this conjectural pal. translation.

Of the Doncaster variety I can only give a cwl.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|----------------------|------|---------|--------------|--------|---------------------|
| 0. | i | <i>Huddersfield.</i> | wô'i | :dʒəni | az | nə | daats. |
| | ii | <i>Halifax.</i> | wat | fər | :dʒəni | az | déerts. |
| | iii | <i>Keighley.</i> | wat | fər | :dʒæn | ez | núv daats. |
| | iv | <i>Bradford.</i> | wat | fər | :dʒəni | ez | núv daat. |
| | v | <i>Leeds.</i> | wat | fóv | :dʒəni | ez | núv daats. |
| | vi | <i>Dewsbury.</i> | wət | fər | :dʒəni | ez | nóov déerts. |
| | vii | <i>Rotherham.</i> | wó'i | :dʒəv | ez | núv | daats. |
| | viii | <i>Sheffield.</i> | wó'i | :dʒən | az) | 'nt | nə daats. |
| 1. | i | wiil, neeber, | ʒoo | en | ím | | me búeth)en)ʒo lef |
| | ii | wiil, neeber, | ʒoo | en | ím | | me búeth e ʒo léerf |
| | iii | wiil, néeber, | ʒAA | en | ím | | me búeth en ʒo laaf |
| | iv | wiil, néeber, | ʒii | en | ím, tju, | | me búeth e ʒe laaf |
| | v | wiil, néeber, | ʒii | en | ím e óel, ʒi | | me búeth en ʒe laf |
| | vi | wiil, neeber, | ʒoo | en | ím | | me búeth o ʒo leef |
| | vii | will, neeber, | ʒo | en | ím en ool | | ʒon booth me laf |
| | viii | wee, neeber, | ʒoo | en | ii | | me búeth laf |
| | i | et dhis núuz | e | móin. | wúv | kéerz? | dhat dhíe)z |
| | ii | et dhis ne'uz | e | mi oon. | wúv | kéerz? | dhet dhíe)z |
| | iii | et dhis núuz | e | móin. | wúv | kéerz? | dhat)s |
| | iv | lâ'k, et dhis néerz | e | mi órn. | wúv | kéerz? | dhat)s |
| | v | lâ'k, et dhis néerz | e | mi órn. | úv)s)t | kéer? | dhat dhíe)z |
| | vi | et dhis níuz | e | máin. | wúv | kéerz? | dhet)s |
| | vii | at dhis núuz | e | móin. | wúv | kéerz? | dhat)s |
| | viii | et dhis níuz | e | móin. | wúv | kéerz? | dhat)s |

- i nodher ðe ne dhíe.
 ii nodher ðíe ne dhíe.
 iii nóedher ðíe ne dhíe.
 iv nóedher ðíe ne dhíe.
 v noodher ðíe ne dhíe.
 vi noodher ðíe ne dhíer.
 vii noodher ðíe ne dhíe.
 viii noodher ðíe ne dhíer.

2. i mon, ðt)s nobet e fín e men et diiz
 ii əz nooz ðt)s nobet e fe'u e men et diiz
 iii ðt)s nobed e fín, wət diiz
 iv məm, ðt)s nobet e féeu e men et gúez en diiz
 v məm, ðt)s nobet e féeu e men, et gúəz en diiz
 vi mon ðt)s nobed e fín e meen wət góəz en diiz
 vii əz nooz ðt)s naber e fín wət goəz en diiz
 viii fín men dii

- i biko's dhe)r left et, wín noon dhat, du)net wi?
 ii kos dhe)r léeft et, dont əz?
 iii kos dhe)r laaft at, wín nóov, du)net we?
 iv kəs dhe)r gəənd at, əz núv)z baat nóov) dhat?
 v fə)biəkəs dhe' gəənd at, adent ez síuər e dhat na?
 vi d)əst eko's dhe laft at, dhat uz nooz, du)net ez, nee?
 vii biəkəs dhe' laft et, doont ez?
 viii biəkəs dhe)r laft et, wi noo, dúent wi?

- i wat sud mak em? ðt)s nət vari
 ii wat sud mak em? ðt)s net vari
 iii wət sud mak em? ðt)s nut vari
 iv wat sud mak em, naa? ðt)s nut vari
 v pre)dhe na wut sud mak em? ðt)s nut vari
 vi wət sud mak em du)t, préee? ðt)s nut vari
 vii wət shud mak em? ðt)s nət vari
 viii wət shud mak em? ðt)s nət vari

- i ló'kli, iz ðt?
 ii lá'kli, iz ðt néee?
 iii lò'k, iz ðt naa?
 iv lá'kli, iz)t naa?
 v lá'klínz, is)t na?
 vi lá'kli, iz ðt nee?
 vii lá'kle, iz ðt?
 viii ló'kli, iz ðt?

3. i	jee)a-ver	dhiz iz th)matez	e)th tríuth e)th
ii	aa)í-var,	dhíiez iz th)matez	e)th tríuth e)th
iii	amsemí-ver,	dhíiez iz)t' faks	e)th
iv	aaí-ver,	dhíiez iz)t' réeits	e)t'
v	amsenií-ver,	dhíiez íu)z)t' féeer adments	e)t' tréeuth e)t'
vi	ee)í-ver	dhíiez iz tríudh	en)t' matez e)t'
vii	oo)a-ve	dhíiez iz)t' matez	e)t' trooth e)t'
viii	aa'sumií-ver	dhíiez iz)t' faks	e)t'

i	kées, súe	djust od jóe	dín, frend,
ii	kees, súe	djust óud jor	dín, frend,
iii	kéees súe	djust dhii óud te	dín, frend,
iv	kéees, súe	naa dhen aa)te baan te od dhi	dín, frend,
v	kéees, súe	djust dhi	od dhi dín widh dhe, if
vi	keez	en ool ubéet konsaa'n, thru)t' thrid te)l)t' niid'l,	súe
vii	kees, soo	djust óud dhe nóiz,	frend,
viii	kees, súe	djust óud jer n'íiz,	frend,

i	en bi kwóit	wol o)v	dun. éek jo na!
ii	en bi kwáiet	wol o)v	don. éeeken néce!
iii	en bi kwéet	wal o	dun. aaken naa!
iv	en djus wish te wøl o		dúin. naa aaken!
v	dha kans)te láik, en wisht wa a	dun.	íiez te budz na!
vi	djust jo óud job nóoiz frend en wísh't	née wóel ex dun.	néee dhen íie jo!
vii	en bi gwóit	wol oo)v	dun. íez)ta naa!
viii	en bi kwó'iet	wó'il aa)v	dun. aark!

4. i	o)m saaten	ói j'ied dhem see	—sum e dhéi	fúek	et
ii	óe)m síur	o j'ied em see	—sum e dhem	fóuk	et
iii	o)m síur	et o j'ied em séee	—sum e dhem	fúeeks	et
iv	óe)m síur	et a íied em séee	—sum e dhéem	fóuk	et
v	ái)m séear	et a íied em séee	—sum e dhem	fóuk	et
vi	ee)m síur	e íied em see	—sum e dhem	fúeks	wot
vii	ói)m saaten	o íied em sen	—sum e dhem	fúeeks	et
viii	aa)m saaten	et a íied em see	—sum e dhem	fúeks	et

J

i	góed thru th)wol	thiq frø th)føst	e dhuse·lnz	—dhat
ii	went thru th)wúel	thiq thro th)føst	dhuse·lnz	—dhat
iii	went thru)t' wúel	thiq fréu)t' føst	e dhuse·lnz	—dhat
iv	went thru)u)t' úuel	thiq fru)t' føst	dhuse·lnz	—dhat
v	went thru)t' úel	thiq thru)t' føst	e dhuse·nz	—dhat
vi	went thru)t' úel	thiq throé)t' føst	dhuseenz	—dhat
vii	good thro)t' wúel	thiq thru)t' føst	dhuseenz	—dhat
viii	went thru ool t'	thiq thru)t' først	dhuseenz	—dhat

i	ói	díd	seef	enaf—
ii	díd	o	seef	enaf—
iii	o	díd	síur	ínif—
iv	i	díd,	síur	ínif, om i—
v	díd)	i	síuerlínz	ínif—
vi	e	díd	síur	ínif—
vii	o	díd,	om) shíur	enaf—
viii	A	díd,	shíur	enaf—

5.	i	et	th)	Juqís	sun	izse·ln,	e	gret	led	e	nó·ín,	
	ii	e)	th	Jóuqís	sun	izse·ln,	e	gæt	led	e	ná·ín,	
	iii	e)	th	Juqís	suun,		e	gæat	lad	e	nó·ín,	
	iv	et)	t'	Juqís	sun	izse·n,	e	gæt	lad	e	nâ·ín,	
	v	et)	t'	Juqís	sun	izse·n,	et)s	e	gæt	lad	e	ná·ín,
	vi	et)	t'	Joqíst	sun	izseen,	e	griæt	led	e	nâ·ín,	
	vii	et)	t'	Juqíst	sun	izsen,	e	gret	lad	e	nô·ín,	
	viii	et)	t'	Juqest	sun	izsen,	e	gret	lad	no·ín	Jiir	óud,

i	nood	iz	fadh	vó·is	et	wans,	dhoo	it	·wor	
ii	ne'u	iz	fee·dher	vó·is	et	wans,	dhoo	it	wor	
iii	níu	iz	fadher	vó·is	et	wans,	dhoo	it	·wor	
iv	néeu)t'		fadh	vó·is			dhAA	it	·wor	
v	néeu)t'		fadh	vó·is,	et	wans,	let	elúuun	it	·wóoe
vi	nood	iz	feedher	vó·is	et	wans,	dhoo	it	·wor	
vii	nood	iz	fadh	vó·is	et	wans,	dhoo	it	·wor	
viii	nood	iz	fadherz	vó·is	di·rektli,	dhoo		it	·wor	

i	siken	e	kwíer	skweekin	en,	en	ói)d	trust	·ím	te
ii	sitjen	e	kwíer	skweekin	en,	en	o)d	træst	·ím	te
iii	sitjen	e	kwíer	skwíekín	en,	en	o)d	trust	·ím	te
iv	sitj	e	kwíe	skwéekín	en,	en	o)st	trust	·ím	te
v	sitjen	e	kwíe	skwéekín	en,	en	a)d	trust	·ím	fe)te
vi	sitjen	e	kwíe	skweekin	en,	en	o)d	trust	·ím	te
vii	se		kwíe	en	skweekin,	en	o)d	trost	ím	te
viii	se		kwíe	en	skwíikín,	an	A)d	trust	ím	te

i	spéik	th)tríuth	oni	dee,	Jee,	ói	·wod.	
ii	speek	th)tríuth	oni	dee,	íe,	o	·wod [·wuold].	
iii	spéik)t'	tríuth	oni	déev,	íie,	o	·wæd.	
iv	spéik	tríuth	oni	déev,	ee,	a	·wæd.	
v	spéik)t'	tréenth	oni	déev,	ái,	a	·wæd.	
vi	spéik	tríuth	oni	dee		o	·wood.	
vii	speek)t'	trooth	oni	dee,	aa	mare	o	·wod.
viii	spéik)t'	truuth	oni	dee,	dhat	A	·wud.	

6. i en th)óud wamen ese ln el tel oni o jon et lefs níiv,
 ii en th)óud wamen ese ln el tel oni o joo et lécefs nee,
 iii en th)óud wamen ese ln el tel oni o joo et lafs naa,
 iv en)t' óud wamen ese n el tel oni o je et lafs naa,
 v en)t' óud wamen ese n el tel oni on je et lafs naa,
 vi en)t' óud wamen esee n el tel oni o jo wæt lefs nee,
 vii en)t' óud wamen esen el tel one o jo et lafs naa,
 viii en)t' óud wamen erse n el tel oni on jo et laf naa,

i en telen jon	stréit of, tu,	bívet
ii en tel joo	street of, tu,	bécut
iii en tel yo	stréit of, too,	béet
iv en tel)t je réit	stréit of, tíu, fáar óut)s lat	baat
v en tel je	stréit of, tíu,	dhaaten
vi en tel jo réit	of an ool,	widheet
vii en tel jo	stréit of, en ool,	widhaat
viii en tel jo	stréit aat en ool,	widhaat

- i mítj bodhe, if jon el nobet aksen e, oo! wil)ent uu?
 ii mítj bødher, if joo)l nobet aks er, aa! wi)net sho?
 iii mítj bødher, if jol nobet aks er, oo! wi)nt shu?
 iv mítj bødhe, if ji)l nabad aks er, aa! wíe)nt shu?
 v mítj bødher, en)ji)d nabad as e, uu! wíe)nt shu?
 vi mítj bødher, if jo)l nabad eks ur, oo! wil)et shuu?
 vii mítj bodhe, if jo)n naber aks er, oo! weent shu?
 viii mítj bødher, if jo)l nobet aks er, ó'i! wíe)nt shu?

7. i líiæstez nu teld it mii wen ói akst e,
 ii onígeets n tóud mii it, wen o akst er,
 iii onírúad sho teld mii it, wen a akst er,
 iv oníráud shu teld mii wen ái akst er, e
 v líiæslinz sho teld mii ebaa)ten)t, wen a aast e,
 vi oní roodz shu teld mii it wen e ekst ur,
 vii one roodz shu teld mii wen o akst e,
 viii et oni reet, shu teld it mii wen a akst er,

i		en	nu
ii toøthri	téemz øver, u did, en o kånseerts		shuu
iii túethri	tóimz óver, sho did, en		shuu
iv túethri	tâimz óur, shu did, en		shuu
v túethri	tâimz óuv, did she, en a kånseert		shun
vi túethre	tâimz øver, shu did, en		shuu
vii túethri	tóimz óur, did she, en		shuu
viii tuu or thrii	tóimz óoer, shu did, en		shuu

- i *óut* nət te bi raq e s'iken e póint ez dh'is, wat)en
 ii *óut* net te bi req e s'itjen e póint ez dh'is, wat)en
 iii *óut* net te bi raq e s'itjen e póint ez dh'is, wat de
 iv *óut* nut te bi req e s'itj e póint ez dh'is, st)
 v *óulent* te bi req e s'itjen e póint ez dh'is, aa)s)t
 vi *óut* nət te bi raq e s'itjen e póoint ez dh'is, wət de
 vii *óut* nət te bi raq e s'itjen e póint ez dh'is, wət)en
 viii *óut* nət te bi raq up e s'itj e póint ez dh'is, wət dan

- i 'joo thi'qken?
 ii jo thi'qk?
 iii joo thi'qk?
 iv 'jii thi'qk, naa?
 v je thi'qk?
 vi jo thi'qk?
 vii jo thi'qk?
 viii jo thi'qk?

8. i wiil, ez ói wər see)in, 'nu)d telən jo ool bíet it,
 ii wel, ez o wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo ool béet it,
 iii wiil, ez a wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo óou béet it,
 iv wiil, ez o wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel je óoel bat,
 v wilz, ez a wə see)in, 'shuu)d tel je et óoel enz,
 vi weel, ez o wo see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo ool beet
 vii wiil, ez o wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo)t úwel ístre
 viii wee, ez a wər see)in, 'shuu)d tel jo

- i ez te jéev, w'íer, en wen uu
 ii ee, en w'íer, en wen u
 iii st aa, en w'íer, en wen it wər et sho
 iv búeth áae, en wen, en w'íer it tənst et shu
 v búeth aa, en w'íer, en wen it tənst et sho
 vi konsee'n, en ee, en w'íer en wèn it wóoer et shu
 vii es)t aa en w'íer en wen it wor et sho
 viii aa, wen, en w'íer, shu

- i fan th)drufen bíes et uu koolz er uzben,
 ii fan th)drufen bíes et u koolz er uzben,
 iii fan)t' druken bíes et shu kooz er uzben, en óou)t'
 iv fan)t' druken bíes et shu kóoolz e uzben ən,
 v fan)t' druken bíes et she kóoolz e uzben,
 vi fan)t' drufen bíes et sho koolz er uzben on,
 vii fan)t' druken bíest at she koolz er uzben,
 viii fan)t' druqken bíest et shu koolz er uzben,

- i —u wíl, ói bun fo)t!
 ii —o)m béend u wíl!
 iii rígmbróul,—ái)z bi bun fu)t shu wíl.
 iv —a)l bi bun ən)t, shu wíl.
 v
 vi —ái, e)m bun fo)t, shu wíl.
 vii — o)m bun fo)t sho wíl!
 viii

9. i uu thrept u soo ím wí er oon íiu,
 ii u thrept u soo ím wí er oon íiu,
 iii sho thrúept et sho soo ím wí er óoen íiu,
 iv shu thrept et shu saa ím wí er óoen íiu,
 v sho thrept en went at it, et shu sid ím wí er óoen íiu,
 vi sho thrept et shu siid ím, wí er oon íiu
 vii shu swéer et sho siid ím wí er oon ím
 viii shu swóer et aa shu siid ím wí er óun íiu,

- i lígín stretjt jéent et wól leqth, up v)dh gríund,
 ii lígín stretjt et wúel leqth, up v)t' gréend,
 iii lígín stretjt aat oo íz buk en leqth, utəp v)t' grund,
 iv lígín stretjt slap óoel iz leqth, v)t' gréend,
 v lígín stretjt endleq utəp en)t' grund,
 vi lígín stretjt eet)t' úel en iz leqth, utəp v)t' greend,
 vii lígín stretjt et wúuel leqth up)v)t' graand,
 viii lígín stretjt aat et ful lenth up)v)t' graand,

- i i iz góid sunde kóit, tlóis bi)th íies d'áer óil,
 ii in iz góid sunde kóit, tlóis bi)th éeus d'áer óil,
 iii i iz góid sunde kóit, tlóis bi)t' éeus d'áer óil,
 iv dənd i iz sunde kóit, tlóis bi)t' éus d'áer óil,
 v dənd i iz gúid sander kóit, tlóiz bi)t' aas d'áer óil,
 vi dənd i iz good sunde kóoit, tlóis bi)t' éeus d'áer stéid,
 vii dənd i iz good sunde kóoit, tlóis bi)t' aas d'áer stínd,
 viii i iz gud sunde kúuet, djust bi)t' aas d'áer

- i v)th kóoene v jon leen.
 ii déen v)th kóoene v jən leen.
 iii déen v)t' kóoener v jənd lóm.
 iv daan et bəðhem v jən lóm.
 v daan v)t' kóoener v jən lóm.
 vi deen et)t' koon v jon leen.
 vii daan et)kóoene v jon leen.
 viii daan et)t' kərner v dhat leen.

10.	i	ii	wer	egéet	e	wóimín,	u	sez,	fer	ool)	th	wæld
	ii	ii	wer	egéet	e	wáimín,	u	seez,	fer	ool)t'		wæld
	iii	ii	wer	géet	e	wóimín,	shu	sez,	fer	óou)t'		wæld
	iv	i	wer	egéet	e	wáimín,	shu	sez,	fer	óou)t'		wæld
	v	i	wer	egéet	e	wáimín,	sho	sez,	fer	óou)t'		waald
	vi	i	wer	egéet	e	wáimín,	seez	sho,	fer	óol		wuuld
	vii	i	wer	egéet	e	wóimín,	shu	seez,	fer	ool		wæld
	viii	i	wer			wóimín	ewee,	sez	shu,	fer	ool	wuuld

i	lók	e	badli	tjól,	er	e	let-el	las	i	e	júum.	
ii	lák	e	béedli	baan,	er	e	let-el	las	i	e	júum.	
iii	lókken	e	badli	baan,	er	e	lítel	las	i	e	móock.	
iv	sóem	ez	e	badli	baan,	er	e	lítel	las	i	e	móendj.
v	lákken	e	badli	baan,	er	e	lítel	las	in	e	móendj.	
vi	lák	e	bedli	béem,	er	e	lítel	lees	in	e	júumer.	
vii	lók	e	badli	tjóild,	er	e	lítel	las	i	e	júumer.	
viii	lók	e	badli	tjóild,	er	e	lítel	las		e	fretin.	

11.	i	en	dhat	apend	ez	'uu	en)	th	dóuter)	i)	loo			
	ii	en	dhet	apend	ez	'uu	en)	th	dóuter)	i)	loo			
	iii	en	dhat	dhíer	apend	ez)	th		dóuter)	i)	loo	en	erse	ln
	iv	en	dhat	apend	ez	'shuu	en)t'		dóuter)	i)	lóob			
	v	en	dhat	apend	ez	'shuu	en)t'		dóuter)	i)	lóob			
	vi	en	dhat	epend	ez	'shuu	en)t'		dóuter)	i)	loo			
	vii	en	dhat	apend	ez	'shuu	en)t'		dóuter)	i)	loo			
	viii	en	dhat	apend	ez	'shuu	en	er	dóuter)	i)	loo			

i	kum	thro)	th	bak	jæd	fro		aqin	th)	wet	tlúez
ii	kuum	thru)	th	bak	jéed	thru		eqin	th)	wet	tlúez
iii	kuum	thru)t'		bak	jéed	free		eqin	t')	wet	tlúez
iv	kum	thru)	t'	bak	jaad	fru	bín	eqin	t')	wiit	tlúez
v	kam	thru)t'		bak	jaad	thru		iqin	t')	wit	tlúez
vi	kum	thru)t'		bak	jæd,	thru		eqin	t')	wit	tlúez
vii	kum	thru)t'		bak	jaad,	thro		aqin	t')	wet	tlúez
viii	keem	thru)t'		bak	jard,	wen	shu)d	uq	t')	wet	tlúez

i	jéet	te	drói	on	e	weshin	dee,	
ii	éet	te	drái	on	e	weshin	dee,	
iii	aat	fe	te	drái	on	e	weshin	déer,
iv			te	drái	ey	e	weshin	déer,
v	aat	fo)	te	drái	on	e	weshin	déer,
vi	ect	te	drái	on	e	weshin	dee,	
vii	aat	te	drói	on	e	wesh'n	dee,	
viii	aat	te	dró'i	et)t'		weshin	dee,	

12. i	wóil)th	ketel	wɛ		bóilín	fo)th	tee,	
ii	wol)th	ketel	wɛr	ɛgeɛt	bóilín	fe)th	tee,	
iii	wal)th	ketel	wɛr		bóilín	fɛr)t'		drɛqkín, ɛ
iv	wol)t'	ketel	wɛr	géet ɛ	bóilín	fe)t'		drɛqkín, ɛ
v	wal)t'	ketel	wɛr	ɛgeɛnt ɛ	bóilín	fe)t'		drɛqkín, ɛ
vi	wol)t'	ketel	wə		bóilín	fə)t'		drɛqkín ɛ
vii	wóil)t'	ketel	wɛ		bóilín	fe)t'	tee	drɛqkín,
viii	wə'il)t'	ketel	wɛr	i	bə'ilín	fe)t'	tii	

i	wən	fóin	bróit	aftenóin	i sʉmɛr	nɔbʉt		ɛ wiik
ii	wən	fân	briit	aftenóin	i sɔmɛr	nɔbʉt		ɛ wik
iii	wən	fóin	briit	aftenóin	i sʉmɛr	nɔbʉt	se latli	ɛ wik
iv	wən			aftenóin	i sʉmɛr	fân,		ɛ wik
v	wən	fân	briit	aftenáuin	i sʉmɛr,	nəbʉd		ɛ wiik
vi	wən	fân	briit	aftenóoin	i sʉmɛr,	ɛt	nəbʉd	ɛ wik
vii	wən	fóin	bróit	aftenóin	i sʉmɛr,	nəbɛr		ɛ wik
viii	wən	sənsə'ín		aftenoon	i sʉmɛr,	nɔbʉt		ɛ wik

i	sen	kəm)th	nekst	thɔɛsɛ.
ii	sen	kuum)th	nekst	thozɛ.
iii	sín	kuum)t'	nekst	thuzɛ.
iv	sín	nəbʉt kəm)t'	nekst	thuzɛ.
v	sín	kəm)t'	nekst	thəɛzɛr.
vi	sín	kəm)t'	nekst	thuzɛ.
vii	sín	kəm)t'	nekst	thəɛzɛ.
viii	sín	kəm	nekst	thəɛzɛ.

13. i	en,	dʉn	ʝo	nɔo?	ó	níver	laant	oní	máuer
ii	en,	doo	ʝo	nɔo?	o	níver	laant	oní	máer
iii	en,	nóouz)te	nəbʉt?		o	níve	líend	oní	máer
iv	en	st)nóoe	naa, ɛt		a	níve	líend	nóút	ne máer
v	en	dʉs)te	nóoe, na?		a	níer	líent	nóút	ne máue
vi	en	dʉs)te	nɔo,		o	níver	laand	nóút	ne máer
vii	en	dʉn	ʝo	nɔou?	o	níve	laand	one	máuer
viii	en	dʉn	ʝo	nɔo?	a	níver	laarnd	núe	máer

i	en	dʉs ɛ	dʉt	biznis	ʉp	tʉn	tɛ	dee,
ii	ɛt	íed ɛ	dʉt	beznis	ʉp	tɔl	tɛ	dee,
iii	dʉn	dʉs ɛ	dʉt	mak ɛ	biznɛs	ʉp	tɛ	túdee,
iv	ɛ dʉt	dʉíe	déeu			ʉp	tɛv	túdee,
v	dʉn	dʉs ɛ	dʉt	díu		ʉp	tɛl	túdee,
vi	en	dʉs ɛ	dʉt	biznɛs	tíl	wol	túdee	nee,
vii	en	dʉs ɔ	dʉt	bizenɛs	ʉp	wóil	túdee,	
viii	dʉn	dʉs	ɛbaat	dʉt	biznis	ʉp	tɛ	túdee,

i	ez shuur	ez mói neem)z	:dʒoni	:shepard,	en	óí du)net
ii	ez síur	ez mi neem)z	:dʒəni	:shepəd,	en	o dú)nt
iii	ez síuer	ez mi néem)z	:dʒuən	:shepəd,	en	o du)net
iv	ez síuer	ez mi néem)z	:dʒəni	:shepəd,	nər	nòvdher
v	ez síuelinz	ez mi néem)z	:dʒəni	:shepəd,	en	a dú)nt
vi	ez shíur	ez mi néem)z	:dʒəni	:shepəd,	en	nòvdher
vii	ez shíur	ez mo néem)z	:dʒəne	:shepəd,	en	o dənt
viii	ez shíur	ez ma neem)z	:dʒak	:shepəd,	en	A dú)nt

i	want	te	dau	oodher,	dhí)er	ní)e-na!
ii	want	te	dau	nòdher	dhíe	dhen, né)e.
iii	want	te	dau	òvdher,	dhíe	budz naa!
iv	díu i	want,				naas te!
v	want	fe	te	díu	nóovdhe,	naa mən!
vi	dau	i	want	te	da,	nee dhen.
vii	want	te	doe	nòdher	dhíe)z	te dhen!
viii	wənt			nòvdher	dhí)er	naa!

14.	i	en	sú)ve	óí)m	gə)in	egge)tedz	wú)em	te
	ii	en	sú)ve	o)m	been		ú)em	te
	iii	en	sú)ve	ái)z	bé)en	egge)tedz	ú)em	naa te get
	iv	en	sú)ve	o)men	bi	bé)en	ú)em	naa, lá)k, tel
	v	en	sú)ve	a)men	fú)est	te	gú)ve	ú)em
	vi	e	soo	o)m	been		ú)em	lá)k te
	vii	en	soo	o)m	gə)in		ú)em	te
	viii	en	sú)ve	a)m	gu)in		ú)em	te

i	mi	super.		gó)id	niit,
ii	mi	super.		gó)id	niit,
iii	mi	super,	ló)k.	gó)id	niit te dhe,
iv	mi	super.		gó)id	niit te dhe,
v	mi	super,	naa lá)k.	gú)id	niit te dhe, e pre)dhe má)nds te,
vi	mi	super.		gó)id	niit te soo,
vii	mo	super.		gə)od	niit te dhe,
viii	mi	super.		gud	niit,

i	en	du)net	bi	se	shaap	te	kroo	over	e	bə)di	egí)en	
ii	en	də)nt	bi	se	shaap	fe	te	kroo	ə)ver	e	bə)di	ngən,
iii	en	du)net	bi	se	shaarp	te	kroo	ó)ur	e	bə)di	egí)en, s)t)í)e	
iv	en	dú)nt	bi	se	shaap	te	kroo	ó)ur	e	bə)di	egí)en	
v	en	dú)nt	bi	se	kin	fe	te	kroo)ve	ó)ur	e	bə)di	egí)en
vi	e	dú)nt	bi	se	shaap	te	kroo	ə)ver	e	bə)di	egí)en	
vii	en	dənt	bi	se	shaap	te	kroo	ó)ur	e	bə)di	egí)en	
viii	en	dú)nt	bi	se	shaarp	te	kroo	ó)ur	e	bə)di	egí)en	

i	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e t)oon	en	t)udher thiq.
ii	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e t)oon	en	t)odhe thiq.
iii	na?—wen <i>i</i> tóouks	e t)úuen		t)udhe thiq.
iv	wen <i>i</i> tóouks	e t)úen		t)udhe thiq.
v	wen <i>i</i> tóouks	e túuen	en	t)udhe thiq.
vi	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e toon	en	t)udher thiq.
vii	wen <i>i</i> tooks	o toon	en	t)odhe thiq.
viii	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e dhis dhat	en)t'	tudhe.

15. i	it)s e week	fóil	et	preets bíut	reezen,
ii	it)s e week	fóil	et	preets bécut	reezen,
iii	it)s e wéek	fóil	wət	préets bécut	ríuzen, dhaa)t s'uur,
iv	it)s e wéek	fóil	et	prats dhaat	ríuzen, dhaa)t náun
v	it)s e wéek	fúil	et	préets bidhaat	ríuzen,
vi	it)s e week	fóoil	wot	preets widheet	reezen,
vii	it)s e week	fóil	et	preets udhaat	reezen,
viii	it)s e week	fúil	et	preets widhaat	ríuzen,

i		en s'uur	dhat)s	móí	last
ii		en s'uur	dhet)s	mí	last
iii		en s'uur	dhat)s	mí	last
iv	baat góemín 'dhat, à)te?	súe naa dhen,	dhat)s	mí	last
v		súe naa dhen,	dhat)s	mí	last
vi		en soo	dhet)s	mí	lèst
vii		en soo	dhat)s	mo	last
viii		en	dhat)s	ma	last

i	wəd.	góid bóí,	led.
ii	wəd.	góid báí,	led.
iii	wod.	góid báí te dhe,	lad.
iv	wəd.	féu te wiil,	lad.
v	wəd.	féu dhe wilst,	lad.
vi	wurd, en o)l see,	góid báí te joo.	
vii	wəd.	god bóoi,	lad.
viii	wəd.	gud bó'i.	

* * The *Notes* to these different es. are given under the separate varieties below.

VAR. I. HUDDERSFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Comprising the country to the sw. up to the La. b., Golcar (:góokar), Slaithwaite (:sláwa't), Marsden, and then (separated by Diggle Edge) Saddleworth, Holmfirth (in a neighbouring valley), and Upper Cumberworth. The speech is well illustrated by CCR.'s es. for Huddersfield, a dt. for Upper Cumberworth, and a rather complex cwl. for Huddersfield, Holmfirth, Upper Cumberworth, Marsden (as obs. by TH.), and a few words from Saddleworth, which to a considerable extent agrees with Marsden.

Huddersfield is a large town, and necessarily contains speakers of various shades of dialect. Hence anything like perfect agreement in the several accounts of its

speech which I have collected was not to be expected. While, therefore, there is a great practical unanimity, there is considerable diversity of opinion. On referring to the owl, which contains details, it will be seen that from A- to EY there is not much diversity of appreciation, and at the same time great resemblance to D 22. The chief differences relate to F, O', U', and the short I, O, U, in the cases where they are usually treated as long.

F' is always represented by (ó) in CCR.'s es., although he admits the form (óu), thus, (tóm, tóum). Now the relation between these sounds is close. In the E. div. we found (léim) lame as a result from (léum). The Ch. (á), D 25, seems to be the sharper sound of (æ, áæ) for (á) in U' words. But when the form with (e) is once reached, the way is opened for numerous other changes and especially for its omission, thus, (tóm, toom), whence (taam) is an immediate alteration involving also (taam). CCR. is, indeed, of opinion that (aa) for F' "is foreign to the genius of town dialect," and thinks that it does not "occur at all in (daam) dialects, but only in (duum) dialects." Of course in no dialect are we likely to hear (daam) pure and simple, for both *down* and *dine*. There is a change of vowel, a mere shadowing, which is sufficient in speech, (daa'n, deaan) for one and (daan, daam) for the other. This we have already met with in D 22.

O' is always very variably treated. CCR. has (góid) good, which would make his O' and F' clash. Miss Hibbard has (gúid, stúid, búit) good, stool, boot, and agrees with Messrs. Dowce and Tomlinson in (spúin, fúit, rúit, súit) spoon, foot, root, soot. However, for *hole* Miss Hibbard agrees with both CCR. and TH. at Marsden in giving (óid, óil). But for *book, took*, Miss H. has simple (buuk, tuuk), with a long or medial vowel. We shall find similar treatment of O' in other varieties of D 24, as we have already done in D 22.

U' is also variably treated, see notes to Huddersfield es. par. 3. CCR. considers (íiv) to be the distinctive sound in this variety, but he also occasionally uses (aa, ee). Miss Hibbard has generally (éiv), which CCR. says he has heard in common speech, but had been led to disregard. Now at Burnley D 22, Var. v., this was an alternative form to (á'á), and curiously TH. got (á'á, á'á, á'á) at Marsden, which would readily give (éiv) or (aa), and other Marsden information gives in fact both. Upon the whole I should say the (éiv) was the most prevalent form in this variety, that (íiv) was antiquated, and (aa) occasional.

Notes to the Huddersfield es., No. i on p. 367.

0. *why* (wóiv). CCR. says such a word as *time* would be pronounced both (tóm) and (tóum). This is instructive as to the interchange of fractural (v) with (i), as afterwards in (kóil) from (kóel) coal. Of my other correspondents, Mr. Dowse writes *oi, woife, toim, loike*, indicating (ó'í). Mr. Tomlinson has *worle, morle, lorfe, worde*, while mile, lite, wide, indicating (AA), and shewing that *r* was considered merely a means of affecting the meaning of the preceding letter, and similarly he has *skör, whör, sky, why*, but suddenly changes to *au* in *faur, lauce, mauce*, fire, lice, mice, with no *r*. Miss Hibbard indicates (aa) in all cases, in her numbered word-list. These last two seem to approach CCR.'s (óiv). See Var. ii. Halifax. CCR. says, "The town of Huddersfield has progressed at a very rapid rate, and there has been an influx of people from neighbouring districts. My renderings reproduce the pronunciation of people who and whose

ancestors had always lived in the district, and whose forms of speech never varied."—*you*, CCR. allows (u) generally, but finds (o) sometimes necessary, and very prominent at Leeds. The (ó) in this es. was specially written by him as a correction of (o).

1. *laugh* (lef). In transliterating CCR.'s glossic, I have rendered glossic *e* by (e), which sound it was originally meant to symbolize, while *ae* represented (E), which CCR. uses occasionally. It is most probable that TH. would have heard (E) in all these cases, being his usual vowel.—*cares* (kéevz), that is, the *r* is fully vocalised. This will be found the general writing, but CCR. sometimes admits Glossic *r*, evidently considering it more than a mere vocalisation, perhaps as Midland (r), and sometimes writes Glossic *r*, which means decidedly trilled (r). Curiously enough the Glossic *r* occurs chiefly, not always, at the end of words. It will be sufficient to write (r) as in D

22, bearing in mind that it is possibly (r) when not before a vowel. But the (r) will be omitted or vocalised when CCR. so writes.

2. *we do know that, don't we?* (win noon) we do-en know-en, not only the verbal plural in -en, but the infinitive in -en; the last is very doubtful. The verbal pl. in -en is much more certain. We have it here (wi)n for (wi dan); in par. 7 (wat)en jo) what do-en you? and CCR. says the deliberate form (wat dan jo) may also be used. This greatly increases the M. character of Huddersfield speech.

3. *how-ever*, (éev) would have been the expected form for the first syllable, then (jéev) with the common prefixed (j), and finally the clipped form (jée). The representation of U and the corresponding lengthened U and French *ou* seems to vary. We have (0. daats, 3. jee naa, 6. níiv bíit, 9. gríand íes), doubts, how, now, now, without, ground, house, and (13. níiv-naa) in the reduplication now-now. Of my other Huddersfield informants, Mr. Dowse is indistinct, writing *naav, caav, haase, maas*, which may possibly all point to

(éev); Mr. Tomlinson gives *áance, háacumber*, ounce, cucumber, which also point to (éev); and Miss Hibbard has (ja', ta', név na', kév, ja'v), how, thou, now, cow, our, and (éev) in other U' words. CCR. considers (íiv) typical of Huddersfield and (éev) of Halifax.—*the matters*, the use of (th) for the def. art. as in La. seems prevalent in this variety, though (t') is most common to the e.—*hark you, now*.

5. *youngest*, sometimes (joq'is).—*father's*, obs. the omission of sign of the possessive.—*trust*, the dental (t d) were designedly omitted by CCR., who says "they are not a characteristic feature." But TH. heard them at Marsden, and so still in most words.

6. *she*, (uu) and not (shuu) as is used further to the e.

11. *yard* (jard), CCR. writes *glossie yur'd*, indicating a fully-trilled (r).

12. *thursday*, (thərsde) or (thorsde). CCR. writes the first with the same fully-trilled r' as in *yur'd*, but the second as untrilled *aur*. I cannot lay much store by the treatment of r, finding it so difficult to elicit.

14. *I'm going agatewards home*.

MARSDEN (7 SW.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1888 from the dict. of Mr. John Schofield (:skúf'íl), b. 1804, native and life-long resident, woollen weaver, then postman till 1888, and then retired; assisted by his sister, Mrs. Hill.

1. A)SE', ladz, jo s'ín ná'v et A)m RE'ít ebâ'et dhat lí't'l las kom'ín thrú)s' skú'íl jən də:r.

2. úu)z [ú)z] gú'ín dâ'ún th)rúv'd dhíer thrú'uu dhat red ject on th)left and saad v)th rúv'd.

3. síi jə, th)tjald)z gú'en st're'ít u_op tə)th raq â'vəs [â'as].

4. wə'r úu)l ap'n faud dhat ,dru_oqk'n díef wí'z'nd fɛlɛ et dhe kA¹l óud :təm.

5. wí A¹l noon ðm varí wíl.

6. wí'nt óud :təm sóm líern er tɛ maand bɛ't'ɛr th)ne'íst taam, púer las!

7. láuk ! ít)s dj_ost vɛ A thóut ít wad bíi.

Notes to Marsden dt.

1. *school*, the vowel written (u₁) was marked as between (u, o).

2. *down*, the first element of the diphthong in (dâ'ún) was marked as lying between (a', e) or doubly high (a).

3. *wrong house or door* (dâ'r, dâ'r), where (ɛ₁) lies between (ɛ, o).

Omitted words: 1. *so sa- súv way wee*. 3. *sure enough* sí'u'ər ðnu₁kh, [(u₁) between (u_o, o)]. 4. *name neem*. 6. *teach tɛ'ítj*.—*again* ɛgje'n.

UPPER CUMBERWORTH (6 se.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mrs. Ann Littlewood, b. 1824, native, and 26 years resident; here (u_c) and (n) were both heard.

1. A *see*, ladz, jə siin nâ'və A)m réit v̄bá'et dhat lit'l las ku_cm̄in thru)s)skóil jander.

2. shu)z gu)en dá'en)t' rúed dhier thruu)t' red' gjeet ən)t' left and saad v̄)t' rúed.

3. luuk! [sii!'] t' tjaald)z gu)en stre'it u_cp t̄)t' raq á'es,

4. wíer shu)l ap'n faand dhat druqk'n diuf wíz'nd óud felí et dhe kaal :təm.

5. wí aal noon ím v̄ári wiil.

6. wí'nt t' óud t̄ap sóm t̄éitj er n̄ot te du ít egien, p̄uer thiq'!

7. luuk! íz'nt ít tríuu?

Note. Words omitted: 2. *way* (*wec*).—3. *door* (*də'uər*).

HUDDERSFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD cwl.

For comparison characteristic words are here given for the following forms.

R CCR.'s es. for Huddersfield, merely a few principal words.

D Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Dowse, who had been 10 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted.

T Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Tomlinson.

H Words from the carefully numbered Huddersfield wl. by Miss Mercy Hibbard, who had lived there the first 18 years of her life.

B Holmfirth (5 s.Huddersfield) numbered wl. by Mr. Beardsell, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as the words could be interpreted, but the meaning of the numbers was probably not always rightly seized.

Mh Marsden (7 sw.Huddersfield) wn. by TH. in a special visit. The verbal pl. in -en frequent, and also in a printed specimen. Here (u_c) was heard.

Mb Marsden words from a wl. by the vicar, assisted by the schoolmaster, Mr. R. Bamford, here (u) is assumed.

S Saddleworth words from a wl. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted. As Saddleworth lies between Marsden and La., I have assumed the use of (u_c).

C Upper Cumberworth (6 se.Huddersfield) wn. by TH., here (u_c) was heard.

I. WESSEX AND NORSÉ.

A- 3 D béek. 4 HT tak. 5 HT mak. 7 H sak. 10 Mb eg [this in La.]. 12 B sag [this is quite La.]. 14 H droo. 16 H doon. 19 Mh teel. 20 DS léem, Mb. leem, S loom. 21 R neem, D néem. 23 D séem, Mb seem. 24 Mb sheem. 31 Mb lat. 32 Mb bad [especially in (went v̄ badin) went a bathing]. 35 H ool. 37 H kloo. A: 39 R kam, T kam. 40 H kúem. 42 Mh *u* n [unaccented, said three times by the same informant]. 49 R aq. 51 Mh mà'n, S m̄on. 54 T want. 56 RTS wesh. A: or O: 58 MhC thre. 60 HS baq. 61 TMh emaq, S em_cq. 62 Mh s̄t̄roq. 64 RDIT raq.

A'- 69 T nóv, Mh nec, H náv. 70 H táu. 72 H woo. 73 RH s̄úuv, T sóv. 76 DT túed. 77 H lúerd. 80 Mh a'hdì. 81 R leen, DHTB l'ín, C lón. 84 HTC múer. 85 HB s̄úer. 87 R tlúez, T klaaz. 88 HT kláudh. 89 RH b̄úeth 92 R noo. 97 H s̄ául.

A': 101 HMB úek. 102 R aks. 104 H ráud, Mh rúed. 106 HT brood, C brúed. 107 HB lúef. 108 HT doof, Mb dáuuf. 111 H oot. 113 R wol, Mb w̄el. 115 R w̄úem, HT w̄om, C w̄om. 117 Mh wa'n w̄on. 118 TMB

búen. 121 T gúen. 122 TMb núen. 129 T gúest. 130 T búut. 131 H gúet. 132 Mh wát'. 135 Mh tloth. 136 D aadhé. 137 R nodher, C noodher.

Æ- 138 R faadhe, T fadher. 144 RDT egiúen, Mh ege'in. 150 H liest. 152 T water, Mh water. Æ: 156 Mh dlád. 158 T etter. 161 R dee [in a printed Marsden specimen constantly *dee* (diú)]. 164 Mb mee. 172 T gæes. Æ'- 182 BMhMbC síe. 183 H tectt, B tēitt. 184 B lied. 185 H ried. 187 HB liév. 190 D kēi, H kee. 191 B iel. 192 HB míen. 193 HB klíen. 194 RHT oní, T oní. 195 DHTMh mōni. 197 H tjiéz, Mh tjiiz. 200 DH wíut. 201 B iadh'n. 202 HB íet. Æ': 216 Mh díel. 218 C ship. — Mh er a)m bak' [ere I'm back]. 223 RT dhíiv. 224 RT wíiv. 228 DH swíut.

E- 231 R th, Mh th, [and assimilate (s-seem) the same, (A mārkt t' mī,d'l) I marked the middle, the (i₁) was nearly (i), (et t' tōp') at the top]. 232 T brék. 233 RHT spék. 234 T néid. 235 HTB wéiv. 236 HT féiver. 241 Mh reen. 244 R wíil. 247 H wíam. 249 T wíier. 250 T swíier. 251 TMb méit, C me'it. E: — C re'ik [reach]. 261 R see. 262 C wee. 269 R -se'ln. 271 CMh tēl. E'- 291 R ii. 301 HT jəə. E': 305 T héi, H hee. 306 H cet. 311 Mh te'in. 312 R ív. 314 T jəəd.

EA- 317 Mb líi [to skin; but (*flee*) frighten]. 320 R kēu. EA: 321 H soo. 322 R lef, D laf. 323 T íóut. 326 RHT óud, Mh óld. 328 HTMb kóud. 332 C tēld. 333 Mb kool. 334 Mb óof. 335 HTMb ool. 336 HT fool. 337 HT wool. 338 RH kool. 340 H jéud, MhMb j'e'rd. 342 T éurm, H a'rm. 343 TMb waarm, H waarm. 345 HTMb daar. 346 D jat. EA'- — Mh JAA [yea]. 347 HT jed. 348 D ii. 349 RH íiu, C fə'uu. EA': 350 HT díed, Mh díed. 351 T lied. 353 HTC bríed. 355 HT díef. 359 R neeber. — Mh bíam [beam]. 360 Mh tíem. 361 T bíen. 363 T tjiép. 366 RH gret, T gəət. 367 H thriut. 368 HT díeth. 370 H roo, B rec. 371 B stríe.

EI- 372 Mh âúí. EO- 387 R níu. EO: 388 C mǫlk. 392 R jon. 394 Mh jōnd'ér. 396 T waak. 397 T súprd. 399 R bróit, T bríit. 402 HTB líern. 405 Mb aarsten [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 RS uu, D huu shuu. 412 DH shuu. 417 H tjiú. 420 H fáur, Mh fōúr. H fōti. EO': 424 H raf. 425 DHTB líit. 426 DTB íeit. 435 RD joo. 436 H tríu. EY- 438 RDH díi. EY: 439 R trust.

I- 444 HT stíil [and] staal. 446 R nóin, H naan. — C ju_os' [yes]. — C pe'iz [pease]. 449 Mh gjer)u_op' [get up]. 451 H séu. I: 452 D ó'i, H a, Mb a. 457 T maat. 458 DHTMhMb níit. 459 D raat, T réit, H reet, Mh re'it. 461 Mh líit [in the sense of meet with]. 462 TMb síit, H saat. 465 C sítp. 466 TMb tjaald, H tjal. 467 H wald. 468 M tjal'd'ér. 475 T waand, H waand. 479 TMb waand. — Mh ru_n [run]. 487 justede. C ju_os'terdí. — Mh ma'íst ma'ísti [mist, misty]. I - — Mh baad [bide]. 492 Mh saad. 493 T draav. 494 R tóim tóim, D t'ím, TMh taam, H taam, C taam. 495 R wóin. — rAAZ [to rise]. I': 500 R lóik, T laak, H laek. 501 T waad, H waad. 502 TMh íaav. 504 T naat, B n'at. 505 D w'at. 506 R wamun. 508 T maal, H maad, B m'el. 509 TMb waal, H waad, B w'el. 510 R móin, Mh maan. 517 H jú.

O- 522 H óp'n. 523 H wəp. O: — Mh fag [fog]. 527 HB ba'ut. 528 H th'ut. 529 HB bra'ut. 531 RDB dóuter, H dá'uter, Mh dóu't'ér. 532 H kóil. 533 H d'el. 534 RH óil, Mh óil. 538 H wəd. 547 H búed, Mh búerdz. 550 R wəd. O'- 558 H huuk. 559 H mōder. 562 DH móin, Mh mūin. 564 HMh sūin [B, by some error probably, writes (s'y'in), and so for 571, 588, 589, etc.]. 565 H náez. 566 H udhe, Mh u_odher. O': 569 H huuk. 570 H tuuk. 571 R góid, H gúid. 578 H plé. 579 R enaf. 581 HB sa'ut. 584 H stúil. 586 Mh d'ən [=do-en, v. pl. in -en]. 587 RH d'ən. 588 DHT núin, C nôin. 589 DHT spúin. 590 H flúer. 593 [Mh mu_on used]. 594 H búit. 595 DH íúit. 596 DHT ráit. 597 DH sáit.

U- 599 ebuun. 600 HB luv. 601 D íeal. 602 H sév. 603 H kām, Mh kām [past part.]. 604 R samer. 605 RH s'əm. 606 RH d'ær, C da'uer. 607 H b'ater. C bu_ot'ér. U: 608 H ugli. — C shúlder [shoulder]. 612 H sam, Mh su_om. 613 H drauk. 614 H éend. 615 H péend. 616 R gríevnd,

DH gréund. 617 H séund. — Mh bâun [boun = going to; (bâin), a regular alteration of (bâun), was got from Stainland (4 s-by-w. Halifax), as also (kjâi) cow]. 619 H iun. 622 H under. 629 H san. 632 R up, Mh ucp. 634 R thro. 639 H dust. U'- [U', C = â'v]. 641 H ja'. 642 H ta', Mh dha. 643 R naa n'iu, D naa née, H née na'. 645 H dav. 648 H ja'er, Mh jaar [(uz neemz) our names], C jiar. 650 Mh abá'at. 651 R bí'at, Mh bá'at. U': 655 H féel. 657 H bréun. 658 R d'ûun, H déun, S diun [? see 659]. 659 H téun, S tíun [? TH. heard (ta'um), and says Saddleworth resembles Stalybridge, p. 317]. 661 Hmb shéur. 663 R iies, DH ées, Mh á'izez [houses], Mb ées [in Mb U' is always (éy)], S éus, C jia's. 664 H léus. 665 DH méus. 666 H usbund. 667 H éet, Mb jéet [printed specimen has (jaat)]. 668 H préud. 671 H méeth. 672 H séeth.

Y- TC m'itj. 675 R drói. 676 T lii. 677 T draa. 679 H kaetj. 682 Mh lâit [a few], C laat. Y: 685 T brig. 686 T baa. 690 Tmb kaand. 691 Tmb maand. — C shut [shut]. Y'- 705 T skaa, B skj'e. 706 R wói, T waa. Y': 709 T iaar. 711 T laas. 712 T maas.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 H bold. 726 R took. — C pteetiz [potatoes]. E. 743 H skriem. 744 H mas'iz. 745 H t'jint. I. and Y. 756 Mh sri'imp. 758 Mh gerl [but (wensh) used]. O. 761 DH lúud. 785 H léendj. 790 H géen. 791 Mh hòi. U. 794 H dug. 797 sk'eeekin. 798 R kwier. 803 H djamp. 804 R drafen. 806 H fas. 807 H pas. 808 H put.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 Mh plès. 813 C beek'n. 835 R reez'n. 836 Mh siezen. 840 Mh t'ember. 864 R bikors. 865 H folt. E.. 867 Hmb tie. 885 Mh veri vari. 888 R saaten. 889 H sius. 890 T bius. 891 HT fiust. 892 H nefi. 894 H disiev. I.. and Y.. 897 H dilaat. 898 H naas. 901† R foin, H faan. 902 H maan. 903 H daan. 905 H raat. 908 H edvaas. 909 H briuz. 912 H raaz. O.. 913 H kuetj. — C b'it [beef]. 915 H staf. 917 H rúug. 920 R póint. 923* Mh móist. 928 T éens. 929 HT kéekombur. 938 R kóoen. 939 RC flóis, H klús. — Mh raast [roast], C róst. — Mh táust [toast]. 940 HT kó'it. 941 HR fóil, DHT fúil. 943 H tatj. — Mh tórn ta'orn [turn]. 952 H kús. 955 R daat, H déet. 956 H kavé. U.. 961 H griuel. 963 H kwaut. 969 H siuer. 970 H djuust.

VAR. ii. HALIFAX AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

An examination of the interlinear es. (pp. 367-377) will shew that the difference between Var. i. and ii. is very small, and this difference is rendered smaller by CCR.'s statement that there are two varieties at Halifax, the one given in the es. and the other with (iu) for U', as (iu, ab'ut, d'ûun, i'ut, r'und, b'ân, i'us, f'ul, fl'uez, s'und, th'uzen, th'iu, k'rud), how, about, down, out, round Fr., boun = going, house, foul, flowers Fr., sound, thousand, though (EA'), crowd (EO'), and even (k'iu) cow. CCR. finds the same in Lower Nidderdale, Yo. (N. div.), but there it does not extend to cow. Now this (iu), in the form (iu), was taken by CCR. as the principal characteristic of Huddersfield, where we found Miss Hibbard recognised (éu) only. That is, the same two forms of U', (iu) with (iu), and (éu), itself a form of (éu), occur both in Huddersfield and Halifax, and in both places (iu) or (iu) is supposed to be the older, while in both places (éu) is the present dominant form. CCR., however, says he has "often listened to the well-mouthed distinctions" (iu) Huddersfield, (éu) Halifax, "in the company of clothiers from the respective

districts." TH., in the Elland dt. on p. 384, has (naa, ubaat, daan), now, about, down, but (*saad, faand*), side, find.

In Halifax, however, this (év) often sinks to (ee), as (*been*) boom, going, a usage according to CCR. occ. at Keighley, but prevalent at Halifax and Dewsbury, and also at Barnsley, hence it is chiefly a difference from Huddersfield and a very slight one. On the other hand, (év) appears in many places where it would not have been expected, especially in I', (téemz) times, which, however, CCR. says varies with the Huddersfield (tóemz); but the Fr. fine becomes (fáin) apparently, and from Ripponden (5 sw. Halifax) TH. got (fáiv máil) five mile. We have also EA (léef) laugh, and (béedli) badly, a Celtic word.

On the differences of (o, o) it is needless to dwell, they may be merely an accident of writing or memory. But the important point is, according to CCR., the absence of the verbal pl. in -en, which, however, appears, possibly in error, p. 372, l. 2 (wat)en), see notes. Though the expression *yau naun*, you know, which occurs in the letter of 1759 cited below, may shew that it formerly existed. The definite article in this cs. varies as (th, t'), but (t') is rare and (th) the usual form.

The feminine *she* is always rendered (uu) by CCR. in Huddersfield, where Miss Hibbard only recognises (shuu), which in Halifax CCR. allows to alternate with (uu). The form (uu) is certainly dying out, and (shuu), which is characteristic of D 24, is becoming prevalent.

Mr. J. C. Clough, formerly of Aspatia, Cu., lent me some extracts from J. Crabtree's "History of Halifax," 1836, in which are two letters in the Halifax dialect, the first dated 14 Mar. 1759, and the second supposed to be in answer to it. The spelling by no means gives the sound with certainty, but from it I have made a short cwl., giving the original spelling in italics, words in the second letter having * prefixed, and then my interpretation in pal.

HALIFAX cwl. from CRABTREE.

A'- 81 *loin* lóin. 92 *nau* noo. Æ- 143 *teil* téil. Æ'- 194 *onne* oní. 195 *monne* moní. 198 *laate* lét. Æ': *deol* diel. 223 *aucto* éurtur [thereto, in addition]. E- *sware* sweer. E: 261 *sei* séi. 263 *awei* ewéi. E': 316 **neist* néist. EA- 317 *fleid* fléid [frightened]. EA' 366 *grat* grat. EO: 396 *wurk* wark. EO': 435 *yaw* yoo. I'- 440 *wik* wik. 459 *reight* réit. 465 *sitch* sitj. 477 *foend* fóend. I'- 492 *besaed* biséud [beside]. I: 500 *luck* léuk. 505 *wocf* wóef. 509 *woel* wóel. O- 518 *bodde* bodi. — *coyt* kóit [cote, shed]. O: 538 *wold* wuld. O'- 564 **soyn* sóin. O': 571 *gooid* gúid. 586 *duo* duu. U: 614 *haend* éend. U'- 648 *aacr* éer. 650 *abaet* ebéet, **abert* ebáut. U': 657 *braaen* bréen. 663 **heus* híus. 667 *aact* ét, **ewt* iut. Y- 673 *mitch* mítj. Y'- — *praed* préud [pride]. O. — *loize* lóiz, *laaeze* léus [lose]. E.. 885 *vorre* vari. — *porson* pAAS'n [parson]. — *ures* éerz [hours]. I.. — *ero* kroo [cry, for (krôv)]. — *obleege* oblii-dj. O.. *fooil* fúil.

If my interpretation is correct, these letters confirm CCR.'s account of the pronunciation with (íu) as an older form of (év).

With regard to the relationship between Halifax speech and Friesian, as intimated in the couplet prevalent at Halifax, which has its counterpart in the Friesian districts of Holland, see Part IV. pp. 1397-1405, where it is fully exemplified.

It is seen that the difference between Halifax and Huddersfield, and between both and the e. parts of D 22, especially when the (uu) she and verbal pl. in *-en* are admitted, is extremely minute. There may be more difference in vocabulary and intonation, which I have not investigated, and as CCR considers Halifax to be independent of, although much resembling Huddersfield, and to have influenced Var. iv. Bradford, and Var. vi. Dewsbury, it seems better to retain it as a separate variety. But for some time I included both Huddersfield and Halifax in the e. of D 22.

ELLAND (3 sse.Halifax) dt.

pal. 1887 by TH. from J. T. Lee, 11, Almshouses, Halifax.

1. A' see, lãdz, ju sii naa et Δ)m rE'it ubaat dhat lit'l las kom'ın thre)t skù'l jãnder.
2. shu)z gu'ın daan t' rãd, thruu t')red gee,t, ɔn)t' left and saad v th) wee₁.
3. sii jãnder, t')lit'l thi'q)z gA'n stre'it up tE)t' raq dũer.
4. wier shù mee)bi faand dhat druk'n dief i'l-thriv'n fele et dhe kaal :tɔm.
5. wi aal noo ìm wE'l.
6. wi'nt t')ô'ud màn sũin tE'itj er nət tE du)it egien, pũer las!
7. huk! iz'nt it tr'ıuu?

Words omitted: 3. *ınaf, tjaald, óus.* 4. *tjans, neem.*

Notes to Halifax es., No. ii on p. 367.

2. *should*, the forms, emphatic (*wald suld kuld*) and unemphatic (*weld, suld, kuld*), are, says CCR., "mostly employed in the populous old clothing villages between Halifax and Keighley."—*is it now?*

3. *matters*, when *fact* is used, it is called (*téekkt*).

4. *through—from*, the word (*thru, thro*) seems used in both senses; in par. 11 it is (*thru*) for from; probably the exact vowel varies at different times, without distinguishing the meaning except by the context.

7. *what* (*ɔt*) used as relative, CCR

supposes the common relative (*et*) to be an unemphatic form of *what*.—*she*, (*shuu*) the common s.Yo. form, see p. 296.—*about* (*béect*) which is used for *without* in par. 6 and 15, pp. 371, 377.

7. *I conceit*, imagine.—*wrong*, (*req*) or (*raq*).—*what do-n you think*, as this is the only instance given of the verbal pl. in *-en* in this Halifax es., it may have been a slip of CCR.'s, who may have intended (*wat*)v jo thi'k?) what do you think?

13. *at* (*or under*) *the head of that business*, concerning it.

VAR. iii. KEIGHLEY.

This differs materially from the last two. *She* is now represented by (*shuu*) emphatic, and (*shu, sho, shu*) unemphatic, (*uu*) has quite disappeared. There is no verbal pl. in *-en*. The definite article

is still occasionally (th), which CCR. has traced even into the N. div., but so sparingly that it is not generally acknowledged in print. The prevailing and only recognised form is (t'). Another N. sign, if CCR. has remembered correctly, is *I is*, not exclusively, but mingled with *I am*. *I* is usually (ó*i*), but (á*i*) is also heard. *O'* is very frequently (ú*i*), but a sound which JGG., writing from Mrs. Foster's dictation, records as (éù) or (íù) in ewl. p. 388, Nos. 558, 570, may be meant for the (ə'u) of D 21, 22, 25. JGG. also occasionally hears (ú*i*u) (ibid. No. 569), so that the representation of *O'* is uncertain. *U'* is chiefly (aa), but CCR. heard especially (dén, éus) down, house, where JGG. got (dálun, á'us). Mr. Brigg gives (aa) in many cases, and in others contents himself by saying 'not (nu),' thus separating it from the N. Riding of Yo. JGG.'s (á'u), obtained through Mrs. Foster, a native, is distinctly an approach to the pron. of m.Craven (Skipton, etc.), where (áu) prevails. This is the first form in which we become independent of La.; but it is not till Var. iv. is reached, that we obtain genuine s.Yo. culminating in Var. v. Leeds.

CCR. does not notice dental (t_r), but JGG. heard it from Mrs. F., who, however, might have acquired it during her n. residence, to which also her (e₁, íi, úi_u) may be attributed. JGG. heard U: as (o¹), which differs scarcely perceptibly from (u₁). As for the differences (AA oo, o ə, oo oo) I lay very little store by them. In no case are they consistently carried out, and in no case can I feel sure of the correctness of appreciation, which is at all times very difficult, and which it generally requires a very careful study of native dialect speakers to determine at all.

TH. obtained in 1887 some fragments of a cs. from a native of Keighley, a machine fitter, b. 1859. As this is quite independent of CCR., I annex it here interlinearly with CCR.'s writing of the same passages.

TH (4) a)m síner vt a ierld em see —dhat a did síner inif.
CCR o)m síur vt o j₁rd em séev—dhat o did síur inif.

TH (6) vt t' óud wumen ɛsɛ:ln teld ʒe (7) túethri táimz óuer
CCR vt th)óud wumen ɛsɛ:ln teld ʒe túethri tóimz óuer

TH (8) vt shə fan' d_ruk'n bíst, (7) wat de ʒe thiɔk? (9) shə
CCR vt sho fan)t' d_ruk'n bíst wat de ʒoo thiɔk? sho

TH sAA im wídh ɛr AAŋ iim líg'n daan ən t' grʌnd tlóis bi)t' aas'
CCR soo im wi ɛr óoun iim líg'n déen ɛ)t' grʌnd tlóis bi)t' éus

TH dúer ôil. (13) ɛn de ʒe nAA? (11) dhat dhíer ap'nd
CCR dúer óil. ɛn nóœz)te nœbet? dhat dhíer ap'nd

TH ɛs)t' óud wumen ɛn ɛr dóuter i lAA kʌm thruu)t' bak jàrd
CCR ɛz)th dóuter i loo ɛn ɛrsɛn kuum thru)t' bak jéed

TH frv iq̄in)t' wɛt tlûez aat tɛ dráí ɔn t' wɛsh̄in dɛv. (1) ûv
 CCR free eq̄in)t' wit tlûez aat fɛ tɛ dráí ɔn v wɛsh̄in dɛév. wúv

TH kʃɛ'vɛrz? (14) A)m baan óem tɛ mɪ sʌpɛr.
 CCR kéevz? âi)z béev vgeéstɛdz úvem tɛ get mɪ sʌpɛr,

TH gùd nít.
 CCR lóik, góid níit.

Notes to Keighley es. on p. 367.

2. *we-do-en know* (wɪn nóov), if this is correct, it implies the expiring use of the verbal pl. in *-en*: it is probably a mere slip for (wɪ nóov) we know.—*like*, the pron. (lâk) is also prevalent, and CCR. so wrote it at first, here, but not in par. 10.

3. *hold thou* (óuds)tɛ, literally hold-est thou.—*while*, for *until*, as usual in the N., though used properly in the S. sense in par. 12.

8. *as to how* (s)tʃaa.—*beast* (bívɛs), this is usually the plural form.—*I shall be bound* (âi)z bi), this is common in the regions of *I'm*, and it could not here stand for *I is*, the common N. form, but see below, par. 14.

9. *threaped*, CCR. in his Leeds Glossary makes this word entirely equivalent to *swore*, as in the phrase (i)z aales thriépin vgeén t'oon v t)adhɛr ɔn ɛm), he's always swearing against the one or the other of them; but Wright gives two words, *threpe*, to speak, to shout, to maintain in contradiction to another, and *threap* to urge, to beat, to cozen or cheat. It is often used for 'to talk down,' to asseverate.—*bulk* (bu₁k), even in the S. (*bulk*), may be heard.—*good coat* (góid kóit), the latter originally written (kaa'it).—*house, door, hole, down*, observe (éevs, dɛvɛn), where (aas daan) is given by Mr. Brigg (see *ewl.*). CCR. says that he never heard anything else but (éevs, dɛvɛn) from the lips of old clothiers, but that these forms are not invariable. An observant native, who is not a dialect speaker, would, says CCR., from hearing, write such words as *down, town, how, house, ground, time, no*, as *dahn, tahn, haa, hause, grund, time, noa*, meaning (daan, taan,

éev, grund, táim, náuv); in *time* he would have no appreciation of the diphthong. CCR. thinks (éev) its most characteristic form, and says it was in general use at Keighley within his own knowledge. TH. (see p. 385, l. 6 from bottom) heard (daan).

10. *in ark*, "peevish state of temper," also a "maggot," in rec. sp. *maggot* is used as a whim or caprice.

11. *yard* (jévd), CCR. says that this (év) in *yard, day, name, prate*, being also used for U', does indeed conflict to the eye, but nothing more. "A Keighley man could not utter the words indicated, bereft of his (éev, év)." But TH. heard (jaa rd).—*to dry*, this particular word as (âi) and not (ôi). CCR. says this exceptional sound has often arrested his attention.

12. *so lately a week*, for 'so lately as a week,' a local idiom.

13. *mak*, make or kind—*there but-as now*, a peculiar local expression.

14. *I is boun*, I am going. The peculiarity is in the use of *I is* (âi)z, which generally occurs only and regularly in the N. div. in place of I am. CCR. here mixes *I am, I is*, in the same border dialect, and he does so likewise at Skipton, in Mid Craven, which is quite in the N. div. He says that he has "repeatedly heard these forms and seen them in the dialect tracts which some years ago were issued by the local press," and that he has subsequently verified their existence with an intelligent young farmer.—*doest thou hear* (s)t' úv), a mere colloquial contraction.

15. *thou art* (dha)t), contracted with the vowel short.

KEIGHLEY cwl.

made up from

R CCR.'s es., only a few words being extracted.

F Mrs. Foster's wl. as pal. from dict. by JGG. Mrs. Foster was a native who had known the dialect 40 years, but at the time the wl. was taken down, had been living some years in Cu. and We. She used no (h) or (wh), but her (r) was distinct where written. There are several small niceties that CCR does not note, such as (e₁) nearly (ɛ) for e, occasional (íi) for (ii) and dental (t_r, d_r). This wl. comprised only the first division or Ws. words.

B Mr. B. Septimus Brigg's wl. Mr. B. is a native, and sent me a complete wl. in his own orthography, which I interpret as I best can. His information applies to the town of Keighley and valley of the Aire as far as Bradford.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 B beek béek. 4 B tak. 5 RB mak, F ma_k. 7 B seek séek. 10 F eeg, B eeg. 12 B seeg. 13 B neeg. 17 R loo, F laa. 19 FB teel. 20 F leem, B leem. 21 R néem, F néum, B neem. 24 F shce_m, B sheem. 31 B lat. 32 B beed. 33 B reedher. 36 F thaa. A: 39 B kəm. 49 R eq. 51 F ma_n. 54 RFB want. 56 RB wesh, F wa¹sh we₁sh. A: or O: 58 R free free, F free, B fre. 60 FB loq. 61 B emoq. 64 R raq, F ra₁q, B req. A'- 67 F goo. 69 FB nóu. 70 F too. 72 R wúv, F uu. 73 R súuv, F soo. 74 F túu. 77 F lórd. 79 R óom. 81 RB lóin. 82 R wa₁ns. 83 F moon. 85 F sóer. 86 FB óouts. 87 R tháuvz, F klóuvz [B (dɔdz) used]. 89 R báuth, F hóoeth. 91 F moo. 92 R nóov, B naa¹v. 93 F snoo. 94 B kraa. 95 B thraa. 98 B naa¹un. A': 101 F ook, B óuk. 104 FB róoud. 105 F rec₁d. 106 B bróoud. 107 F loof, B lóvf. 108 doof. 111 FB óut. 112 B ool. 113 R wúvl, F oovl. 115 R úuvm, F oom, B óoovm. 118 F boon, B bóen. 122 F noon, B nóvn [and (noon) when meaning *not*]. 124 F stoon, B stóvn. 127 F óous. 130 B bóout. 131 B góoet. 137 R náudher.

Æ- 138 F fádv_r, B fadh_r. 140 B eel. 141 B néel. 142 F snee₁vl, B sneel. 143 F tee₁vl, B téel. 147 B bré₁vn. 150 B liest. 152 F wa₁v_r, B water. Æ: 158 F afte_r. 160 F eg. 161 R déev, F dee₁. 164 F mee₁. 172 F gæovs. 174 B esh. 180 B báth [(æ) very short]. 181 B páth [(æ) very short]. Æ'- 182 F síi¹v, B síi_v. 183 F tíit_t, B téit_t. 184 B líed. 185 F ríid. 187 B líev. 189 F wée₁i. 190 F kée₁i, B kée_v. 193 F klí¹vn, B klí_{vn}. 194 B oni. 195 FB moni. 197 F tjé₁nz. 199 B blíet. Æ': 210 F klee₁, B klée_v. 213 F ee₁dher. 216 B déel. 223 RB dhíer. 224 RB wíer. 227 F wet. 229 B bríi¹eth.

E- 233 R spék, F spée₁ik. 235 B wéiv. 236 B téiver. 239 B séil. 241 B réev. 243 [B (leek) used]. 248 B míer. 249 B wíer. 250 B swíer. 251 B m'et. E: 265 R stréit. 284 B thresh. E': 306 B ét. 314 R íi¹ed, B íi_{ed}. 315 B íit.

EA- 320 F kee₁er. EA: 322 RFB laf. 323 FB fóut. 324 F ée₁it. 326 R óud, FB óud. 327 F bóuld, B bóuld. 328 FB kóud. 330 F od. 333 F kaaf, B kaav. 334 F aa¹t, B aav. 335 R óov, F aal. 337 F waal. 340 R jéud, F jéov_d. 342 F aarm. 343 F waarm. 345 FB da₁r. 346 F íit géet, B géet. EA'- 347 B íi¹ed. 348 B íi. EA': 350 B díi¹ed. 351 B líi¹ed. 352 B ríi¹ed. 353 B bríi¹ed. 355 B dévf. 360 B tíem. 361 B bíen. 363 B tjé₁p. 366 R gæat. 367 B thríet. 368 B déeth. EI: 377 B stéek. 378 F wee₁k.

EO- 387 F nénu. EO: 395 R juq. 396 B waark. 397 F síi₁er_d. 399 B bríit. 402 RB lí¹vn. 405 B aarth. EO'- 412 R shuu shu shó shu [the first emphatic, the others unemphatic], B shuu. 413 B díi¹vl. 420 B fóver. EO': 423 B thii. 424 B ráf. 425 F léi¹t, B líit. 426 F fa¹it, B féit. 432 B fóv¹th. 433 B bríst. 434 B bíet. EY- 438 RFB díi. EY: 439 R trust, F t_ru₁st.

I- 440 B wík. 444 B stíil. 446 R nóvn, F náain. 451 F sa¹u_v.

I: 452 R o, a [interchangeably]. 458 RB niit. 459 F ræ'it, B réit. 461 B lit. 462 B siit. 465 R setjen, B setj. 473 B blind [the short (i) in these and following words is quite N.] 474 B rind. 475 B wind. 477 B find. 479 B wind. 485 B thysel. I'- 498 B róit. I': 500 RB lóik. 501 B wóid. 508 F máaíl, B móil. 509 R wal, B wóil. 510 R móoin.

O- 522 B op'n. O: 527 F bóut. 528 F thóut. 529 F bróut. 531 R dóuter. 532 FB kóil. 534 RB óil. 541 R wíjnt. 553 F ooren. O'- 555 F shuu [pl. (shuuz)], B [pl. shuum]. 558 F léik, B líik. 560 F skúil. 562 FB móin. 563 F mónde. 564 FB súin. O': 569 F búuk. 570 F tíuk, B tíik. 571 R góid, B gúid. 572 FB blúid. 573 F flúid. 574 FB brúid. 575 F stúud. 577 F bóu, B buu. 578 B pluu. 579 RB ini'f. 580 B tóf. 581 F sóut. 582 B kúil. 583 F túil tuul. 584 FB stúil. 588 R nóin, FB núin. 589 FB spáin. 590 F flúquer. 594 FB búit. 595 FB fúit. 596 FB rúit. 597 FB sáit.

U- 600 B huuv. 606 F dáquer. U: 610 B wul. 612 F suum. 616 RB grund. 635 F wææorth. U'- 641 R aa. 642 F dhá'u. 643 R naa, F ná'u. 645 F dáv. 648 F óur á'ur. 650 R béut. 651 R béut [obs. this is the same as 650]. U': 656 B raam. 657 B braam. 658 R déen, F dá'en, B daan. 659 B taan. 663 R éeus, F á'us, B aas. 664 B laas. 667 RB aat. 672 F sá'uth.

Y- 673 RB mítp. 675 R dráai. 682 R lítel. Y: 684 B brig. 685 B rig. 688 F búild. 700 B waar. 701 F fææorst. Y'- 705 B skii, skói.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 B dréén. 730 B kónter. 742 B leezi. O. 761 F líu'ed, B lóoud. 767 [B uses (dín)]. 769 B móudiwaarp. U. 804 R druk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 B fees. 811 B plees. 813 B beek'n. 817 B redish. 824 B tíier. 838 B tríut. 841 B tions. 847 B deendjer. 848 B tjeendj. 849 B streendjer. 850 B dóns. 852 B aprun. 857 R kéeus. 860 B pceet. 863 B tjaaf. E.. 867 F tí'v, B tív. 869 B víuel. 885 R vari. I.. and Y.. 901 R fóin. 902 B móin. O.. 920 R póint. 925 R róis. 939 R tlóis, B klóis. 940 RB kóit. 941 R fóil, B fúil. 947 R bóidin. 953 B kuzin. 954 B wishen. 955 R daat. U.. 963 R kwéut.

VAR. iv. BRADFORD.

There is a decided difficulty in assigning the phonetic characteristics of this variety, as distinct from the preceding or following. U' according to CCR. has two distinct sounds, never confused, (aa, éeu), but the last in only a limited set of words, which he does not give; in the es., however, I find (daat naa daan baat), doubt Fr. now down without, and (gréeend béen éus), ground U, boum = going, house.

Now B. Preston, the Bradford poet, uses *daht abaht ar aght abaght* doubt about our out about, but *aance baancing taan haase maase graand daan* ounce bouncing town house mouse ground down, and he makes *shaat abaght* shout about rhyme, and also *abaght aht aat* about out. CCR. wrote to him to know if he meant different sounds by *ah agh aa*. In reply, in March, 1882, he wrote: "There are I think no rules for the guidance of dialect writers. Each one does what seems good in his own eyes. Take for instance the two words *grand* and *sand*," meaning (grand sand), not the London (grand send), "and by lengthening the sound of the vowel as in the interjection *oh!* you get the two dialect words for *ground* and *sound*." That is (graand saand). "This long sound of the vowel occurs in *ah* and *abaght*, and we sometimes introduce the *h* and at other times double the *a*, but in either case the sound is the same." In this case U' is

always (aa), and there is no recognition of a peculiar set of words with (éee) as CCR. believes. But Mr. Preston sometimes uses *aa* for (éee), as in *fauus* (féees) face, *laakin* (léekîn) playing, *staat* (stéet) state, *fraum* (fréem) frame, *saam* (séem) seam.

From the notes it will be seen that there are some turns of phrase, and probably words, which are peculiar to this variety, but phonetically I am unable to separate it from Vars. iii. and v.

Subsequently I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of Dr. J. Wright (now of the Taylorian Institute, Oxford), a native of Windhill in the township of Idle and parish of Shipley, lying between Shipley and Bradford, who spoke the dialect in his youth and is still remarkably well up to it, while his philological knowledge, acquired during a long residence in Germany, gives him great advantages in such studies. His dialect is only a variety of that of Bradford, but there are a few slight differences.

With regard to the vexed question of the representation of U, he was absolutely unacquainted with (*u*_o) and his (*u*) was at times very deep, like (*u*₁, *o*¹). He thinks there must be a mistake in assigning to Manningham (p. 365, No. 4) any other form but (*u*). His short *o* was distinctly (*o*), not (*o*). He dictated to me a dt. and the greater part of a cwl. The words of the latter have been annexed to the Bradford words of B. Preston below, the dt. follows. The vowel system which he recognised is given at the end of the notes on his dt., p. 390.

WINDHILL (3 n. Bradford) dt.

pal. in 1888 by AJE. from the dict. of Dr. Joseph Wright, native. Windhill is a hamlet in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley.

1. *súv ái sév, méets, ʒv síi naa, vt i)m i)t' réit vbaat dhàt l'it' las, kumín frv)t' skúil jander.*

2. *shu)z gv'in daan)t' rúvd dhíer thrii)t' red géet v)t' left and saíd v)t' wév.*

3. *síuer inif t' baarn)z v gvén stréit up tv)t' req aas,*

4. *wíer shu)l tjons tv fínd dhat drak'n díef wiz'nd felv v)t' néem v :tamus.*

5. *wi' óel nóv im vari wiil.*

6. *wíent t' óoud tjap súin teetj vr net tv díu)t' egíen, púer thiq !*

7. *líuk ! iz'nt it tríu ?*

Notes to Windhill dt.

1. *so*, in all the (*úv*) fractures the (*u*) was deep.—*I* (*ái*) accented, (*a*, *i*) unaccented, the (*i*) considered as (*i*).—*say*, in all the (*éé*) fractures the (*e*) was deep, but not equal to (*é*), so I have left (*e*).—*mates*, the word is common.—*that I'm in the right*, this is the phrase, not *I'm right*. Obs. the (*i*) unaccented form.—*coming* always with (*u*) and not (*a*) in this word.—*yonder*, no dental (*dv,r*).

2. *road there*, the *r* is gentle, apparently (*r*), but sensible even when final.—*red*, I have left (*e*) as I could not hear (*é*) with any certainty.—*way*, might be used here.

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not known.—*up*, here, perhaps owing to the (*p*), the (*u*) was very deep, quite (*u,p*).—*wrong*, here I think the (*e*) became quite (*é*); it appears that (*-oq*) becomes regularly (*-Éq*).

4. *chance*, and similarly (dɔns) dance. — *wizened*, initial (shr-) is used, but not the word 'shrivelled.'

5. *all*, possibly (A'ɛl), but I thought (óul) was nearest, Dr. W. recognised (ó'el). — *know him* (nó'im), the (v) omitted when the two words are spoken close together.

6. *old*, possibly (óud) only, the first element probably lengthened in dictating, Dr. W. recognised (ó'ud), and generally used (o) when I thought he said (ó).

Dr. W. recognised in his dialect 6 *short vowels* in *wick* (= quick, alive), *get*, *late*, *frozen*, *kiss*, *but* (wik, get,

lat, fróz'n, kus, bed), the last word only unemphatic; 4 *long vowels* in *night*, *house*, *above*, *grin* (niit, aas, ɛbuun, græn), of these (um) occurs only in *above*, *shovel*, *wool* (ɛbuun, shuul, wuul), not in 'gum' of the teeth see p. 393 after No. 560; and 12 *diphthongs* including fractures in *head*, *name*, *eat*, *mine*, *old*, *talk*, *home*, *barn*, *deu*, *do doom*, *foot*, *coal* (iəd, néum, éit, máin, ó'ud, tó'ek, óem, báen, dá'u, díu díum, fóit, kó'il), corresponding to Ws. EA', A-, E-, I', EAL, A', EA, EA'W, O', O respectively. These relations are best shewn in the following Bradford and Windhill cwl., p. 391.

CALVERLEY (:ka'vɛlə) (4 ne.Bradford and 6 wwv.Leeds) dt.

pal. in 1887 by TH. from B. Hall, newsagent, b. 1845, absent from Calverley for 4 years only. This should be specially compared with the Windhill dt., p. 389.

1. *ái* see, ladz, ɽ sɛi naa ɛt ái)m re'ít ɛbaat dhat lí't'l las kum'in thrɛ)t' skú'il ɽn dɛr.

2. shu)z gù'n daan t' róed dhíer thrɛu)t' rɛd gjêrt ɔn)t' left and sáid.

3. ái)l bi' eqd, t' bàrn)z góen stre'ít up tɛ)t' rɑ'q dúer [às],

4. wíer shu)l ap'n fínd dhat ɽrɛk'n díef af'ld óud tɽap, ɛt dhe kaal :tɔm.

5. wí aal naa ím varí wíil.

6. wíent [wí'ɛt] t' óud [tɽap] sóin tɛ'ítɽ ɛr nɔt tɛ díu ít ɛgíen, píur bàrn!

7. lá'uk! ízn't ít trɛ'óu?

Notes to Calverley dt.

1. *school*, but *hole*, *coal*, *coat* (ôil, kôil, kôit), and (skôil) was also heard.

2. *down*, also *room* (raam), the U' asserting itself. — *way* is (wêe). — *through*, the (ɑ'u) inclined to (óu).

3. *I'll be hanged for sure enough* (súer iní').

4. *shrivelled* not used, but (shr-) pron. as (shrímps, shróud), the last probably an error for (shraad).

6. *soon*, at another time it was dictated (súin), the long O' becoming (úí), the short O becoming (ôí).

7. *look*, the (ɑ'u) inclined to (óu).

Notes to Bradford es., p. 367.

0. *no*, two forms of the negative (náv, nóu) occur systematically in this variety, and are casually heard in the neighbouring localities and up to Dewsbury, Var. vi.

1. *too* (tíu). — *like* = as it were, a constant qualification of any statement. — *news* (néevz), CCR. first wrote (ne'u) here, and in par. 2 *few*, and seems to think it more correct for Bradford.

2. *few*, see par. 1, *neu*. — *they are*

grinned at, CCR. omitted (r) here. — *we are not*, *without knowing that*, a singular phrase, *us for we*, with the verb in the sing., and applied either to sg. or pl., (ɛz náen)z us none)is; (baat) without, as usual.

3. *so now then art thou bound to hold thy din, friend, and just wish-thou until I [have] done*. CCR. says this peculiar construction is only heard at Bradford; another example is (ser)it

te daan), set it thou down. He also cites (*goo e te*)t baan laik go if thou art boun [going] like, as a peculiar Bradford version of 'go if you're going.'

4. *am I*, the unaccented pronoun, pronounced (*i*).

5. *great* (gæt) for the usual (gæət).—*father's voice*, observe short vowel in *father* and absence of possessive 's.—*I shall trust*, Dr. Gill 1621 (suprà part IV. p. 1250*b*) interprets (ávst) as I will and (dhóust) as thou wilt, (hiist, jóust, dhéist) he you they shall, calling it the sign of the future, but gives no explanation; *is to* seems possible.

6. *before aught is late*, that is, immediately; the word (lat) is "a peculiarity chiefly of the Bradford district, as (dha)t ów'er lat t'e léek), thou art over late to play, (dha)l bi lat t'v't' m'ln) thou'lt be late to the mill." Obs. a manufacturing *mill* is always (m'ln). TH. found (lat) at Marsden and elsewhere.

7. *how is it ye think now?* This gives my own conjectural interpretation of the (st), which CCR. cannot explain, though he says it is common.

8. *all about*, the use of (bat) with a short vowel, and the absence of the object of *about*, are, says CCR., common peculiarities. Similarly (lat) for *late*, par. 6.—*found* (fan) or (f'm).—*beast*, I think (bíúst) with (t) is the usual singular form.—*she*, unemphatic, is (shu, shá, sho), see (shá) immediately.

9. *slap*, having fallen slap down, and so stretched to the uttermost.—*ground* or (plát) plot, here CCR. inserted the phrase (*in muk en miit*) in *muck* and *might*, as he rendered it. But he withdrew it, wishing, however,

to note the pron. (miit) in this and the neighbouring districts among broad dialect speakers, but the meaning of this *might* is not clear in connection with *muck*.

10. *maunge*, a fit of ill-humour; 'maungy' is explained in the Leeds Glossary as 'ill-natured, ill-tempered, and peevish,' applied to children.

11. *happened* or (t'p'nst) chanced.—*daughter*, (dóúther) also, this should imply that the other form is (dóu,t'v,r).—*yárd*, occ. (jéed).—*from* [having] *been hanging*.

12. *while* [*the*] *kettle were*; obs. the omission of the def. art. Similarly (aa)l set dhu ketel on íf t'e)l stéu en ev dhi driqk'n), I'll set thee [the] kettle on, if thou'lt stay and have thy drinking. Observe that (dhu) could not be the def. art. which is never used in this form. Here (dhu) means *thee*, and the def. art. is omitted.—*afternoon*, a second form (afthenóin), possibly (-núin), probably shews that there had been a dental (t).

13. *dost thou know*, the *s* and *t* are pronounced rapidly, and *dost thou* is represented by a passing hiss.—*do* or *business*, the pron. (déeu) is very singular.—*up to today*, in the rural part of the district (t'v) is heard, but this is impossible in the town.—*now hearest thou*, here (st) has another interpretation, suggested by CCR.

14. *good night*, this (góid) seems to be an error for (gúid).—*again*, both (vgíen, egeu) are used.

15. *without*, here (dhaat) is used instead of (baat), which is employed in the next line.—*thou'rt not without gauning* [understanding] *that*

BRADFORD AND WINDHILL CWL.

Unmarked words deduced from B. Preston's *Dialect Poems*, which are generally praised for their dialectal accuracy; the original spelling in italics followed by my interpretation in pal. is annexed; mere dialect words are disregarded. Mr. Preston's orthography is on the whole very careful, and I have seldom been at a loss for the interpretation, but see p. 388. It will be found that this cwl. in the main agrees with CCR.'s es.

W marks words pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Dr. J. Wright, of Windhill; at the end of Preston's words, ' & W ' means that Wright used the same form.

C Calverley (:kaa'velu) (6 wnw. Leeds) words pal. by TH. from a newsagent, native, b. 1845; ' & C ' after Preston's and Wright's words means having the same sound.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 W s'v. 3 W béek. 4 W tak. 5 mak mak, W mak. 8 er ev. 12 W ségg. 17 W [not used]. 18 W kéek [wheaten bread, (bríed) being used for

oat bread]. 19 W tévl. 20 W léem. 21 W néem. 24 W shéem. 31 *lat* lat & W. 33 *rayther* reedher, W réedher.

A: 39 W kam kam. 41 W theqk'n. 43 W and & C. 44 W land. 45 W [not used]. 49 *hing* iq, C eq. 56 *wesh* wesh, W wesh. 57 W [not used]. — *gate* gat goet [gat, got]. A: or O: 58 W frv, C thrv. 59 W lam. 60 W leq. 63 *threug* threq. 64 *wreng* req, W req, C raq. 65 *seng* seq.

A': 67 W gv'en [going], C gù'in. 69 W név, adv. 70 *toa* tiv. 72 W úv. 73 *sou* súv & W. 74 W tiv. 76 W tívd. 82 W [not used]. 84 *moar* máv & W. 86 W úvts. 87 W kláez. 89 *boeth* báuth. 92 *knaw* noo, W nóv [may be (nA'v)], C nAA.

A': 101 W úek. 102 W aks, as [pt. (ast)]. 104 W rú'ed, C róvd. 105 W révd. 106 W brévd. 108 W dù'ef. 110 *nut* n'ut, C n'et. 111 *oat* óut. 113 W úel. 115 *hoam* úem, W óem ú'em. 118 W bú'en. 119 C gó'en. 122 i. *noun* n'oen, ii. *noa* náv, W n'áv. 124 *stoan* stú'en, W stú'en. 127 W [not used]. 133 W révt. 136 W Aadher.

Æ- 138 W faadhur. 140 W évl. 141 W névl. 142 W snévl. 143 W tévl. 144 C egien. 146 W mévn. 147 W brévn. 148 W tíev [& also used for fair = a market]. 149 bléez. 152 *watter* w'ater, W w'ater. 153 W setvrbv.

Æ: 154 W bak. 158 W after. 161 W dév. 162 W [not used]. 164 W mév. 165 W sed. 166 W [not used]. — *glass* dlas [glass]. 177 *at* vt, C vt [conjunction], dhat [pronoun].

Æ'- 182 W sív. — *reycht* reitit [reached]. 183 C te'itj. 184 W lívd. 187 W líev. 189 W wéi. 190 W kéi. 194 W oni [(ev oni on) i oni on] i ? have any of you any on you?]. 195 *mony* m'oni & W. 197 W tuiiz. 202 W ívt.

Æ': 203 W [not used]. 205 W thri'vd. 208 *iver* iv'ev. 209 *niver* n'iver, 210 *tlay* t'lee, W klév. 211 W grév. 223 *thear* dhíev & W, C dhíev. 224 W wíev & C. 226 W mívst.

E- 231 t f & C. 232 *brek* br'ek & W. 233 *speyk* spéik & W. 236 W fév'ev. 238 W edj [as 257]. 239 W sévl. 241 W révn. 242 W [not used]. 243 W plév [the regular word is (lévk)]. — *beer* bíev [bear endure]. 247 W g'van [grim]. 248 W míev. 250 *succar* swíev & W. — *heytin* é'atin [eating], W éit [eat]. 251 *meyt* méit.

E: 257 edj [as 238]. 260 *lig* líg [used], W lév [of hens]. 261 W sév, C see. 262 W w'ev. C w'ev. 263 W w'ev. 265 *streyt* stréit & W, C st'v'ev. 266 *w'el* wíil & W, C wíil. 269 *mesen* misin [myself]. 286 W arv. 287 W bíiz'm.

E'- 289 v. 290 i v. 292 mi m'v. 293 C wí [unaccented], we w'v. 294 *fiid* [I did not record whether (ii) here and below is pure, probably not]. 298 W fíil. 299 W gríim. 300 W kíip.

E': 305 *hey* héi, W éi. 306 W éit. 307 néi. 308 W míid. 311 W ten. 312 W íev. 314 *card* íevd & W. 315 *fit* íit & W.

EA- — *shap* shap [shape]. 320 W kéev.

EA: 321 W s'v. 322 W láf. 323 W févt. 324 W e'it. — 'se sh'l [shall]. 326 *owd* óvd & C, W ó'vd [I heard (óvd)]. 328 *covd* kóvd, W kóvd k'vd. 330 *hod* ód & W. 332 W [(t)eld] used. 333 W k'v'ef. 334 *auf* oof, W ó'ef. 335 C AAL, W ó'el. 336 W f'v'el. 338 C KAAL, W k'v'el. — *aad* *hard* aad [hard]. 342 W aarm [or (áarm)]. 343 W waarm [or (wáarm)]. 344 C bárn, W báarm [occ.]. 346 C gj'évt, W g'ívt.

EA'- 347 *heevd* íevd & W. 348 *ce* ii. 349 W fe'u [I was not quite satisfied with this analysis, it was often like (f'v'u); he considered *dew* = (d'v'u)], C f'v'u. EA': 350 *deevd* d'evd & W. 351 W l'vd. 352 W red, C red. 353 *breevd* brívd & W [but for oaten bread only, see No. 18]. 355 W d'v'ef, C d'v'ef. 357 *thau* dhoo [W not used]. 359 W névber. 360 W tívm. 361 W bívn. 363 W t'v'evp. — *louse* lóus [loose]. 366 W gaat. 368 W dívth. 371 W str'v'v.

EI- 372 W ái. 373 W dhév dhv, C dhv. 374 W név.

EI: 377 W stévk. 378 *wake* wévk wéik, W wévk. 380 *thame* dh'ev dhéim.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 384 W ev'n. 386 W e'u [rhymes to 349, and no (j) prefixed]. 387 W níu.

EO: 388 W mílk. 390 *sud* sud svd. 392 W j'vd. 396 W waark. 397 W s'v'evd [present form, an older one is (sward)]. 402 W lívn [no (r) heard]. 406 W ívth.

EO'- 409 W bii. 410 W [not used]. 411 W thrii. 412 W shuu. 414 W flii. 420 W f'ær.

EO: 423 W thii. 425 *leet* liit & W. 426 *feyt* féit & W. 427 C bíi. 428 C síi. 430 W frend. 433 W brest. 435 C je [unacc.]. 436 W trúu.

EY'- 438 *dee* dii & W. EY: 439 trust.

I- 440 W wiik. 444 W stii-s'íl [ladder-hole]. 446 W náin. 447 W er [unacc.] & C. 449 W get. I: 452 *ah* aa, Wái, a, i [see dt., p. 389], C ái. 453 W wik. 457 *meet* miit & W. 458 *neet* niit & W. 459 *reyt* reit & W, C re'it. 465 W sitj. 466 W [not used]. 468 W tjálder. 472 W shriqk. 473 *blind* blind. 475 W wind. 476 W bind. 477 *fynd* fáind [past tense *fan fan*], W fánd & C. 479 W wínd. 482 C iz. 485 W ths'l. 489 C it.

I': 490 *be* bi. 492 W sáid, C sáid. 494 W táim. 496 W áiern. I': W lák. 503 W láif. 504 W náif. 505 W wáif. 506 W wamen. 511 W wáin.

O- — W shuul [shovel]. 519 *uvor lip* uver lip [over or upper lip]. 521 W f'áil. 522 *oppen* op'n & W. 523 *hoap* úep. — *afoar* ef'ær [afore]. 524 *uworld* waald, W waald.

O: 526 *coff* kof. 527 *bowt* hóut & W. 528 *thout* thóut & W. 529 *brouw* bróut & W. 530 *rouw* róut & W. 531 W dóuter. 532 *koil* kó'íl & W. 534 *hoil* ó'íl & W [used for prison]. 535 *fowk* fóuk. 536 W góud. 541 C wient wínt. 543 C on. 547 W báurd. 548 W [not used]. 549 W [not used]. 552 W kóurn [or (kaa'urn)]. 553 W óurn [or (AAERN)]. — W kus [kiss].

O'- 555 W shúu. 556 C te [unemph.]. 557 W túu. 558 *lewk* lúke líuk & W, C la'uk. 560 *skooil* skúil & W & C. — *goom* [Dr. Wright says that Preston pronounces (*gíum*), as also (*díum*) doom]. 562 *mooin* múin & W. 564 *sooin* súin & W, C sóin sáin. 565 *noas* núez & W. 566 *uther* udher.

O: 569 W búk. 570 *tuk* tuk, W túk. 571 *gooil* gúid & W. 572 W bláid. 579 *eniff* inif & W [W the form *enow* is not known]. 582 kád. 583 W táil. 584 W stúid. 586 *dew* dúu & W. 587 *doin* dúin, W dúin. 588 *noin* núin. 589 W spáin. 591 W máur. 593 [W (*mum* mud) used]. — *tooith* túth. 594 *boit* báit. 595 *fooit* fúit & W. 596 *rooit* rúit & W. 597 *sooit* súit & W.

U- 599 *aboon* ebuun & W. 601 W faal. 602 W saa. 603 *cum* kum & W & C. 605 W san [not distinguished from 629]. 606 *doar* dúer, C dúer, W díuer.

U: — *baan* baan [going]. — *pool* puul [pull]. 610 W wuul [with a long vowel]. 612 *sum* sún & W. 614 *haand* aand & W [in W not used for a dog, except as by way of insult]. 615 *paand* paand & W [=20s.], W púnd [=16 oz.]. 616 *graand* graand [CCR. has gréeend]. 619 W fun. 620 W gran. 625 *tong* tuq & W. 626 W uqer. 629 W sún. 632 W up [almost (*u₁p*) see dt.], C up. 633 W kup. 634 W thrii, C thra'u. 639 W dust.

U'- 640 W kaa. 641 *lah* aa & W. 642 *thagh* thau dhaa. 643 *nah* naa. 647 W aal. 648 [emphatic] *are* ar aar, [unemphatic] *uur* wer, *wee'se* hate *warzen* *we* all *uur* meet *wij*z eet *werse*n wi ool *wer* miit [we]should hate ourselves with all our might]. 650 *abuht* abaght ebaat, C ebaat [see p. 388, l. 2 from bottom]. 651 W baat. 653 *bud* bud & W, bed [unaccented] W.

U': 654 *shraad* shraad. 655 W faal. 656 *raum* raan & W & C. 658 *dahn* daan & W & C. 659 *taan* taan & W. 663 *huuse* aas & W [CCR. has (*éus*)]. 665 *maas* maas & W. 667 *ah* aat *aght* aat & W. 671 W maath.

Y- 673 *mich* mítj & W. 674 W did [never (*díd*)]. 679 W tjaatj. 682 C lit'l. Y: 684 W brig. 685 W rig [a man's back]. 694 W wærk. 697 *berry* beri. 699 W riit [distinct from 459]. 700 W waar. 701 W færst.

Y'- 705 W skii. 706 W wái [(wot fa) more used]. Y': 709 W fáir. 712 W máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 C lad. 722 W dréen. 726 *tauk* took, W tó'ek. 728 W sham. 732 C ap'n. E. 745 W tjiét. I. *und* Y. 756 W shrimp & C. 758 W [not used]. O. 761 W lúed. 766 W mó'iderd [much used]. 769 W máuldwarp. — *poyt* póat [a pot, pusher, poker]. 783 W [not used]. 788 W [not used]. 789 W [(noreeshen) used]. 790 *gaan* gaan. — *draand* draand

[drown]. U. 793 W *ug* [to carry in the arms]. 794 W *dug*. 799 W *skul*. 804 C *druk'n*. 807 W *pus*. 808 W *put*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *it faas i't fées* [in the face], W *fées*. 811 W *plées*. 813 W *bék'n*. 820 W *gév*. 822 W *mév*. 830 W *trém*. 835 W *riéz'n*. 836 W *siez'n*. 840 W *tjémmer*. 841 W *tjens*. 842 W *pløk*. 847 W *déendjper*. 849 W *stréendjper*. 850 W *dans*. 852 W *apren*. 860 W *péust*. 861 W *téust*. 865 *fawt foot*. 866 W *pûer*, C *pûer*. — *faveur fâver* [favour, resemble].

E.. 867 W *tê*. 869 W *viel*. 874 W *reen*. 875 W *féent*. 877 W *éer*. 885 *varry vari* & W & C. — *earbs iurbz jaabz*. 888 W *saartin*. 890 W *bâst* [pl. (*bîests*), not (*bîes*), and used for cows]. 893 W *flaar*. 895 W *risîuv*.

I.. and Y.. 898 W *nâis*. 901 W *îân*. 903 W *dâner*. 910 W [not known]. 912 W *râis*.

O.. W *kûetj*. 916 W *unjen*. 917 *roag riég*. 918 W *fiéb'l*. 920 W *póint*. 923* W *m'ist*. 924 W *tjô'is*. 925 *vô'is*. 926 W *sp'ôl*. — *saand saand* [a sound]. 928 *ancee aans*. 929 W *kaakemur*. 939 W *klô'is* [and also sb.]. 940 *coyt kôit* & W. 941 *fooil tûil* & W. 942 W *batjper*. 943 W *tutj*. 945 W *vaa* [used only as threaten]. 950 W *sûper*. 952 i. W *kaars*, ii. W *kûars* [as a race course]. 953 W *kuz'n*. — *pesht pesht* [pushed]. 954 W *wishên*. 955 *daht daat* & W.

U.. 965 W *ô'il*. 968 W *ô'ister*. 969 *suar sûvr* & W.

VAR. V. LEEDS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CCR. being a native of Leeds, familiar with and speaking the dialect from infancy, his account of it is of great interest. Of course it is in the villages and not in the town that peasant speech is heard. In the town a peculiar attempt to speak *rs.* is made by the smaller tradesmen, of which an account will be given on p. 396.

The Leeds variety, which is the most important and characteristic, extends over all the ne. part of D 24. It reaches on the w. to Churwell (3 ssw. Leeds) and Kirkstall (3 nw.), but not to Pudsey (5 w-by-s. Leeds), which belongs to Bradford, but the pronunciation scarcely differs perceptibly from Leeds. On the e. it includes Aberford (8 ene. Leeds) and Sherburn (12 e. Leeds). On the s. it extends to Wakefield, with numerous but unimportant differences, as is shown in a special cwl. Pontefract is similar to Wakefield, U' being generally (aa), but often becoming (âu). In Variety ix. Doncaster, for which a separate cwl. will be given, (âu) is the regular form. Although Dewsbury is only 5 w. Wakefield, it speaks differently, see Var. vi.

This variety is well illustrated, not only by the interlinear es. which shew how little Leeds differs from Bradford, but by an almost complete cwl. kindly filled in by CCR. in glossie, here transliterated. This cwl. will have to be compared with a similarly extensive cwl. for Mid Yorkshire, with which CCR. was equally familiar from childhood. In transliterating CCR.'s Glossie, I have retained *u* and also used (e) for the glossie [e], where probably I should now hear (ɛ). But CCR. oec. distinguishes gl. [e, ae] = (e, ɛ), which shews his own feeling. The fractures (éep, iîr, óov, úuv, úui) seem to have superfluous length in their first element, but as CCR. sometimes distinguishes the length of their first

element, I have felt bound to follow his indications. Here, however, in stating the characters, I shall use a short first element for convenience. For minute particulars reference must be made to the cwl.

A- generally (éu), as (néum) name, a following G or W induce (óu) as (sóu) a saw.

A: is generally (a), in a few cases (e), as (theqk) thank. The A: or O: words in NG have all (eq), as (leq) long.

A'- and A': have regularly (úu), as (úuts) oats, but a following G and W induce (óu), as (óun) own, (króu) to crow, and sometimes (óu), as (óu) to owe, (lóu) low.

E- is generally (éu), especially where followed by G, as (snéul) snail, for which (suil) is also used, but in (fadhe watu) father water it becomes (a).

Æ: is generally (a), but followed by G is (éu), as (aftu déu) after day.

Æ'- as a rule gives (éi), as (téitj) teach, but varies as (iu, ii), as (síiu) sea, (tjiiiz) cheese, and we have even (ou) any.

Æ': is also variable within generally the same limits.

E- is often (éi), as (néid) knead, (éu), as (réen) rain, and (iu), as (wíiu) to wear, but sometimes remains (e), as (brek ledhu) break leather.

E: is regularly (e, e) and has few variants.

E'-, E': are regularly (ii).

EA- has (éu).

EAL as usual has peculiar forms implying an original form AL, as (óud) old, (óul) all.

EA' has generally (iu), as (líi'ed) lead metal, but a following W induces (óu), as (stróou) straw.

EI is generally (éu), as (écul) to hail a person.

EO as usual varies much, but (líen jéen) learn yearn are uncommon; EOR is generally (aa).

EO' is mostly (ii, iu), but varies a good deal. The form (shuu) she is said to be derived from Ws. *scó*, but may after all come from Ws. *heó*.

I- is generally treated as I'.

I: is generally (i) even in blind, rind, to wind, bind, find, but singularly enough *grind* becomes (grand).

I' is regularly (ái ái), not (ái).

O is regularly (o), but foal, coal, hole, have (ói); a following H or L induces (óu) in (thówt) thought, (bóult) bolt.

O' changes regularly into (íui) as (kúuil) cool.

U becomes regularly (u) even in pound ground, but is (aa) in hound, sound = healthy, a wound.

U' is regularly (aa), as (daan) down.

Y before R gives rise to (o, a) in (báth bəri mæth fæst) birth bury mirth first.

For consonants initial *h* vanishes, and *r* not before a vowel also generally vanishes or can scarcely be recognised: *t*, *d* preceding a vowel and after a short vowel becomes very vulgarly (r), see notes to cwl., p. 400, No. 449. With this compare the use of (r) for (d) in (nar, nare) hadde in Low German, see first line of examples 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, etc., in Part IV. pp. 1378 1380, and in numerous other places. The final *-turr* has its older form *-tur* (-túr, -túr), and not the modern S.-*chur* (-túr), as (píktur), not píktúr) picture.

On comparing the Varieties iv. and v., Bradford and Leeds, the differences are scarcely perceptible. The following may be noted:

B	dáin	óem	síur	thriú	fru	dhuse·luz	skwéek	trúth	aks	áav
L	dám	áim	síear	thru	thru	dhuse·nz	skwéek	tréenth	as	aa
	done	I'm	sure	through	from	themselves	squeak	truth	ask	how

B	gréevnd	wáld	dóuter	ku,m	eqin	wiit	wol	fóin	déu	fóil.
L	grund	waald	dóouter	kam	iqin	wit	wal	tâin	diu	fóil.
	ground	world	daughter	came	hanging	wet	while	fine	do	fool.

These differences are of no account whatever. The reasons for separating iv. and v. must therefore be sought in the different use they make of certain words and phrases, of which some specimens are given in the es., but which otherwise lie beyond the scope of this investigation.

LEEDS REFINED FORM.

The petty shopkeepers of Leeds speak a refined form of speech, which cannot properly be called a dialect, but is an attempt to speak rs., continually frustrated by dialectal tendencies and youthful habits. CCR. was so good as to translate the es. into this town speech. It is so far from being a genuine dialect that I do not think it right to print it, but it may be worth while to note the dialectal remnants it contains.

The U' and I' words have (*au*, *ái*), the short U remains (*u*), the (r) final disappears, *she* is (*shə* 'shəə), (t') remains for *the*, (h) disappears, (wh) becomes w. And in addition the following pronunciations are used, each referred to its paragraph in the es.

0. (*wat*) what.—1. (*both laí*) both laugh, short (*o*) being common, (*oo níedhə*) who neither.—2. (*noo ónli dɔnt méek nɔt*) know only don't make not.—3. (*áusume-və dhíz óud*) however these hold.—4. (*əd fɔks θru a*) heard folks through = from I.—5. (*juqíst grít spíek*) youngest great speak.—6. (*óud ool vdháut ónli*) old all without only.—7. (*léstweez tóud ast táuthri óuvə 'shəə*) leastways told asked two or three over she.—8. (*wíer a'l fə,t*) where I'll for't.—9. (*leejín fuul kóut tlóez dóstən*) lying full coat close door-stone.—10. (*wəld, pólí*) world poorly.—11. (*dóuter kěm*) daughter came.—12. (*tíə*) tea.—13. (*lánt shóur dɔnt wənt*) learned sure don't want.—14. (*took*) talk.—15. (*ful wəd*) fool [and observe (*fuul*) full in 9] word.

I have received specimens of refined speech for York also, but the above specimen is probably enough.

Notes to Leeds es., p. 367.

1. *and all*, merely equivalent to also, or, etc.—*is to*, seems the proper interpretation of (*st*) here.

2. *few*, (*iéu néu*) are used here as at Bradford.—*for because they're grinned at*.—*hadn't us sure of that now*, the grammar is shaky; CCR considers (*ad'nt*) to represent (*art not*), but *art not us* seems impossible; and *hadn't* seems inexplicable. CCR says the phrase is more common in Bradford than in Leeds.—*likely*, CCR introduces this adv. in *lins* several times as here, par. 4 and 13 (*síuelinz*), 7 (*líeslínz*).

3. *oddments* or items.—*so just thee hold thy dín with thee, if thou const, thou like and whiskt until I (have) done*, peculiar idiomatic phraseology according to CCR, but not in frequent use.—*hearest thou but/as now, but* seems to be *but as*, and to mean *only*.

See es. to Var. iii. end of par. 13, p. 376, and note, p. 386.

4. *through* used for *from*, the form (*fru*) is considered childish at Leeds, but is heard at Bradford, (*frum*) would not be understood, but (*frum*) is possible; there is here an attempt to use (*thru*) for through and (*thru*) for from, but (*thru*) is used in both senses in par. 11, p. 374, so that this breaks down.—*did I*, obs. enclitic form (*i*) for *I*.

5. *great*, the short *gət*, *gat* in this sense is not so frequent as the long (*gəat*) taken as (*gərt*)—*father voice*, the possessive *father's* is little used, observe short (*a'*).

6. *without* (*dhaaten*), the (*vn*) as in Ws. *wjútán*, compare par. 7, p. 371, (*vbaaten*).—*ask her*.

7. *how is it you think?*

8. *at all ends*, in every particular.

9. *Sunday*, although final (r) is generally omitted in Leeds, it seems to be added with a real trill to week-day names, see *Thursday*, par. 12, p. 375.

10. *world*, (waald wæld) are both used.—*maunge*, see Var. iv. notes, p. 391.

13. *do* (d*iu*), business or concern.

14. *and so I must forced to go*, the construction is difficult, meaning 'I must go, I am forced to go.'—*keen*, with short perhaps medial (i), or (shéep) sharp.

15. *without reason*, or, to use a common expression, (bidhaat góobmín óot) without understanding aught.

LEEDS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD cwl.

written in glossie by CCR., transliterated by AJE.

* before any number of a word refers to a following note, pp. 400-1.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 méeed. 7 séek. 8 ev. 9 bi*je*ev. 10 óov. 11 móov. 12 sóov. 13 nóov. 14 dróov. 15 óov [awful]. 16 dóov. 17 lóov. 18 kéek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 séem. 24 shéem. 25 méem. 26 wéem. 27 néev. *28 éev. 32 béevdh. 33 reevdhur reevdur. 34 last. 35 óovl. 36 thóv thóov. 37 tlóov.

A: 39 kam. 40 k*au*em. 41 theqk. 43 and. 44 land. — wand [he wound]. 46 kanel. 47 wandr. 48 saq. 50 teqz. 51 man. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as.

A: or O: 58 [replaced by through (thru), see notes to es., p. 396]. 59 lam. 60 leq. 61 emeq. 62 streq. 63 threq. 64 req. 65 seq. 66 theq.

A'- 67 g*au*v. 69 n*au*v. 70 t*au*v. 71 w*au*v. 72 w*au*v. 73 s*au*v. 74 tu. 75 str*au*ek. 76 t*au*vd. 77 lóovd. 78 óv. 79 óov. 80 alidv. 81 lóin. 83 m*au*en. 84 m*au*vi. 85 s*au*vi. 86 úts wúts. 87 tl*au*vz. 88 tl*au*vdh. 89 b*au*th. 90 blóov. 91 móov. 92 nóov. 94 króov. 95 thróov. 96 sóov. 97 s*ou*l [s*ou*l has been heard from individual old people]. 98 nóov. 99 throov. 100 sóov.

A': 101 úek. 102 as aks. 104 r*au*vd. 105 réevd. 106 br*au*vd. 107 l*au*v. 108 d*au*v. 109 lóv. 110 nut. 111 óut. 112 éel. 113 úv. 114 m*au*v. 115 úem. 116 úem [seldom used]. 118 b*au*en. 121 g*au*en. 122 n*au*en. 123 nóvt. 124 st*au*en. 125 [used only in refined speech and then called] úenli, [in dialect they use] n*o*vt. 126 úvi. 127 úvst úvst [seldom]. 128 [used only in refined speech, otherwise (dhem)]. 129 g*au*vst. 130 b*au*st. 131 g*au*vst. 132 úvt. 133 révt. 134 úth. 135 tlaat [used, but this is clout, from Ws. clút]. 136 óvdhur óvdhur óvdur óvdur.

Æ- 138 fadhur fader féevdhur féevdur. 139 dróev. 140 éel. 141 néel. 142 sniil snéev. 143 téel. 144 egíim egéem. 145 sléev. 146 méem. 147 bréev. 148 féev. 149 bléevz. 150 líest [often without (t)]. 151 [not used]. 152 w*au*v. 153 setadv.

Æ: 155 thatj. 157 réevven. 158 afte. 161 déev. 163 léevd. 164 méev. 165 sed. 166 méevd. 167 déevl. 168 talv. 169 wen. 170 évvist aavist. 171 baali. 172 gras ges g*æ*s. 173 wor [used, generally written (w*au*)]. 174 esh. 175 fast. 178 nat. 179 wat. *189 béevd. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 s*au*v. 183 t*ei*tj t*ei*tj. 184 lívd lívd lívd. 185 riid. 186 br*au*vdh breed bráid. 187 líev [sb. (l*ei*v)]. 188 n*ei*. 189 w*ei*. 190 k*ei*. 191 úv. 192 m*u*en. 193 tléin [vb. (tl*u*en)]. 194 óni. 195 m*u*ni. 196 w*u*v. 197 t*pi*z. 199 blívt. 200 wívt wívt wívt [the last rare]. 201 íevdh. 202 ívt.

Æ: 203 spíitj. 204 did diid. 205 thríid. 206 red. 207 n*u*d'l. 210 fléev. 211 gréev. 212 w*ei*. 213 éevdhur éevdur. 215 tóvt. 216 d*u*el [the v. is (d*u*el)]. 217 ívtj [in refined speech, but seldom used]. 218 ship shíip. 219 shíip shíip. 221 fíiv. 222 éev. 223 dhíiv. 224 wíiv. 225 flesh. 226 m*u*vst. 227 wívt wívt. 228 swívt swívt swívt [the last rare]. 229 bríivth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek. 233 spéik spéik. 234 n*ei*d néeid. 235 wéiv. 236 fíivv.

237 tjablécen. 238 edj. 239 sécul. 240 léecn. 241 réecn. 242 twéecn [when read, not used]. 243 pléec [when read, otherwise (léec) lake used]. 246 kwim [queen], kwim [quean]. 247 wim. 248 méec. 249 wiv. 250 swiv. 251 méit méit. 252 ketel. 253 netel. 254 ledhu. 255 wedhu.

E: 257 eg. 258 seg sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lig. 261 séec. 262 wéec. 264 écul. 265 stréit. 267 jild. 268 [not used, (ôdis) oldest, said]. 270 belas beli. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 beqk biqk. 275 [replaced by stiġk]. 276 thiġk. 277 drensh. 278 wensh. 280 vleven. 281 leqth. 282 streqth. 283 mori. 284 thresh. 285 kres. 286 arv. 287 biizem. 288 let [often (léer) before a vowel].

E'- 289 iii. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fid. 295 bred. 296 biliv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kip kiip. 301 iir. 302 mit miit. 303 swit swiit.

E': 305 êi. 306 éit êit. 307 nii [only used by "old-charactered people"]. 308 niid néid. 309 spiid. 310 il. 311 ten. 312 iiv. 313 aaken éekun. 314 iivd. 315 fit fiit. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 fléec. 319 géecp. 320 kéecr.

EA: 321 sóoc sid. 322 laf. 323 fôat. 324 êit. 325 wóoc. 326 ôud ôud. 327 bôuld bôud. 328 kôud. 329 fôuld fôud. 330 ôd. 331 seld. 332 teld. 333 kôouf. 334 ôouf éeuf. 335 ôoul. 336 fôoul. 337 wôoul. 340 jéud jéud jaad. 342 érm éeem. 343 waam. 345 dar. 346 géecut.

EA'- 347 iivd. 348 ii [(iin) pl. and also sg.]. 349 féec.

EA': 350 diivd. 351 liivd. 352 red. 353 bréud [bréid] is dialectally vulgar and rare. 354 shiief shéif. 355 diief. 356 liiv. 357 dhiv [rare]. 359 néecur. 360 tiim téim. 361 biim. 362 sléec. 363 tjiup tjiup. 365 niiv. 366 got [gréet] refined. 367 thriit. 368 diuth. 369 slóoc. 370 róoc. 371 stróoc.

EI- 372 áai. 373 dhéec. 374 néec. 375 réecz. 376 béecut.

EI: 377 stéec. 378 wéec. 379 écul. 381 swéecn. 382 dhéecr.

EO- 383 seven. 384 evn. 385 binéeidh [considered affected, and (undnéiidh) gen. used]. 386 jóa. 387 néu niu.

EO: 388 milk. 389 iivk. 390 sud. 393 biand. 396 waak. 397 sáud. 398 staav. 399 briit. 400 iivist. 401 iivn. 402 liivn. 403 taar. 405 aath [some old people (évth)]. 406 iivth. 407 faadin. 408 nécu [refined (niiv)].

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shuu shu sho she shæ. 413 diivl. 414 fiiv. 415 lai. 416 diiv. 417 tjeu tje'u. 418 brécu [refined (briiv)]. 419 javer. 420 iouv. 421 fôti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 raf. 425 lit [short (i), not (i)]. 426 féit [short diphthong]. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fiind. 430 frend. 431 biv. 432 fôut. 433 bréest. 434 bet. 435 jii [in gen. use, (juu) refined, used in addressing superiors]. 436 trécu [refined (triiv)]. 437 tréath [refined (triuth)].

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 trust.

I- 440 wik [(i) not (i)]. 441 siv. 442 iivn. *443 tráidv. 444 stáil. 445 éei. 446 nán. 448 dhéev. *449 get. 450 iéuzde tivzde. 451 séu séu sôu.

I: 452 áai aai. 454 witi. 455 lig. 457 máit [generally, (miit) by individual old people]. 458 mit. 459 réit. 460 wéit wéit. 461 liit. 462 siit. 464 witi. 465 siti. 466 tãild [when read, the spoken word is (baan)]. 467 wãild. 468 tãildrin [when read, the spoken word is (baanz)]. 471 timr. 472 shriġk. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 476 bind. 477 find. 478 grund. 479 wind. 481 fiqv. 484 dhis. 485 thisel. 486 iivist jost. 487 jostede. 488 jot.

I'- 490 bai baai. 491 sai [some old people say (sii)]. 493 dráiv. 494 fáim. 496 áieren. 497 ráiz. 498 ráit. 499 biit'l [in fine reading, (blak klak) in dialect].

I: 500 láik. 501 wãid. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 náif. 505 wãif. 506 wãmen. 507 wãimn. 508 máil. 509 wal. 511 wãm. 512 spãiv [(stiip'l) often used]. 513 wãiv. 514 áis. 515 wãiz. 516 wizdem. 517 jéu.

O- 520 baa. 521 fôil. 522 open. 523 áuep. 524 wøl waald [both equally used].

O: 526 kof. 527 bôut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut brôut [also (brauq braq)]. 530 róut. 531 dóutur. 532 kôil kôoil kôil. 533 dâl. 534 ôil. 536 gôud. 537 móud maald. 538 wêd. 539 bôul. 540 ôlin. 542 bôult bôult. 545 op. 547 bâued. 548 fâued. 549 úued. 550 wêd wê'd wêed. 551 stóoum. 552 kóoum. 553 óoum. 554 kros.

O'- 556 shuu [pl. (sháuin)]. 556 táue [but (tal) most usual]. 557 tíu. 558 lûk. 559 mædher. 561 blium. 562 máuin. 563 munde. 564 súuin. 565 návz. 566 udher.

O: 569 báik. 570 tíuk. 571 gúid. 572 bláid. 573 fláid. 574 bráid. 575 stúid. 576 wedenzde. 577 baa. 578 plaa. 581 sóut. 582 káuil. 583 fúuil. 584 stáuil. 585 bruum [the broom brush is (biizem), No. 287]. 587 dum. 588 návin. 589 spáuin. 590 fláuer. 591 máuer. 592 swéer [used, but it is a different form]. 593 mun [is the form used]. 594 báuit. 595 fúuit. 596 ráuit. 597 súuit. 598 sáundh.

U- 599 ebuun. 600 lav. 601 faal. 602 saa. 603 kóm. 605 san. 606 dáue. 607 bôte.

U: 608 uglî. 609 fâl. 610 wâl. 611 bæluk. 612 sòm. 613 drauqk. 614 aand. 615 pænd. 616 grænd. 617 saand. 618 waand. 619 fan fan. 620 gruon grund grundid. 622 under. 625 tuq. 626 uqe. 628 nœn. 629 san. 630 wœn wan. 631 thœzde. 632 up. 633 kœp. 634 thruu. 635 wœth. 636 faadhœ faadhœ [but this is another word]. 637 tœsk. 638 bœsk. 639 dœst.

U'- 640 kaa. 641 aa. 642 dhaa. 645 dœv. 646 bôu [subst. (baa)]. 647 aal. 648 aa aar. 649 thaazen. 652 kœd. 653 bæd bæd bœt bœt.

U': 654 shraad. 655 faal. 656 râum [raam is less used]. 657 braan. 658 daan [and also down, the feather]. 659 taan. 660 báauer [r very often dropped]. 661 shaar. 663 aas. 664 laas. 665 maas. 666 uzben. 667 aat. 668 praad. 669 œnkœrth. 670 báuidh búidh. 671 maath. 672 saath.

Y- 673 mítî. 674 did. 675 drâi. 676 kâi. 678 dîn. 679 tœtj. 680 bizi [if read, but (threŋ) No. 63 regularly used]. 682 lîtel.

Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bâi báai. 687 fláit [seldom used, *flite* to scold, also so, but often (flit)]. 689 bîd. 690 kâind. 691 mâind. 693 sîn. 696 bæth. 697 bæri. 698 mœth [very often short, and a mere snap]. 699 rîit. 700 waas. 701 fœst. 703 pît. 704 vîksen.

Y'- 705 skâi skâai. 706 [never used, replaced by (wœt fœv)]. 707 thœtî'n. 708 âiœ. Y': 709 fâiœ. 711 lâis. 712 mâis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 djee'ud. 718 fréeud. 719 tadpôul. 720 feg. 721 feg. 722 dréœn. 723 déœvri. 724 bôould. 725 séœul. 727 djœm. 728 sham. 729 fréœm. 730 kantœ. 731 wantœm. 733 skéœr. 734 daan. 736 las'. 737 méœt. 738 préœt. 739 [not used]. 740 wéœv. 741 méœz. 742 léœzi.

E. 743 skrœm. 744 mez'lz. 745 tjœit tjœit. 746 brœudh. 747 indeve [little used]. 748 unflœgd [unflœged]. 750 beg. 751 pœut.

I. and Y. 753 tik'l. 754 pig. 755 fœlbat. 756 shrœmp. 757 tâmi. 758 [replaced by (las)]. 759 fit.

O. 761 lœud. 762 œœkem. 763 râœm. 764 kod'l. 766 môidœd. 767 nôiz. 768 kœnk. 771 fond. 772 bœn'fâit. 773 dœqki. 774 pâœni. 775 buubi. 777 shœp. 778 œfâued. 779 óouts. 780 djœs'l. 781 bœdhœ. 782 pœdhœ [rare]. 783 paaltri. 784 baans. 785 laandj. 786 daas. 787 saas. 788 flaat. 789 raa. 790 gaan.

U. 792 skœab'l. 793 œg. 794 djœg. 795 shrœg. 799 skœl. 800 skœl. 801 rum. 802 rœm. 803 djœmp. 805 krœdz. 806 fus. 807 pœs. 808 pœt [varies to (pœr) before a vowel].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 éœbul. 811 pléœs. 812 léœs. 813 bœœkun. 814 méœsm. 815 faks. 816 fœud. 817 redîsh. 818 éœdj. 819 réœdj. 821 dœœœ.

822 méev. 823 béev. 824 třeer. 825 wéeuf. 826 úevgl. 827 úevgr. 828 éevgia. 829 géevn. 830 třeevn. 831 dístréeen. 832 méevn. 833 péevr. 834 shéeevz. 835 ríevzen. 836 síevzen. 837 líevsh. 838 tréit tríevt. 839 béevl. 840 třeevnur. 841 trons. 842 pleqk. 843 bransh. 844 trensh. 845 éevshunt. 846 tpelev. 847 déevndp. 848 třeevndj. 849 stréeevndp. 850 dons. 851 ont. 852 apren. 853 baagen. 855 karit. 856 péevt. 857 keevs. 858 bréevs. 860 péevst. 861 téeevst. 862 séevf. 863 třeevf. 864 bikos. 865 ílt. 866 páuvr.

E.. 867 tíev. 868 djéeu. 869 v'íevl véil. 870 bíevti. 871 vgrrii. 873 fréev. 874 réein. 875 íéevnt. 876 déevnt. 877 éevr. 878 saler. 879 fiméeevl. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 dandíláevn. 884 prentis. 886 fráev. 887 klaadji. 888 saaten. 889 síevs. 890 bíevs [often so used in the singular] bíevst. 891 ííevst. 892 nevi. 893 flaar. 894 dísvíev. 895 risíevv. 896 [not used].

I.. and Y.. 897 dílit. 898 nâis. 899 nis [short (i), not (i)]. 900 préev. 901 íáevn. 902 máevn. 903 dáevn [not used in conversation]. 904 váevlet. 905 ráevt. 906 váevp. 907 [not used]. 908 advâis. 909 bríevz. 910 djâis djâisn. 911 síevtrun. 912 râis.

O.. 913 káevtj. 914 bráevtj. 915 stovf. 916 vevn. 917 ráevng. 918 fibel. 919 óántment. 920 póevnt. 921 ekáevvnt. 922 b'evshil. 923 móevst. 924 t'óis. 925 v'óvs. 926 spóil. 927 traqk. 928 aans. 929 kaak'evv. 930 lóevn. 931 dj'evgl. 932 evmaant. 933 íevnt. 934 baanti. 935 k'evntri. 936 faant. 937 k'ek. 938 k'evnv. 939 tlóis. 940 k'óit k'óit. 941 fúevl. 942 batp. 943 tatj. 944 vlaa. 945 vaa. 946 móevl. 947 b'óil. 950 s'evp. 951 k'ev'l. 952 k'óevs. 953 k'evn. 954 k'evshin. 955 daat. 956 k'evv. 957 implóiv. 958 fréev. 959 konvéev.

U.. 960 k'áevv [only used in the name of the place, Bridlington Quay (:b'aelinten :k'áevv)]. 961 gríevl. 962 méevz. 963 k'ráevt. 964 síevt. 965 óil. 966 íevnt [íevnt old people]. 967 síevt [(s'evnt) old people]. 968 óíevt. 969 síevv. 970 dj'evst. 971 flíevt [(flíevnt) old people].

Notes to Leeds cwl. p. 397.

Referred to in the wl. by * before the number of the word.

No. 28. On final r, CCR. says, "Though permissible, yet, in all cases, the (r) is discarded to a far greater extent in Leeds than in the Mid Yo. dialect." Hence in this cwl. it is represented by (r), the permissive (r); but whether when heard it is the real trilled (r) or the M. (r), I do not know. I suspect the latter.

180. *bath* is used only in fine speech; *bath*, the utensil, would not be thought of in connection with (tr ev v béevd) to take a bath, but would be associated with washing.

443. *Friday*. "in all the days of the week r is often heard as an additional letter: some speakers habitually employ the r in this way."

449. *get*, the (t) becomes (r) before a vowel, and the (g) is strongly post-aspirated, as g'néevr up). CCR. finds this peculiarity in the following words:

1. in *at*, s'at, chat, what, spat, cat, hat [past tense of hit].

2. in *et*, let, get, set, met, wet, et

[past tense of eat, as, he eat it, ate it, is called (éevt)], (i her)it).

3. in *it*, hit, sit, flit, split, little (l'ér'l), bit.

4. in *ot*, got, sot, shot, blot, spot, slot.

5. in *ut* and *oot*, but, stut, mutty (m'evri) = cali, glutton (gl'evrvn), foot, shut.

This change also takes place with words in d.

6. in *ad*, glad, swaddy (sw'evri) = soldier, bad, shadow (sh'evrv), dad, mad.

7. in *ed*, wed, led, bled, shed, fled, sled = a slipper.

8. in *id*, lid, slid, bid, hiddy (h'evri) = to hide, smiddy (sm'evri) = a smithy, did.

9. in *od*, ho'd (h'ev) = hold, sod, nod, plod, shod, modern (m'evrvn).

10. in *ud* and *ood*, mud (m'evrv) = might vb., good (g'evrv), stood, huddle (h'evrvl), budding (b'evrvn), sud (s'evrv), should.

CCR. considers these forms to be

the product of lazy, corrupt habits [the post-aspiration is anything but lazy]. They are, he says, the vulgar of the vulgar who chiefly resort to them. Compare the hearing of *potatoes* in D 10, p. 147, as (tée'riz).

To this list CCR. adds another of

words in *-ture*, usually pronounced with (tjər' in rs., all of which end in (-tʊr) or rather (-tʊ) at Leeds, such as *ká'te*, *vente*, *ká'pte*, *paste*, *djə'ste*, *íá'te*), etc., *culture*, *venture*, *capture*, *pasture*, *gesture*, *future*, etc.; and similarly (*shé'zev sé'zuv*) *seizure*.

WAKEFIELD CWL.

Compiled from Mr. William Stott Banks's *List of Provincial Words in use at Wakefield*, 1865. Mr. B. uses a tolerably systematic orthography, from which, with the help of previous investigations, I have been able to give an approximative pal. representation of the pron. as gathered rather from his examples than his headwords, which may be compared with the Leeds cwl. I have retained (r) final as it is not marked to be silent by Mr. Banks, and TH. says that he heard it as a decided consonant in all cases, presumably *r*. Of course this cwl. is very incomplete, but it suffices to shew that, if I have rightly interpreted, there are a number of minute differences between Leeds and Wakefield, quite as much as between Rotherham and Sheffield, although the general character remains identical. The author's orthography is prefixed in *Italics*, with Roman letters to represent his Italics, as *reight*, shewing generally by *h* a written unspoken *h*, by *igh* (E'i), by *ow* (óu), etc. H wn. by TH. from which I extract a few differences.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *baak* béek. 4 *ta tee*. 5 *maa mak* méé mak. 6 *maad mééd*. 10 *haag* ag. 13 *naag néég*. 18 *caake kéék*. 19 *tuale téél*. — *gam* gam [game *gam' leg* game leg]. A: 55 *ass* as. A: or O: 61 *ameng* emeq. A'- 67 *gou* góv. 69 *noa nóv*, H *noo*. 71 [*wae* worth *thet* (WEE WÉRTH dhə) woe be to thee]. 74 *toathre* tóuthri [two or three], *tup'ner* tup'ns, "we say *thrip'nee*, *fi'p'ner*, and so on". 76 *tooad túúd*. 89 *bouth* bóuth. 92 *knaw* nAA. A': 102 *aks* aks. 103 *akst* akst. 104 *rooad* rúúd. 106 *brooad* brúúd. — *laady* léadí [lady]. 108 *doaf* dóef. — *frowt* fróut [for aught]. 115 *hoam* óum, H úm. 121 *goan* góoen. 122 *noan* nóoen. 124 *stoans* stóenz. 125 *o'nly* oonli [meaning lonely, otherwise (nəbət)]. 130 *bo-at* bóot. 136 *awther* aadhər [more frequent than 213]. 137 *nawther* naadhər [more frequent than 214].

Æ- 138 *fa-a'ther* féedher, H íadher. 145 [*slafter*/*hahse* slafter aas]. 152 *watter* wáter. Æ: 161 *daah* dée [*daaktalwark* (dér-telwaark) day-work]. 174 *esh* esh. Æ'- — *reich* réitj *rack* rak [reach]. 183 *teich* téitj. — *leim* léim [lean]. Æ': 209 *niver* níver. 213 *awther* eedher [see 136]. 214 *naather* néedher [see 137]. 223 *thear* dhíer. — *heath* íeth [heath].

E- 233 *speik* spéik. 237 *blaan* bléem. 241 *raan* réem. — *steil* stéil [steal]. 245 *méil*. — *eit* éit [eat]. 251 *meit* méit. E: 256 *ratch* ratj. 269 *sen* sən. 285 *crash* kresh. E'- 289 *ye yeh* jí je ["*eh*, this sign is to be sounded like *er* in scri'd"]. 290 *ii* v. 291 *thet thee* dhə dhii. 293 *wch* we wí [*w'e me* *bahn* (wí)m baan] we are going]. E': 306 *heit* hé'it.

EA: 323 *fowt* fóut. 326 *owd* óud. 330 *hod* od. 324 *hauf* aaf. 338 *caw-el* ka'el, H kaal. 344 *barn* barn. 345 [*athersnah* (a dhər saa) I dare say]. 346 *gaate* gáte géet jet. EA'- 347 *heald* íed. 348 [pl. *een* iin]. 349 *fuw* íe'u. EA': 353 *breed* bríed. 355 *deuf* díef. — *lowse* léus [loose]. 366 *gert* gárt, *greet* gríet.

EI- 372 *aye* ["sounded *I*, yes, our commonest affirmative"] *ei* íe E'i.

EO: 394 *yonder* jənder [a word often used for a place understood, *are yeh goin up yonder?*]. 396 *wahrk* waark, *wahterdchs* waa-terdez [working-days]. 402 *lahrn* laarn [to teach]. 405 *harston* aar-stən [hearthstone]. 406 *earth* íerth. EO'- 412 *shoo* shə shu shə. 414 *flee* híi [fleas are called *lops* = jumps]. 417 *charlin* tjavlin [as horses do oats]. EO': 425 *leet* lít. 435 *yer yahr* jər jaar [your]. EY- 438 *dee* dii.

I- 442 *ivin áivin*, II *ivin* [?]. 444 *stee stii* [ladder]. I: 452 *I ah ái a*, [i in pit], i. 458 *neet miit*. 459 *reight re'it*. 461 *leet on liit on* [to meet with]. 468 *tjállder*. 469 *witteh ? wj'te ?* [wilt thou?]. 477 *fun'd fínd*. 488 *yit jít*. I'- 496 *i-eron áieren*. I: — *likken lik'n* [liken, probably happen]. 207 *haah mou ée muu* [the pile of hay put in the hay chamber]. 509 *whal wal* [until]. 510 *mine máin*.

O- — *shool shuul* [shovel]. 519 *orver over*. — *afoar efóer* [afore]. — *throit thróit* [throat]. O: 528 *thowt thóut*. 532 *coil kóil*. 534 *hoil óil*. 537 *máhdly maaldí* [mouldly]. 541 *wecant wíent*. O'- 555 *shummakker shumaker*. 559 *múther mudher*. 560 *schooil skúil*. 562 *moo-in máin*. 564 *soo-in súin*. — *smooithuín iron smúidhuín áiern* [smoothing iron]. 566 *úther údher*. 567 *túther tudher*. O: 578 *ploo stots pluu stóts* [farm servants begging on Plough Monday]. 579 *enif enít* [but (but) more commonly; pl. *enew* (enu)]. 584 *stooil stúil*. 588 *nooín núin*. 593 [mun (mun) used]. 594 *booits báits*. 595 *fooit fúit*. 596 *rúit*. 597 *sooit súit*.

U- 599 *aboon abuun*. 602 *sew sah sún saa*. 606 *doar dóer*, II *dúer* [*doarsteid stoans* (dóerste'id stóenz) doorway-stones in front]. U: — *baan* [boun going]. — *bahnd bun baand buu* [bound]. 619 *fun fun*. 623 *fun' fun*. U'- 641 *haa aa*. 642 *thah theh dhaa dhá*. 643 *naa naa*, *enah e)naa* [the now]. 647 *ullot ulét* [howlet]. 648 *uhr wer ehz*, *aar wer ez* [*ehzse'ez* (uzsenz) ourselves]. 650 *abaht ebaat*. 651 *baht baat*. U': 655 *faul faal* [ugly]. 658 *dahn daan*. 663 *hahse aas*. 665 *mahs maas*. 667 *aht aat*. — *cláht klaat* [clout]. 668 *prahde praad*. 671 *máht maath*.

Y- 673' *mich mitj*. Y: 683 *midge midj* [a gnat]. 684 *brig brig*. 685 *rig rig* [a man's back]. 689 *beeld bild*. 694 *wark waark* [ache or work said of head, belly, or tooth (túith)]. 699 *reet riit* [a wheelwright only, see 459]. 700 *war warse waar waars*. 702 *wee* [emphatic, when not] *wi* [i as in bit] *wii wi* [*sahnt goa wee him, thah wor wi neh* (saant góe wii im, dhaa 'wor wi)me) shan't go with him, thou wast with me]. Y'- 706 *wah waa* [term of doubt, not interrogative].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 729 *fraame fréem* [to set about doing a thing]. E. 748 *flig'd flígd*. O. 768 *cowke kóuk*. 769 *mouldewarp móuldiwaarp*. — *soil sóil* [sole of the foot]. — *draand dréend* [drown]. U. 793 *hug ug* [to carry]. 804 *drukken druk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *faace févs*. 812 *laace lévs* [to beat, hide]. 840 *eha'mer tjaamer*. 841 *chonce tions*. 850 *donce dons*. 852 *raare réer* [very much, great]. E.. — *yarbs jaarbz* [herbs]. 890 *becas biús* [pl. horned cattle]. 893 *flahr flaar*. I.. and Y.. 910 *jyst djáist*. O.. 929 *cahcummer kaakummer*. — *rahn'd raand* [round]. 939 *cloise klóis* [sb. field]. 944 *lahnce laans* [allowance]. 956 *kíver* [a set of corn sheaves built up in the field to dry].

VAR. VI. DEWSBURY.

Dewsbury is only five miles w. of Wakefield, yet the dialect differs much. Dewsbury is a manufacturing town, and has a special trade connecting it with Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds. Wakefield is like a county town, with no manufacture, and, as we have seen, has practically Leeds pron. CCR. says Dewsbury is most nearly related to Halifax, but has several distinctive elements characteristic of Rotherham. And hence its position among the varieties.

The main phonetic difference from Leeds is in the treatment of I' and U'. In the es. (máiu láik náin táim wáin dráí báí) mine, like, mine, time, whine, dry, b'ye, are treated like as at Leeds. But CCR. says the dialect is most characterised

in the neighbouring villages, and there I' is but 'casually' (*ái*), and 'commonly' (*óí*), the length of the first element varying in each case. "Thus the name of one of the chief villages, *Heekmondwike*, is (:e:kenwóok), or to a native with a habit of contraction to (:e:kenwook), which is the form usually employed." Hence he adds, "It is a difficult thing for a Leeds person to follow a Heekmondwike speaker, the long (oo) [almost (AA)] so transforms the words. The two varieties v and vi are in excessive contrast to the ear, and the Leeds native is prone to pity and be amused at the loud more uncouth speech in which the Heekmondwike native indulges." Although CCR. generally retains Leeds (*ái*), in the es. he has (*wóel wol*) while, and the personal pronoun *I* is sometimes (*o*, *e*) in (*o*)m, (*e*)m) I'm.

But the treatment of U' and its congeners is entirely different from that at Leeds, as shewn in (*déets*, *nee*, *widheet*, *eet*, *greend*, *éees*, *deen*, *been*) doubts, now, without, out, ground, house, down, boum (going). This deviation from the uniform Leeds and Wakefield (*aa*) must needs tend to render the Heekmondwike speaker still more unintelligible. In this respect Dewsbury resembles Halifax and Bradford. On account of my surprise at the great difference of treatment of U' in the contiguous towns of Wakefield and Dewsbury, CCR. wrote to a printer at Wakefield to give him the pron. of half a dozen words at these two places. I give the result in the printer's orthography with CCR.'s interpretation (translated from glossie into pal.) to shew the exceeding difficulty of understanding local spellings, which are read off at once by natives. See also Mr. Banks's Wakefield spellings, in the cwl. p. 401.

COMMON SPELLING.	WAKEFIELD. = PAL.		DEWSBURY. = PAL.	
down	<i>dahn</i>	daan	<i>dāān</i>	déeen
town	<i>tahn</i>	taan	<i>taahn</i>	téeen
house	<i>hahse</i>	aas	<i>haahse</i>	éees
ground	<i>grahnd</i>	graand	<i>graahnd</i>	gréeeend
time	<i>time</i>	tâim	<i>tahm</i>	tóoem ¹
no	<i>noh</i>	noo	<i>noah</i>	nâue ²

¹ not (*taam*), CCR.

² quite as frequently without the (e), CCR.

Mr. Ridgway, who had resided at Dewsbury 37 years, sent a es. in io. to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which, as interpreted by CCR., gave similar results in most cases.

The other differences need no particular observations. They will be clear from the interlinear es.

BARNSELY dt.

As CCR. included Barnsley in Var. vi. (see p. 367), I annex a dt. obtained from Mr. Widdop, a native, b. 1816, by TH. in 1887, in which observe the use of (*u*) in (*ku*)m in *u*)p *dra*)qkən).

1. A *sé*, *ladz*, *joo sí naa* et A)m *re'it ebaat* dhat *lit'l las ku*)m in *thre*)t *skúil jonder*.

2. *shu*)z *gûin daan*)t' *rôud dhîer en*)t' left and *sáid* v)t' *rôud*.

3. *sú je* ! t' *tjáild*)z *gən stre'it u*)p *te*)t' *raq' dûer*, [aas].

4. *wíer shu*)l *ap'n fáind* dhat *dra*)qkən *dief wiz'nd felv*, *ez dhe kaal* :tomi.

5. *wi aal noo* im *vári wíil*.

6. *wíent t' óud tjap súin te'itj* [larn] *er nət te du*)it *egien*, *púer thiq* !

7. *sí je* ! *izent it tríuu* ?

Notes to Dewsbury es. p. 367.

0. *what for.* There is a form why, (wee) at Dewsbury and Halifax, (woo) at Bradford, but generally (waa) in the s. varieties; this, however, is used like *well*, (waa, dhaa siiz a wer fūest tu gūw), why, thou seest I was forced to go, (wī)tu kiam? waa) wilt thou come? well. The rural form is (wāaiu), the (v) very distinct.—*doubts*, see introductory remarks p. 403.

2. *they are laughed at*, there is no *are* in the dialect.—*we know don't we*; the dialect is here remarkable.—*should*, (shud, sūd) and other forms used.—*not*, both (nat, nət).

3. *however*, (emsemivvər) also used.—*these are*, the (dh) initial is sometimes omitted, etc., more frequently at Leeds.—*all about the concern from the thread to the needle*, a common phrase in the neighbourhood introduced by CCR.

5. *great* or (græt).—*father*, the possessive 's sometimes inserted.

7. *two or three* also (tūthru).

8. *concern* also (konsaa'n).—*aye*, either (oo, ee).—*I am bound for it*, the short (a) is used for the pron. *I*,

but it does not extend beyond Dewsbury. The Barnsley dialect literature has it, but it is really quite unknown there, says CCR. Yet in TH.'s Barnsley dt. p. 403 (A) occurs for *I*.

9. *stretched* or (reekt)=reached.—*ground* also (grund), which is the normal form.—*Sunday* or (be'tumi) bettermost.

10. *in a humour* or (in v fratɪ [thratɪ] wi vsee'n) in a quarrel with herself.

11. *hanging* or (iqin).—*to dry* or (fə dratɪn).

13. *until* (til wol), till while, and (u'ntel) also used.

14. *'t other thing*, here CCR. inserts the phrase, for which there was no room in the 8 es. (t' best kanz lat ut)s *not wanted*, the best, or most welcome, come late who are not wanted [the sense is not very clear]; obs. the last syllable of (wantud); this pron. is quite unknown at Leeds, but becomes prominent in conversation from Dewsbury to Rotherham, remarks CCR.

VAR. vii. ROTHERHAM AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES.

This form differs materially from the last. The *I* is generally (óí) and the *U'* (aa), while *O'* is not so frequently (óí óí úí). The great difference consists in remnants of the verbal plural in *-en* and a suspicion of the inf. in *-en*, see es. notes, par. 1. The appearance of (oo) in many words is also remarkable as (*noodher*, *noo*, *oojvrv*, *truth*, *thro*, *kool*, *ool*, *toolk*), neither, know, however, truth, through, call, all, talk. It reminds one of the difference between Hexham and Newcastle, Nb.

CCR. says he considered the Rotherham purer than the Sheffield form of the dialect, and hence selected it.

Notes to Rotherham es., p. 367.

1. *who cares?* this might have been rendered (wət)s əz kéer) what does us [=do we] care.

2. *make* (meen) is also used and (mee) before vowels; in this case (meen) would be an infinitive in *-en*. CCR. says, "I used frequently to hear the infinitive in *-n* in the Rotherham district. I found the dialect, as usual, in greatest character in outlying villages, and there I familiarised myself with the dialect of the inhabitants of Rawmarsh (2

n-by-e, Rotherham). The verbal plural in *-n* I often heard." I think that the supposed hearing of the inf. in *-n*, of which I have got no confirmation, may have arisen from some confusion, see p. 379, par. 2. The occurrence of the verbal pl. in *-en* on the La. and Db. borders is very remarkable in connection with its practical absence elsewhere. See introductory remarks to D 24, p. 364.

3. *the matters of the truth*, (fakt) fact is used, but is commonly avoided in conversation.—*hearest thou now?*

4. *I heard them say*, another instance of the inf. in *-n*, and in this case any action of the verbal pl. in *-n* seems out of the question.

5. *youngest*, or (*joqis*), according to CCR. short (*o*, *i*) in closed accented syllables, generally rare, not unfrequently occur in this variety. Perhaps, however, they may be medial (*ô*, *i*).—*trust*, (*trast*) is also used.—*Marry!* (*mare*) this is a singular usage, it is also found at Wakefield.

6. *if you will only ask her*, (*jo*)*n*

for (*jo wîen*) is another instance of the verbal plural in *-n*, but see par. 13.

7. *what do you think*, here in (*wot*)*en* for what (*doon dan*) we have another verbal plural in *-n*, but it is not in this case followed by the inf. in *-n*.

8. *the whole history as to*, as (*vs*)*t* is interpreted by CCR.

13 *do you know*, here (*dun*) is the verbal pl., and (*noon*) the inf., both in *-n*. In the text (*noon*) is misprinted (*noou*) p. 375.

VAR. viii. SHEFFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

This is practically identical with Var. vii. The little differences between CCR.'s Rotherham and Prof. Parkes's Sheffield (p. 367) probably arise from my having, in the latter case, to interpret an orthography which, although systematic generally, left many words in the ordinary spelling. Prof. Parkes obligingly answered numerous questions, but unfortunately several little points were left unexplained, and the spelling of the unaccented and common words and syllables and the use of the (*r*) is open to doubt. TH. heard "consonantal *r*" always.

The dialectal short *a* in *man*, Prof. Parkes stated to be "not like Fr. *châtte*, but exactly like *a* in *man*," which he said "is certainly pronounced by speakers of the Sheffield dialect as in English proper," adding that "in Db. even within a few miles of Sheffield, *man* is pronounced *mon*, the *o* like *o* in *not*, and cannot, cõmă." It seems to me that the Sheffield sound was an error of appreciation, as the presumed Db. sounds certainly are. Hence, on the authority of CCR., who was often in Sheffield, I have used (*a*) throughout, and not (*æ*). TH. heard chiefly (*a*), but occ. (*a*¹), and once even (*æ*).

Then I heard "nearly like *aw* in *caw*, and *ee* in *seen* conjoined," and I have therefore rendered his long *i* by (*ɔ'i*), which is after all possibly an error for (*ái*) or (*ói*). TH. generally heard (*A'i*, *A"i*).

Prof. Parkes admits the verbal pl. in *-en* in (*wot dun jo thiŋk? dun jo noo?*). I have found this construction also in "The Sheffield Dialect in conversation, 'uppa are hull arston' [upon our grinding room hearthstone, by the fire in our grinding room], written by a Shevild chap," 1834, as "ween hed enuff o this; han yo heard? ween letten [we have lighted] uz poips; ween hed a vara foine swatch [sample] at march o intellet; ween ole been sca'rd hate on uz wits [we have all been scared out of our wits]; ween had a noist [nice] mess." But neither Prof. Parkes nor the other writer have the inf. in *-en*.

VAR. ix. DONCASTER.

On comparing the Leeds and Doncaster ewl., it will be found at first sight that they are considerably different, although CCR. considered the Leeds dialect to stretch down as far as Doncaster with some modification. The main distinction is in the U' words, which have (*áu*) at Doncaster, and (*aa*) at Leeds. But CCR. admits that at Pontefract (*áu*) is heard, although I obtained (*aa*) from East Hardwick (2 s. Pontefract). Dr. Sykes says that the frontier of (*aa*, *áu*) occurs about Conisbrough (5 sw. Doncaster), nearly half way between Doncaster and Rotherham, and 14 sse. Pontefract.

It would appear then that this usage occurs in a narrow slip to the e. of D 24, running 6 or 8 miles w. of its e. b. Dr. Sykes says (*áú*) is heard at Arnthorpe (3 e. Doncaster), though 4 m. further to the e. we come upon (*uu*). The (*áú*) also runs s. into the n. of Nt., see D 27. It is very difficult to place this (*áú*) region, but it is most convenient to consider it as a variety in D 24, of which it retains some peculiarities.

For example, the O words, *hole*, *coal*, are called (*hóil*, *kóil*) with a secondary, probably original form (*kúel*), with which (*fúel*) foal may be compared. All these words have (*ói*, *úi*) or thereabouts in the other varieties. But the O' words, which have elsewhere also the same form, here are simple (*uu*) or (*u*), as (*gud* buuk) good book. In this respect they resemble Nt. D 27, from which this variety may have sprung, but at any rate it has been long affected by D 24, of which it is locally part.

A comparison of the D(oncaster) and L(eeds) words gives us roughly the following results:

A-	D. (<i>ee</i>), L. (<i>éev</i>).	EOR D.	(<i>aa</i>), L. (<i>íiv</i>), both omitting
A: O:	D. (<i>oo</i>), L. (<i>eq</i>).		(<i>r</i>).
A'	D. & L. gen. (<i>úv</i>).	EO'	D. (<i>shii</i>), L. (<i>shuu</i>). This is
Æ	D. & L. practically the same.		a difference in a cardinal
Æ'	D. (<i>ii</i>), L. (<i>íiv</i>).		point.
E-	D. (<i>ee</i>), L. (<i>év êi</i>).	I'	D. & L. practically the same.
E'	D. & L. practically the same.	O	D. & L. in some words (<i>ói</i> , <i>úi</i>).
EA	D. & L. much the same.	O'	D. (<i>uu</i>), L. (<i>úui</i>).
EA'	D. (<i>ii</i>) gen. with few (<i>íiv</i>), L.	U	D. & L. alike (<i>u</i>).
	gen. (<i>íiv</i>).	U'	D. (<i>au</i>), L. (<i>aa</i>).

Of course there are numerous individual exceptions to these general statements. The similarity is therefore confined to the treatment of A', Æ, E', EA, I', U, and part of O; the differences appear in A-, Æ', E, EA', O part, O' arising principally from Doncaster mostly rejecting fractures, and also especially U', where the fracture is in Doncaster, while L. is simple. If we suppose that the few existing fractures had been acquired by contact with the other varieties, the resemblance to n.Nt., and in fact to D 27 generally, would be much closer.

DONCASTER cwl.

from a wl. pal. in 1877 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. John Sykes, M.D., who had been acquainted with the dialect since 1841, but was not a native. The aspirate is quite lost. Dr. Sykes could not be depended on to distinguish (*u*, *u*) and is credited here with (*u*). He seemed to use (*ɛ*) and not (*e*). When not before a vowel, (*r*) is omitted very much, and here I have omitted it regularly, but before a vowel it is 'rough' from Wakefield to Skipton, and of course the omitted (*r*) reappears before a following vowel, as (*múv*, *múer v*)it). This cwl. has such a refined look in many parts, that I particularly inquired, and was assured that the pronunciation was that of the poorer peasant people, but possibly they may have refined it in conversing with their doctor.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *beek*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 7 *seck*. 8 *av*. 9 *bi*jeev. 12 *saa*. 14 *doo*

[occ.]. 15 AA. 17 LA. 21 neem. 22 teem. 24 sham. 34 last. 35 AAL. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom. 40 kom. 43 and. 46 kan'l. 47 wande. 50 toqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as. A: or O: 58 thru thre. 59 lam. 60 loq. 61 umoq. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 66 saq soq. A'- 67 gáv. 70 túb. 72 woo. 73 súv. 74 tun. 75 strook. 76 túvd. 78 AA. 79 AAN. 80 alídee. 84 múer. 85 súv. 86 wots. 89 búrth. 90 blAA. 91 MAA. 92 NAA. 93 snAA. 94 kraA. 95 thFAA. 96 SAA. 98 NAAN. 99 thraAN. 100 saAN. A': 101 ook. 102 aks. 105 rúvd. 106 brood. 107 lúef. 108 dof [?: at Doncaster]. 110 not nóot [nought]. 111 out. 115 wom. 118 búbn. 122 núbn. 124 stábn. 125 [(nobet) used]. 127 úbst. 128 dhóez. 130 búbt. 132 ot. 136 AADhv.

E- 138 feedhv. 144 egíbn. 150 lúst. 152 watúr. 153 setvde. E: 158 Eítv [but 'at aítv']. 160 eg. 163 lee. 168 talv. 171 baali. 172 grés. 173 was. 174 esh. 175 fést ies'n [tasten]. 179 wat. 181 path. E- 182 sii. 183 tectp. 184 leed. 185 ríid. 186 bredth [d heard]. 187 líiv. 188 [(wín) whimney. used]. 189 wee [not (wéei)]. 190 kéei. 191 íil. 192 miin. 193 kliin. 194 ení oní. 197 tpiiz. 200 wíbt. 202 íit. E': 204 díid. 205 thred. 206 red. 207 níid'l. 210 klee. 211 gréi. 215 toot. 216 díil. 218 shíip [not (shíp)]. 221 íiv. 222 éev. 223 dhíiv. 224 wAA. 225 fíesh. 226 móbst. 228 swet. 229 bríuth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brék [(briik) supposed to be correct. p.p. (brak)]. 233 speek [occ.]. 237 bleen. 238 Ed. 239 seel. 240 leen. 241 veen. 243 plee. 246 kwiin. 247 wíin. 249 wíiv. 250 swíiv. 252 ket'l. 254 ledhv. 255 wedhv. E: 257 Ed. 258 sed. 259 wed. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 street. 268 Eldíst. 270 belés. 272 el'm. 273 men. 280 íev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 284 thresh. 287 bíiz'm. 288 let. E'- 289 jii [even when addressing a single person]. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mií. 293 wíi. 294 híid. 298 híil. 299 gríin. 300 kíip. 301 íiv. 302 míit. 303 swíit. E: 305 ái. 306 áit. 308 níid. 309 spíid. 310 íil. 312 íiv. 314 híid. 315 híit.

EA: 321 [(síid) used]. 322 laf. 323 fóvt. 326 ood. 330 ad. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(tel) used]. 333 kAAf. 334 AAf AAPn [halfpenny]. 335 AAL. 345 daa'nt [dare not]. 346 ject. EA'- 347 íed. 348 áí. EA': 350 ded. 351 led. 352 red. 354 shíif. 356 líif. 359 neebe. 361 bíen. 363 tpiip. 366 grát grát. 368 deth. 369 slAA. 370 rAA. 371 strAA. EI- 372 éei. 374 néei. EI: 378 week. 382 dhéev. EO- 386 joo. 387 nín. EO: 390 shud. 393 bívont. 397 súvd. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 íaadín. 408 [naad] used. EO'- 409 bíi. 411 thríi. 412 shíi. 413 dívil. 414 híi. 416 díiv. 417 tpiiv. 418 brín. 421 íoti. EO': 423 théi. 424 róí. 425 líit. 426 tévt. 427 bíi. 428 síi. 430 írend. 431 bíiv. 436 trán. 437 tráuth. EY- 438 dáí.

I- 440 wíik. 442 áivín. 443 fráivde. 444 stáil. 448 dhiúnz [?]. 450 tínzde. I: 452 a, i. 454 wítv. 455 líg. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459 réit. 460 wévit. 462 sáit. 464 wítv. 465 sítv. 468 tpiivde. 471 tambe [(b) pronounced]. 472 sriqk. 475 wáivd. 477 íáivd. 481 tíqgr. 486 jíst. 487 jístede. 488 jst. I'- 491 sáv. 496 áivén [(r) distinct]. 497 vrás. I': 500 láik. 502 ráiv. 503 láit. 504 náit. 505 wáit. 506 wáivén. 507 wíivín. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáivn. 513 wáiv. 514 áís. 515 wáivz. 516 wíivdem.

O- 520 boo. 521 fávl. 522 op'n. 523 úvp. O: 526 kof. 527 bóvt. 528 thóvt. 529 bróvt. 530 róvt. 531 dóvtv. 532 kúvl kóil. 534 gíl. 536 goold. 538 wud. 540 olín. 545 op. 550 wod. 551 stAAm. 552 kAAm. 553 AAN. O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 559 mvdhv. 563 mívde. 565 núvz. 566 wdhv. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 wvd. 572 bvd. 573 fluvd. 575 stuvd. 576 wed'nvde. 577 buu. 578 plíu [vb.], plíu [sb.]. 579 unvt. 580 tvf. 581 sóvt. 582 kuvl. 583 taul. 584 stuvl. 585 bruvv. 586 duu. 587 dan. 590 flúuv. 591 múvne. 592 súvne. 594 buvt. 595 ívt. 596 ruvt. 597 svt.

U- 599 ubuv. 600 luv. 601 fávl. 603 kúm. 605 sún. 606 dúuv. 607 bvdhv. U: 608 uglí. 609 ívd. 610 wvl. 612 svv. 613 druvqk. 614 áivd. 615 pvnd. 616 grvnd. 617 sávnd. 618 wáivnd. 619 íuv. 620 gruv.

621 wáund. 622 undr. 625 tuq. 626 uqrv. 628 nvn. 629 swn. 630 wwn. 631 tháunde. 632 up. 633 kwp. 634 thraf. 637 tusk. 638 bask. 639 dust. U'- 640 káu. 641 áu. 642 dláu. 643 náu. 645 dux. 647 ául. 648 áuv. 649 tháuzend. 652 kwd. 653 bat. U': 655 fád. 656 ráum. 657 bráum. 658 dáum. 659 fáum. 660 báuv. 661 sháuv. 662 uz. 663 áus. 664 láus. 665 máus. 667 áat. 668 práud. 670 buudh. 671 máuth. 672 sáuth.

Y- 673 woti. 676 lái. 679 tjeti. 680 bizi. Y: 683 midl. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 báí. 689 biild [pp. (belt, búult)]. 690 káund. 691 máund. 697 be'ri. 701 fost. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thəoti'u. 708 áiv. Y': 709 fáiv. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 baald. 733 skáav. 737 meet. 740 weev. E. 743 skriem. 746 briudh. 751 píut. I. and Y. 756 srímp. O. 761 lánud. 762 okem. 768 kóuk. 769 modí. 778 efáud. 782 padhu. U. 792 skwab'l. 799 skál. 802 ram. 803 djamp. 805 kradz. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 828 eegi. 840 tjeemer. 845 censhent. 846 tjanle. 847 deendiv. 852 aperen. 864 kos. 865 faat. E.. 878 saleri. 886 friiv. 890 biest. 891 fiest. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 898 náist. 910 djáist [the verb (to djáist to put cattle out to feed)]. 911 sestren. O.. kúuti. 916 onjen. 917 rúg. 921 ukawent. 922 bashil. 925 va'is. 926 spó'il. 929 káukzmbu. 931 dpygle. 933 frant. 940 kúut. 942 butpe. 943 tuti. 944 ekúu. 947 bó'il. 950 super. 952 kúus. 955 dóut. 956 kavv. 957 empló'i. U.. 961 griu'el. 963 kwáit. 964 síuyet. 965 ó'd. 966 frint. 967 siut. 969 síue. 970 djast. 971 flint.

D 25 = wMM. = Western Mid Midland.

Boundaries. Begin at the mouth of the Mersey, and pursue that river to just w. of Stockport, then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to the confluence of the Etherow and the Goyt, at nw. corner of Db., and continue along the b. of Db. to Whaley Bridge, then entering Db. proceed se. over Horwich, keeping n. of Combs Edge township, and just sw. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. Then pass along the summits of Combs Moss, Long Hill, and Burbage Edge (lying n. and w. of Buxton, Db.) to Moss House on the b. of Ch., and enter St. at Quarndon between Flash and Leek Frith, passing over the hills called the Roaches (:ra'utpeʒ), and, sweeping on the w. of Butterton and Wetton, e. of Grindon and through Blore e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and so pass sw. to Rocester. Then go w. along the s. *teeth* line 4 to the Dee, first passing wsw. to n. of Leigh, which has (áu), and probably through Hilderstone to Stone. Then pass just w. of Norton-in-Hales (ái) in the ne. horn of Sh., and go nearly n. by the n. of Audlem (áu), to the b. of Ch. s. of Burley Dam (just s. of Combermere Park). Then keep s. of Marbury, w. of Malpas, and Broxton, and e. of Farndon to the Dee about Aldford, and follow this river and the sea round to the mouth of the Mersey. The part of the nw. horn of Ch. which lies n. of Bebington, Higher and Lower (3 s. Birkenhead), is affected by Liverpool and Birkenhead influence, that is, it has no dialect proper, but is included in D 25 for geographical reasons, just as Scilly and w.Co. in D 12 were considered to belong to the S. div. For the whole description of this boundary I am indebted to the personal observations of TH., confirmed in part by Mr. T. Darlington.

Area. Nearly the whole of Ch. (except its ne. horn, and a narrow strip at the sw.) with a small strip on the nw. of Db., and most of St. lying n. of a line drawn nearly e. and w. through Stone, including "the Potteries," with the exception of the narrow slip adjoining Db.

Authorities. See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || systematic orthography, ° io.

Ch. || Altrincham, † Alvanley, † Audlem, † Beeston, * Bickley, † Bowdon, † Broxton, † Buerton, † Congleton, † Great Neston, † Hatton Heath, † Helsby, † Knutsford, † Lymm, † Malpas, † Marbury, † Middlewich, ° Mollberly, † Mouldsworth, † Nantwich, † Northenden, † Northwich, † Pott Shrigley, † Sandbach, † Stockport, † Tarporley, † Waverton.

Db. † Combs Valley, † Fernilee.

Sh. † Norton-in-Hales, † Pipe Gate.

St. ° Audley, † Betley, ° Biddulph, † Blythe Marsh, † Burslem, ° Cheadle, † Froghall, † Leek, † Leek Frith, † Longport, † Madeley, † Oakamoor, † Rocester, ° Shelton, † Stoke-upon-Trent, † Stake Gutter Farm, † Stone, † Tunstall, ° Wolstanton.

Character. The general and most striking characters to a stranger are the treatment of

U' in (*áis dáin táin*) house down town.

I' in (*táim*) varying to (*tá'im*) time, and always distinct from the last, with (*É'í*) in a few words, as (*we'í be'íl*) why boil.

E', as (*mí'í*) me, varying to (*é'í*), especially in m.Ch., and to (*É'í*) in St.

A- in (*tail*) tale, except in ne.Ch. and St., where it is *teel*.

ÆG and EG *tail wii* tail way, becoming (*teel wee*) in ne.Ch. and part of St.

O', most frequently (*o'ú*), as (*me'ún*), varying as (*má'an*) in St.

These may be taken as the great characteristics, of which (*ái*) for U' is chief.

We may consider that there are three varieties in Ch. and one in St., but the differences are very minute. T.H. draws two lines through Ch., (1) from opposite Warrington, La., w. of Knutsford and e. of Northwich, just w. of Siddington (5 wsw. Macclesfield), and e. of Lower Withington (1 sw. of Siddington) and n. of Bosley (5 s.Macclesfield); and (2) from Frodsham (4 s.Runcorn on the Mersey) through Delamere Forest, e. of Tarporley and Calverley, and w. of Wettenhall, to 2 n.Nantwich, and then e. by Crewe to Church Lawton (5 ssw. Congleton). All e. of (1) may be termed e.Ch., and uses (*dee*, *teel*) day, tail and tale, and (*má, í, dháiz*) me, he, these; all w. and s. of (2) may be termed w.Ch.; and the part between (1) and (2) m.Ch. In the s. parts of w. and m.Ch. they say (*méi, éi, dhéiz*), and in n.St. these are (*me'í, E'í, dhé'iz*), but in the n. parts of w. and m.Ch. these become (*má, í, dháiz*), as in e.Ch.

T.H. has made a thorough examination of the pronunciation of received long *á* (*ee*, *ee'í*) in these districts, and gives the words he actually heard used. These words are very varied in origin, and it is best perhaps to leave them in T.H.'s order, marking only the Ws. or Norse forms; the rest, the majority, being English or Romance.

Var. i. wCh. The following words had (*ii*): (1) bacon, conversation, Æ-father, newspaper, relations, station, 'tatoes, Æ- water, Waverton: (2) cane, erate, escaped, estate, face, facing, female, A- game, A' lane, A- late, lately, A- name, often (*neem*), place, plate, sale, mostly (*seel*), A same, A- take, taken, wake, often (*weck*), Wales: (3) entertaining, explain, fail, faint, laid, ÆG nail, paint, plain, EG rain, EI raise, EG sails, train, wait: (4) EG away, ÆG day, Æ'G gray, I'G hay, jay, lay, leastways, May, Naylor, pay, EG play, EG say, stay, EG way. T.H. also remarks that *tr-*, *dr-*, or *-tr*, *-dr* become (*tr*, *dr*) or (*-tr*, *-dr*) in e.Ch., and are ordinary English *tr-*, *dr-* elsewhere.

Var. ii. m.Ch. The following words were heard with (*ee*): Æ- father, station, 'tatoes, EA: gate, A' lane, A- make.

But *all* the following had (*ii*): (1) baby, bacon, A- baking, crazy, Davenham,

father [which had both (*ee*) and (*ii*)], grandfather, potato [also (*ee*)], Ravenscroft (:riinzkrœtt), station [also (*ee*)], Æ: wakened, Æ- water; (2) agate, Bates, A- cake, change, crape, A- game, A'- lane [also (*ee*)], A- late, A- made, A- name, place, plate, platelayers, safe, A- stake, trapes; (3) drain, EG laid, paid, plain, EG rain, ÆG tail, train, wait; (4) EG away, Æ'G clay, ÆG day, Æ'G grey, FG hay, hayfield, ÆG may, pay, platelayers, EG play, EG say, EG way. TH. says that the words in (1) and (2) have (*ee*) in the s. of m. Ch. at Congleton, Sandbach, and Lower Withington and neighbourhood.

Var. iii. e.Ch. With very few exceptions all rec. (*ee*) remain (*ee*), and do not become (*ee'*j) or (*éé*).

Var. iv. n.St. Here the change is slightly more considerable. A- is (*ee*), A' commonly (*uu*) or (*oo*), Æ- (*ee*) in father, water, but ÆG (*ii*), Æ' generally (*ii*), EG is (*ii*), long E'- is (*E'i*), apt to sound to a Londoner as his *ā*, thus *green grain* pron. (grē'in grīin) sounds nearer to *grain green*, the words being just reversed. This belongs also to m.Ch., but it is more marked in n.St.; long EO'- is also pron. (*E'i*) in three, tree, etc. I' becomes almost (*A'i*) though intended only for (*ái*). O' is still occasionally (*a'u*), but this passes into (*iu*), as (*dū*) do, on the one hand, and (*æ'u*), as (*mæ'm*) moon, on the other, shewing clearly the instability of the combination (*a'u*) and its aptitude to generate (*y*, *a'u*) forms, by a direct process, which must have played a great part in the history of language. Of course U is (*u*), but *come* is singularly enough (*kam*), elsewhere also it is often an exception. U' is (*ái*), but Y' becomes (*E'i*) the same as E, hence we have *mouse*, *mice* (*máis*, *mE'is*), which has a singular effect.

In all these varieties there is a peculiar form of the negative auxiliary verb, as (*kæne*, *ku_odnæ*, *aznæ*, *mu_one*, *shænæ*, *shatnæ*, *wīnæ*, *wu_one*, *wu_odnæ*) can't, couldn't, has'n't, mus'n't, sha'n't, shall not, won't, wouldn't, all of which receive a euphonic (*r*) when a vowel follows, according to the observations of TH. He has also pointed out the singular omission of the preposition *to* in Ch., which extends also to n.St., thus in sentences actually heard, (*gu_o bE'd*) go to bed, (*iil kām ār āis*) he'll come to our house, (*ev A gu :kræ'n*) if I go to Crewe, (*tast uz A kām wark iur*) first as I came to work here, (*art dhe gu'aim iur :kristis tenāt'*) art thou going to hear Christies (the Christy Minstrels) to-night? Even in the common, though not at present literary, form *for to*, the *to* is omitted, thus (*fur gu en-*) for to go, and, (*kārn fer ku_ot jæt*) corn for to cut yet, (*i was fer sī*) he was for to see [all over the forest, as steward of the Crown], (*iv ani badi kāmz fer bái*), if anybody comes for to buy, (*wi ad fer gu ráind*) we had for to go round.

Illustrations. First, four dt. from Bickley, w.Ch., Sandbach, m.Ch., and Leck, St., all obtained from dict. of natives, and from Combs and Fernilee, Db., from the personal knowledge of TH. Next, five es. placed interlinearly in order to make the minute distinctions of the varieties more distinct. As they were obtained at different times, and from different people, there are little discrepancies in the versions, but there is a surprising agreement of pronunciation. Tarporley illustrates Var. i. w.Ch.; Middlewich, Var. ii. m.Ch.; Pott-Shrigley, Var. iii. e.Ch.; while the Dale of Goyt variants shew the very slight differences in the Db. strip (which is also shewn in the Combs dt.), and the Burslem illustrates Var. iv. n.St. Also ewl. are appended from w.Ch. and n.St. The differences in m. and e. Ch. being regular, no ewl. have been made for them. I am also able to give a very complete ewl. for the neighbourhood of Bickley, s.Ch., arranged from Mr. Darlington's *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, communicated to me in MS. In the L. div. I also give the first chapter of Ruth, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington, and transliterated into pal. by AJE. It is given there in connection with three L. and one S. version of the same chapter. I wish here to express my obligations to Mr.

T. Darlington, and to refer the reader to his excellent Folk-speech of s.Ch. printed by the English Dialect Society, with its numerous examples in Glossic, and its prefixed essays on Grammar and Pronunciation.

FOUR INTERLINEAR dt.

B. Var. i. *Bickley* township, Ch. (5 mw.Whitechurch, Sh.), pal. in June and July, 1886, by A.J.E. from the dictation of T. Darlington, Esq., native of Burland (3 mw.Nantwich), who was perfectly familiar with Bickley sp.

S. Var. ii. *Sandbach* (4 ne.Crewe), m.Ch., pal. in 1881 by T.H. from dict. of J. Capper, native, b. 1823, boot and shoemaker, his sister and her family.

L. Var. iv. *Leek*, St., pal. in 1880 by T.H. from dict. of Mr. V. Daniels, native, b. about 1835.

C. Var. iv. also, *Combs* and Fernilee, especially the Db. valley s. of Chapel-en-le-Frith and n. of Buxton, written 1882 in pal. by T.H. from his own knowledge and consultation vv. with his relatives there, see also D 21, p. 321, l. 15 from bottom. In this case I have deviated from the usual plan here pursued (see p. 317, l. 16), and have inserted suspended consonants, and T.H.'s own form (*ʃ*₀) for my (*w*'u), and retracted (*i*), but no peculiar mark for (*r*), as this specimen represents his own personal observations upon himself and relatives.

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. <i>Bickley.</i> | sò a sii, mèts, ʒə séin [siin] náí, ez áí)m réít [riit] |
| <i>Sandbach.</i> | ə sii, tʃaps, ʒə séin naa, ez ə)m réít |
| <i>Leek.</i> | ə sii, tʃaps, ʒə séin naa, ə)m ré'ít |
| <i>Combs.</i> | ə)se', ladz, ʒə)siin naa, ez ə)m ráit' |

B ebá'it dhat lí't'l wensh ku₀mí₁u frəm)th skæ'u jaunde₁r₀.

S ebá'it dhat lí't'l wentʃ kom'in frəm)s skæ'u jənder.

L ebá'it dhat lí't'l wentʃ kam'in frəm jənder skja'ù.

C ebá'it dhat lí't'l wentʃ kam'in fer)s'sk₀ú₀ jənd.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|---------|-------|---------|------------------------------------|-------------------|---------|------|
| 2. B | æ'u)z | gæ'u'in | dáin | th)rood | dhíe ₁ r ₀ , | thra'u | th)red | gi't |
| S | æ'u)z | gæ'u'in | dáin | th)leen | dhíer | thra'u | th)red | atʃ |
| L | æ)z | gu'in | dáin | dh)rood | dhíe | thra'u | dh)red | ʒeet |
| C | ú ₀)z | gu'in | dái'n | th)rood | dhíer | thru ₀ | th)red' | ʒeet |

B v)dhə)lɪft and sáid v)dh wii.

S ən)th lɪft and sáid v)dh leen.

L ən dh)lɪft ənd sá'id v)dh rood.

C u₀pə th)lɪft ənd sáid v)th rood.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|------|-----------|-------------------|-------|--------------------|
| 3. B | shæ'ur | nu ₀ f | th)tʃá'ilt)s | gə'n | stre'it | u ₀ p | te)th | dæ'ner |
| S | lu ₀ k)ʒe! | | th)tʃá'ilt)s | gá'n | stre'it' | u ₀ p | te)th | ru ₀ qg |
| L | lu ₀ k)ʒe! | | th)tʃá'íl)z | gá'n | stre'it | u ₀ p | te)dh | ru ₀ qg |
| C | sí)ʒe | ladz! | th)tʃá'ilt)s | gá'n | s'tre'it' | u ₀ p' | te)th | raq' |

B v)th raqg á'is.

S dæ'ner [á'is].

L dæ'r.

C dæ'r [á'is].

4. B w^hi_{er} a' u l mi i bi f^haind dhat dru_oqk'n d^hef dr^haid
 S w^hi_{er} a' u l mi i b^hei f^haind dhat dru_oqk'n def w^hidherd
 L w^hi_{er} er l ap'n f^haind dhat dru_oqk'n dif w^hidherd
 C w^hi_{er} u_o l ap'n s^hi dhat d^hru_oqk'n dif w^hiz'nt

B u_op t^hap v)th niim v :tu_om^hs.
 S a'ud ma'n es dhi kaan :tu_om'.
 L a'ud t^hap' ez dhi kaan a'ud :tu_om'.
 C fe^hb ez dhi, kaan :tu_om'.

5. B w^hei A noon im veri wel.
 S wi AA noon im wel enu_of.
 L w^hei AA noon im
 C wi [wi_o] AA noon im veri, w^hil.

6. B wu_one dh)a'ud t^hap s^ha'un t^hit^h v_o ne'te
 S wu_oner ei s^ha'un t^hit^h er not fer
 L wu_one dh)a'ud t^hap s^ha'un sh^hit er ? e'i l stop'er frem
 C wine th)a'ud t^hap' s^hu_oun t^hit^h er non)t'

B d^ha'u it e^hgen, p^ha'ue_or_o th^hiqg!
 S d^ha'u it e^hg^hen, p^ha'uer th^hiqg!
 L gu'in dhier e^hg^hen, p^hue th^hiqg!
 C d^hu_oit e^hg^hen, p^huer th^hiqk!

7. B l^huk j^h! iz'ne it tr^ha'u?
 S lu_ok j^h! in^her it tr^ha'uu?
 L lu_ok j^h! A t^ha'ud j^h.
 C l^huk! it's t^hru_o, s^hi j^h!

Notes to Bickley dt.

1. *mate*, *butty* (bu_ot^h), is frequent, but not in addresses. (*me^hs*, *mi^hts*, *mi^hts*) are all said, the last rare, the regular form is (la^hdz_o,—*ab^haut*), is also heard.—*school*, the (l) is not always omitted.—*yonder*, they sometimes say 'yonder school,' but not 'yon school.' The final r) was felt by Mr. D., but not by me. It was not at all trilled, and I could not myself hear it. Hence I mark it as a faint (r_o).

2. *she*, (a'u) hoo, is the regular form.—*going*, in very rapid utterance, is heard as gy'in), not quite (y) as it struck me: this change does not seem to occur otherwise, but it points to the origin of the change from (uu) to (y) through 'a'u'.—*gate*, for a large field gate, *hatch* for a small garden gate: the sound of (giit) is mostly natural at Bickley, but at Nantwich (:na'ntwe'it^h) this and other long a are pure (ii), as

in the phrase invented there to shew it, (te j^het tiituz en biik'n of v bla'u ed^h plit) to eat potatoes and bacon off a blue-edged plate: this is comparable to Gloucester habits.—*hand*, (h^hand, h^hant) are 'traditional' forms, they seem to have been used by the ancestors of the present generation, and old people if asked will give them as the sound, but Mr. D. has not observed them in actual use; *hand* is most commonly used at any rate, (h) is frequently omitted.—*side*, observe the difference of the diphthong in (nai) now, (sai^hd) side, which approaches (so'id), and is often written *oi*.—*way*, this would not be used here, they would repeat *road*: observe the sound in the pause is (w^hi), but the (i) was short and slightly touched.

3. *door* (d^ho'r_o), like (h^hand), is a traditional sound, no longer used.—

wrong, (raq) is the usual, (ruq) a traditional form, Mr. D. could almost name the few families who still use it, (-qr) occurs in the pause.

4. *where*, also, but less commonly, (wēw[r_o]).—*deaf* (dʒeɪf), the alterations of *ea* are as in Sh.—*shrivelled* is not used, (shr-) not used, shrub=(sru_ob).—*name*, both (niim, neem) are used, but (niim) is commonest.

5. *we*, this is a rapid unaccented form, the emphatic form is (wɪ₁).—*know*, the verbal plural in *-en* is used regularly in *present* tenses, except in *can*, *may*, *must* (obliged to), *must* (which is rare): but verbs in *-st*, *-ct*, lose the *t* always: in the past tense the *-en* is only used by old people, the younger have lost it.

6. *will not*, sometimes (wu_onet), and rarely (wu_oned), where it is affected by Sh.—*teach*, learn (laa[r_on]) is also used;

the master of a school is termed the (ska'ugate[r_o]), (tiitv[r_o]) may be used for Sunday-school teacher, but it is not common.—*not to* (nə'te), or (nə[r_ote, na'te, nat'te). The use of *to* is unexpected, see the Sandbach dt.

7. *look you!* (lʊ_okjʊv) has an exceptionally short vowel, but this is only used in this phrase, to look is (lə'uk).—*see thee* (si₁dhi) might be used, but not in such a connection, it is rather "do you understand," or "mark my words," not "look in that direction." *Thou* is always used to the very young, between brother and sister, from parent to child (not conversely), between husband and wife, used from master to inferior servants, by fellow-servants, School Board children generally thou one another, the usage varies in different districts.

Notes to Sandbach dt.

1. *coming*, the vowel seemed to lie between (o) and (u_o).

2. *through*, the diphthong seemed to lie between (ə'u) and (e'u).—*hatch*, a small garden gate.

Notes to Combs dt.

1. *so* (sʊ_ou)=(sə'u) omitted.—*lads*, *mates*, is not used in direct address, workmen sometimes say 'my mate' (mɪ_omæt), but (bu_oti) is generally used in this sense.—*wench*, usual word, *girl* (gɜɪl) is used in half-refined speech.—*road* used twice, *way* would not be used here, but in which way is he gone (wit₁wɛɪz i, gə'nʔ).

3. *see you lads*, sure enough when used would be (shʊ_ouer enʊ_of).

4. *happen*, *chance* would not be used here, but they say 'a good chance'

(v)gʊ_od tʃans).—*wizzend*, shrivelled is not used, and *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (srimps) shrimps.

Observe that generally in transliterating TH.'s pal. into ÅJE.'s, (i, ə'u) are used for (i, ũ_ou), the final lengthening of consonants, and generally of the second element of diphthongs and fractures are omitted, as explained on pp. 292, 317, 324, for the reasons there given, and they are used in this example as a specimen only.

FOUR INTERLINEAR CS. WITH VARIANTS IN A FIFTH.

T for Tarporley (9 ese.Chester), Var. i., pal. in 1877 by TH., from the dictation of Mr. John Clarke, b. 1848, native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich), whence he removed when 13, having since lived at Tarporley, and of his wife, then 26, a native of Tarporley.

M Middlewich (9 nne.Nantwich), Var. ii., pal. in June 1878 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Thos. Nightingale, b. 1832, joiner, native, and (except for 2 years) constant resident; paragraphs 1 to 9 had been first dictated by Mr. T. Whittaker, then 60, sawyer, and Mr. John Hutchinson, then 35, slater, both natives, and the result supervised by Mr. Nightingale.

S Pott-Shrigley (4 nne.Macclesfield), Var. iii., pal. about 1874 by TH. from dict. of Mr. John Jackson, native, b. 1833.

G Variants from Pott-Shrigley in the Dale of Goyt, Db.

B Burslem (3 n.w. Stoke-upon-Trent), Var. iv., pal. in Oct. 1877 by TH., from the dict. of Mr. W. Latimer, b. 1831, potter, native, perused and variants added by Mr. J. Bolland, parish clerk, resident about 40 years.

These four versions cannot be accurately compared word by word, on account of slight differences in the rendering, but they are given interlinearly for facility of reference, and to shew the substantial resemblance, T, M, S represent the three principal forms of Ch. pron., the w. and s., the m., and the n. and e., while B represents Potteries of n. Staffordshire.

0. *Tarporley* WE'i :dʒA'n az)ne dáits.
Middlewich WE'i :dʒA'n az næ'u daits.
Shrigley WE'i :dʒɔn)z næ'u dáits.
Goyt wái
Burslem WE'i :dʒA'n)z næ'u dáits.

1. T WE'l, lâd, A FEK'n jii)n bæ'ueth laf' et wət
 M WE'l, lâd, dhíi en ìm me bæ'ueth ɔn jə laf' et wət
 S WE'l, lâd, dhíi en ìm me)búedh laf' ɛd)dhiz
 G
 B WE'l, lâd, dhe'i en ìm ken bùth laf' ɛt)th

- T A)m gə'u'in sii; ber)æ'ue kjEErz? dhat)s
 M A)m gə'u'in t' tel)jə; ber)æ'ue kjEE'rz? dhat)s
 S ní,ùz ɛ máin; úe , kjEErz? dhat)s
 G
 B ní,ùz ɛz A)m telin jə; uu kjEErz? dhat)s

- T ne mater ɛ máin.
 M niidher íer ner dhíer.
 S noodher íer ner)dhíer.
 G
 B niidher íer ner dhíer.

2. T jə du_one əf'n íer ɛv)ɛ mæn dî'in bîkjès íi)z laft àt.
 M dher iz)ne mení ɛz dîn bîkəs dhɛ)r laft àt.
 S dher iz ne mɔni ɛz dîn bîkooz dhɛ)r laft àt.
 G
 B dher iz ne mení men ɛz ɛd de'íi bîkæ'uz dhɛ)r laft àt.

- T WE'i shu_od dhi? it)s nɛ
 M WE'i shu_od dhi? it)s nA
 S wi noon, du_one wi? wət shu_od mak)em? it)iz)ne
 G du_ont)ɛz?
 B WE'i noon, du_oner)ɛz? wət shud meek em? it ine

- T vɛri láikli, iz)ít nái?
 M láikli, iz it?
 S vɛri láikli, iz)ít [is)t]?
 G
 B vɛri láikli, iz)ít?

3. T ber)áí)EV'er dhís iz áí it wá'z, se
 M áí)EV'er dhís iz áí it wá'z, su
 S aaver [et ani reet] dhís iz áí it wá'r, se
 G et ani reet it wer edhis'n,
 B a)aa'v'er dhe'iz er th)faks v)th kjes, su

T dju_ost æ'ud dhi náiz v bit, en bi kwáit til æ)v ta'ud dhi
 M dju_ost æ'ud dhi náiz, en bi kwáit tìn A)v dū_on, en
 S dju_ost æ'ud dhi ne'iz, men, en bi)kwæ'iet tìn)A)v dū_on,
 G kwáiet til A)v dæ'ùn.
 B dju_ost æ'ud dhi náiz, men, en bi kwéit, til A)v dū_on.

T AA ebáit it.
 M dhen dha)l noo.
 S íer dhi!
 G
 B àrk'n.

4. T A)m veri sàrtin A ìerd em sii — su_om v dhem
 M A)m sàrtin A ìerd em sii — su_om v dhem
 S A)m sàrtin A ierd em see—A)míen su_om v dhæ'ùz
 G A')m
 B A)m sàrtin A ierd em sii — su_om v th)

T fòk ez went thræ'u dh)æ'uél thi_oqg frem fæst dherseIz
 M fòks ez went thræ'u AA)th kensàrn dhemselz
 S fòk ez went thræ'ù th)wù_ol kensàrn fre)th)fast dherseIz
 G fer
 B fòks ez went thræ'ù th)wool thi_oqg frem th)fæst dhemselz

T —dhat æ díd shæ'uer enu_of.
 M —dhat A díd shæ'uer enu_of.
 S —dhat A díd shæ'uer [séf] enu_of.
 G
 B —dhat A díd séf enu_of.

5. T ez)dh ju_oqgist làd ìmsel', gjerin on' fer náin, nood
 M es th)ju_oqgist làd ìmsel', gjerin on' fer náin — ì nood
 S es)th ju_oqkst làd ìssel', v big' làd náin íer æ'ud, nood
 G ez ju_oqgist
 B ez)dh ju_oqgist làd ìmsel', v big làd náin íer æ'ud, nood

T is fi-dherz ve'is in v m'ínit, ev it wæ'r se kwíer en
 M is fi-dherz váis in a m'ínit, ev it wá'z se kwíer en
 S is)feedherz váis in v m'ínit ev)it wæ'r se)kwíer en
 G ve'is
 B is feedherz váis et wu_onst fer AA it wes se kwíer en

T skwæk'ín, en əd tru_ost ·dhat lād t' spiik t' trə'uth
 M skwæk'ín, en əd tru_ost ·ím fer tɛl)th trə'uth
 S skwæk'íqk, en əm shə'uər ði)d tɛl [speek] t')t' trə'uth
 G skwæk'ín, əd t'ru_ost ·ím t' tɛl t' t' trə'uth
 B skwæk'ín, en əd tru_ost ·ím fer spiik)th trə'uth

T ani dii, ái ·dhat ə wù_od.
 M ani dii, ·dhat ə wù_od.
 S ani táim [dæ] ·dhat í wù_od.
 G A
 B ani dii, ·dhat ə wù_od.

6. T en dh)ə'ud wu_omen ɛrsɛl ɛl tɛl ani ɔn)ɛ ez laf'n,
 M en th)ə'ud wu_omen ɛrsɛl ɛl tɛl ani ɔn)ɛ ez laf'n,
 S en th)ə'ud wu_omen ɛrsɛl ɛl tɛl ani ɔn)ɛ ez,laf'n naa,
 G
 B en dh)ə'ud wu_omen ɛrsɛl ɛd [ɛl] tɛl ani ɔn)ɛ ez lafs naa,

T en prati stre'it fəret tə'u, en widháit mu_otɪ bədher
 M en stre'it fəred tə'u, báit mu_otɪ bədher,
 S en tɛl ɛ st're'itfəret tə'u, báit mitɪ bədher,
 G [en əə]
 B en tɛl)ɛ stre'it fəret tə'u widháit ani bədher,

T en əə, ɛv jii)n ɔonli aks)er—əə bɛr ə'u wù_ol.
 M ɛv jo)n ɔoni aks ɛr.
 S ɛv)jo)n ɔonli aks)er, oo! wínut ə'u?
 G wínut ɛ?
 B íf ɛ)jɛ)n ɔoni aks)er, wu_oner)er?

7. T aniái ·ə'u tə'ud)mi wɛn ə ast ɛr, tə'u ɛr
 M aniái ə'u tə'ud ·mɛi[mí] wɛn ə akst ɛr, tə'u ɛr
 S ɛt ani rɛt ə'u tə'ud ít ·mí wɛn ə akst ɛr, tə'u ɛr
 G
 B aniái ·ɛr tə'ud mɛ'i wɛn ə akst ɛr tíu ɛr

T thrái táimz ó_oɛr, en ·ə'u did)ne ə'ut t' bi
 M thréi [thrái] táimz ó_oɛr, en ·ə'u ə'utne bi
 S thrái táimz óɛr, en)·ə'u du_oz)ne ə'ut)t'bi
 G
 B thre'i tóimz óɛr, ɛr did, en ɛr du_oner ə't t' bi

T ru_oqg í sítɪ ɛ thiqg ez dhís, wət)n ·joθ thiqk?
 M ru_oqg í sítɪ ɛ thiqg ez dhís, wət)n ·joθ thiqk?
 S ru_oqg ɛbáit sítɪ ɛ)thiqg ez dhís, wəd du_on ɛ thiqk?
 G
 B ru_oqg u_opɛ sítɪ ɛ pɛ'ínt ez dhís, wət du_on ɛ thiqk?

8. T wɛl ber ez a wer si:in, ·æ'u)d tel)ʝe bæ'ueθ ái
 M wɛl ez a wɛs si:in, ·æ'u)d tel)ʝe bæ'ueθ wíer
 S wɛl ez)A)wer se'iqk, ·æ'u)d tel)ʝe búedh ái en)wíer
 G SEE)in aa
 B wɛl ez ái wɛs si:in, ɛr)d tel)ʝe bùθh ái wíer

T en wíer æ'u fu_ond t' dru_oqk'n bíest ez æ'u
 M en wɛn' æ'u fu_ond t' dru_oqk'n píç [slotʃ] ez æ'u
 S en wɛn' æ'u fu_on t')dru_oqk'n bíest ez)æ'u
 G slotʃ
 B en wɛn' ɛr fu_ond [fu_on] t' dru_oqk'n talek ez ɛr

T kAAZ ɛr u_ozbent.
 M kAAZ ɛr u_ozbent.
 S kAAZ ɛr)u_ozbent.
 G
 B kAAZ ɛr u_ozbent.

9. T æ'u swóer æ'u síd im wídh ɛr oon áiz.
 M æ'u swóer æ'u síd im wí ɛr oon áiz, lái'in
 S æ'u swóer æ'u síd im wí)er oon áin, lái'iqk
 G SWEER lái'in
 B ɛr swóer ɛr se'id im wí ɛr oon áiz lái'in stretʃt

T AA fu_ol leqkθ ɔn)θh gráind, in iz gu_od su_ondi
 M e)θh fu_ol reʃ ɔn)t' gráind, in iz gu_od su_ondi
 S A'ɛv)e) leqθ u_opu)θh)gráind, in iz gu_od su_ondi
 G A'iz
 B et θh)fu_ol leqθ ɔn)dh gráind, wídh iz best [su_ondi]

T kæ'uet, tlæ'us' e)sáid e)dh áis dæ'uer, dáin bí)θh
 M kæ'uet, tlæ'us' e)sáid e)θh áis dæ'uer, dáin et t'
 S dʌkít [kúet], tlós' bí)θh áis dæ'r, dáin et)θh
 G kúet te)θh áiz
 B kuut ɔn', tlós' bí)dh áis dúer, dáin et)θh

T ká'rner e jənder leen
 M ká'rner e jənder leen
 S ká'rner e)jənd loon
 G ká'rner
 B ká'rner e)dh leen

10. T ði wez beldərín ewii, fer AA)θh wərd láik e
 M ði wez blaatin fer AA)dh wərd láik e
 S ði wer makíqk e ne'iz, æ'u se'd, te)AA)θh)wərd láik e
 G makín dín fer
 B e'i wez ró)erín ewii fer AA)dh wərd láik

T *tʃáilt*.

M *kʌf*, en *rʌulín* ebáit *láik* e *píg'ín* e *fit*.

S *badli tʃáilt*, e)é)lét'l *wentʃ* *skráik'íqk*.

G *kráí'in* [*rúerín*].

B *dh)á'ud* *greendʒ* *bùl*.

11. T en dhat ap'nt eʒ ɛr en dheer:dʒaks
 M en AA dh'is ap'nt e)dh wesh'ín dii, eʒ ɛr en er da'u't'er
 S en dhat ap'nt, eʒ ɛr en)er)da'u't'er
 G
 B en dhat ap'nd ɔn)dh wesh'ín dii, eʒ ɛr en er da'u't'er)

T *wé'if* *kəm* *thrə'u*)th *bak* *jàrd* — *dhí)d* *bín* *eqgín*
 M *ín* *lAA* *kəm* *thrə'u* th)bak' *jàrd* *wen* *dhí)d* *bín* *eqgín*
 S *ín* *lAA* *kə'um* *thrə'u* th)bak *jàrd*, *wen*)*dhí)d* *bín*)*aqg'qk*
 G *jàrt* *íqgín*
 B *i)lA'u* *kəm* *thrə'u* dh)bak *jàrd* *frem* *íqgín*

T *áit'* th)tlæ'uez ɔn)th wesh'ín dii.
 M th)tlæ'uez *áit'* fer *dráí*.
 S *áit'* th)tlúez fer)t')d're'í e)th)wesh'íqk *dee*.
 G t' tlúez *áit'*t')d're'í wesh'ín
 B dh)wæt *tluuz* *áit'* fer *dráí*.

12. T *wé'il* th)ket'l weʒ be'ilín fer tii, wʌ'n ná'is
 M *wé'il* th)kjet'l weʒ ba'ilín fer tii, wʌ'n fá'ín
 S *wé'il* th)kjet'l wer)be'ilíqk fer)th bag'íqk [*tee*], wɔn brít
 G *wáil* wer be'ilín bag'ín [*tee*] fá'ín brít
 B *wé'il* th)tii ket'l weʒ be'ilín, wʌn fá'ín

T *afternæ'un* i)th *su*mer, *ooni* e *wík'* *sín'*
 M *afternæ'un* i *su*mer, *ooni* e *wík'* *sín'*
 S *afte,rnæ'un* i)th *su*mer, en)it')l *ooni* bi)e *wík'* *sín'*
 G i *wík'*
 B *afternæ'un* i)th *su*mer, *ooni* e *wík'* *sín'*

T t' nɛks tharzdí.
 M e tharzdí.
 S t')nɛks tharzdí.
 G
 B nɛks tharzdí.

13. T en *du*on)ʒe *noo* ? A *never* *íer*rd ne *mæ'uer* e dhat
 M en *du*on)ʒe *noo* ? A *neer* *íier*rd *ani* *mæ'uer* e dh'is
 S en *du*on)ʒe *noo* ? A *never* *íer*rd ne *múer* ebáit *ít*
 G *nívr* e dhat
 B en *du*on)ʒe *noo* ? A' *nívr* *íer*rd *eæ'u* *múer* ebáit *ít*

T frum dhat dii te dh'is, esh shæ'uer ez
 M dʒəb', en A du_one want t' dæ'u, esh shæ'uer ez
 S sɪn' [frum dhad dee te dh'is], esh shæ'uer ez
 G kensàrn te dh'iz dee
 B frum dhat dii te dh'is, esh shæ'uer ez

T mái niim)z wət it ɪz, en A du_one want t' noo
 M mái niim)z :dʒak' :shɛpɜrd.
 S mɪ)neem)z :dʒak' :shɛpɜrt, en)A)du_one want
 G A)m íer t' dæ'u
 B mái neem)z wət it ɪz, en A du_one want

T niidher, en dhat)s fɛr)ʒe !
 M
 S noodher, naa dhen' !
 G
 B niidher, en ʒoo)n gət)it dʒu_ost ez A')v gət it.

14. T en se nâi A)l gu w'a)m te mi su_oper.
 M en)naa A)m gæ'u'in w'a)m te mi su_oper.
 S en)naa A)m gu'ɪqk w'e)m te)mi)su_oper.
 G gu'in w'a)m)p'mi
 B en A)m gu'in woom—mái su_oper)z wiitin on mi.

T gu_od nâit', en du_one bi se shàrp fɛr kroo óer
 M gu_od néit', en du_one bí se redi e kroo'in óer
 S gu_od nâit', en du_one bi)se)redí fɛr)t)mee gjam ebáit
 G ne'it' t' mag)gjam e
 B gu_od ne'it' en du_one be'i se shàrp ɛt kroo'in óer

T e bədi egjɛ'n, wɛn dhi tʌak'n e dhɪs dhàt en dh)u_odher.
 M e bədi egjɛ'n, wɛn i tʌaks ebáit ɛ'ut.
 S wə'n egjɛ'n, wɛn dhi)tɛln ebáit an'ithɪqk.
 G anɪ bədi egjɛ'n, tʌak'n ɛ'ut.
 B anɪ bədi egjɛ'n, wɛn e'i)z tʌakɪn ebáit an'ithɪqk.

15. T it)s e pæ'uer fæ'ù es tʌks wɪdháit sens.
 M í)z e kriizi fɛ'ù ez tʌks báit sens.
 S it)s e)səft fæ'ù ez)tʌaks báit sens.
 G prɛts rɪz'n.
 B it)s e wɪk' [səft] fɪcu es tʌks [prɛts] wɪdháit sens.

T dhat)s wət 'A' thɪqk ebáit it.
 M en dhat)s AA ez A')v gjɛt'n t' sii ebáit it.
 S en)dhat)s AA ez)A')v gjɛt'n t' see.
 G av [(gjɛt'n) omitted].
 B en dhat)s wət A')v gət [gət'n] fɛr sii ebáit it nâi.

T	sv	gu _o d n'ít.
M		gu _o d né'ít [n'ít].
S		gu _o d n'ít.
G		l'ad.
B	su	gu _o d nE'ít tE Joo fooks.

Notes to Var. i. Turporley es., p. 414.

1. *you will-en*, (jii n) or (jii)n.—*going to say*, the *to* idiomatically omitted. —*but*, in all M. English there is a great tendency to alter *t* into (r) under such circumstances, as (gjerin on) getting on, par. 5, p. 415.

2. *they*, shortened to (dhì) unaccented, in the same way as *thee* is thus shortened in par 3, p. 415.

4. *from the first*, the def. art. omitted. —*that I did*, the unaccented *I* becomes (æ) or (o), uncertain, here and often.

5. *though it were*, the (v) is intended for *if*.

6. *and all*=also or too, a common addition in several dialects.

7. *any how she*, for *she*, *how* is employed, which always becomes (o'u) in this dialect.—*what do-en you think*, only the *u* of *do-en* remains.

8. *found the drunken*, the *the* assimilated to suspended (t'), only the silent position being suspended and not the voiced (d') continued, although it occurs

between two (d). Hence the (-d t' d-) shew a continuous position, first with voice, secondly without, and thirdly with voice again, and the effect of the (t') is very clear.

9. *good Sunday coat* or (best kə'ue't). —*close*, with initial (tl) for (kl) as usual. —*lane*, although this word is A'- it generally follows the analogy of A-, and hence we should have expected (liin) instead of (*leen*), which is found in T, M, B. S has (*loon*) from the ags. *lone*, another form of *lane*.

10. *bellering* or (*wiznin*) *whizzening*, seem to be local words. Holland's Ch. Glossary has *bedderin*, bellowing, heard at Macclesfield, Darlington has *belder*.

12. *while*, *boiling*, observe the (E'i) and compare (vE'is'), par. 5, p. 415, and (wE'i), par. 0, p. 414: in the case of *while*, (*wail*) would have been anticipated.

14. *for to crow* with the *to* omitted as usual.

Notes to Var. ii. Middlewich es., p. 414.

3. *tin*, a regular Ch. form of *till*.—*thou wilt*, here (dha) where (dhái) would have been expected.

5. *any day that I would*, or (AA *noo*) I know with *I* emphatic, given as a variant.

6. *if you will-en only ask her*, the informant gave as a variant (vE vE JÉ [Jó] wu_{ne} bil'iv m'í [bil'iv m'í], gu en aks 'æ'r), and if you won't believe me, go and ask her. The double forms (*ti*, *íi*) are both in use, and the former often becoming (*íi*) at Bickley,

is then difficult to distinguish from the latter.

7. *ought not to be wrong* with the *to* suppressed.

9. *retch*, reach or stretch, dialect word.

11. *for dry*, that is, to dry, Ch. idiom.

12. *a week since on Thursday*, or (v wik sin' t' deks thazrdì), a week since the next Thursday, to express future time definitely.

14. *night* or (n'ít).

Notes to Var. iii. Pott-Shrigley es., p. 414.

1. *lad* or (:tu_{me}z, :tu_m, sãri) Thomas, Tom, Sirrah.—*thee*, the emphatic form of *you* is (Joo, Jð), whether used as singular or plural. Children and young people generally *thou* each other whether familiar or not: older people only when familiar from youth: but adults *thou* children, and parents their own children of all ages: husbands and wives generally *thou* each other. To *thou* a senior is an offence.

5. *in a minute*, or (E) sã'un'vz i'íurd'ít) as soon as he heard it.

7. *two or three*, or (tə'uthri) two-three.

14. *home*, the words (wE'm, kE'm) home come, are peculiar, they approximate at first to (wE'm kE'm) "the vowel, however," says TH., "is slightly on the way from (E) to (ə)", and these words have the same pron. at Poynton, Norbury, and Disley, Ch."

Notes to Var. iv. Burslem es., p. 414.

2. *because* or (bikōuz, bikas, bikos). —do not, the (r) euphonic.—is not, or (izne).—*likely* or (lA''ikli), and generally the diphthong printed (ai) shades into (A''i), and would be so heard by many.

4. *through*, the form assigned is probably a mere individuality for the usual (thrā'u).—*safe* or (shā'uer).

6. *too*, or (tā'u), the other must have been an individuality.—*ask*, (eks) newer form.

7. *asked*, (ekst) newer form.—*two* or (tā'u).

8. *beast*, or (bist), the word (talek)

is explained by Darlington as "a good-for-nothing idle person, a ragamuffin."

10. *world*, (wārd) new form.—*the old Grange bull*, refers to a local history of a dangerous bull kept at the Grange farm near Burslem.

11. *daughter*, the form here given must be individual.—*dry*, here and in many other cases not noted (ai), as already stated, par. 2, shades into (A''i).

12. *fine*, or (brē'it) bright.

13. *you*, or (joo).—*and you have-n got it just as I've got it*.

14. *home*.—*my supper's waiting on [for] me*.

WEST AND SOUTH CHESHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Alvanley (:AAV'nlī), Ashton, Beeston, Broxton, Churton, Great Neston, Hatton Heath, Helsby, Nantwich, Tarporley, Waverton. The places are not distinguished. See also the cwl. for Bickley on next page.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- letter A (aa). — tīm [ta'en, taken]. 21 nīm. 23 siim. — giim [game]. 31 liitlī [lately]. A: 54 want. 56 wesh. A: or O: 64 ru_og. A'- 67 goz gā'z gē'u'in. 72 a'u a'ue. 74 tē'ū. 76 tē'ued. 81 leen. 84 mē'uer. 86 wu_ots. 87 thē'uez. 89 bē'ueth. 92 noo. A': 105 rōd. 113 a'uel. 115 wā'm. 118 boon. 122 nē'u. 124 stoon. 125 oonli.

Æ- 138 fīdher. 152 wīter. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 194 ani. 197 tpiiz. Æ': 214 mīdher. 216 dāel. 223 dhīer. 224 wīer.

E- letter E (ii). 232 briik. 233 spiik. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 gwii. 265 stre'it. — fīld [field]. 269 -sel. E'- 290 ū ē'i. 292 mē'i. 293 wii. 301 ūer. E': 305 A''i ai. 312 ūer. 316 neks+t [in pause].

EA- 320 kjeer. EA: 326 ā'ud. 330 ā'ud. 332 tē'ud. 334 ūv. 338 kaa. EA'- 348 āiz. 349 fīā'u. EA': 359 niiber. EI- 373 dhī [unemphatic]. EO: 399 brāit brāt. EO'- 411 thrāi. 412 [hoo (a'u) used]. EO': 425 līt. 426 fē'it. 427 bā. 428 sīn [seen]. 435 joo. 437 trē'uth. EY- 438 dā'in [dying]. EY: 439 trū_ost.

I- 446 nāin. I: 458 niit nāit nāit. 459 rāit. 465 sīt. 466 tjāilt. 480 thi_og. I'- 494 tāimz. — bāit bā'it [bite]. I': 500 lāik. 502 fāiv. 505 wē'if. 506 wū_omen. 510 mā'in māin. — swe'in [swine].

O: 528 thē'ut. 535 fōk. — mā'uernin [morning, from Huxley Green]. O'- 557 tē'u. 558 lē'uk. 559 mū_odher. 560 skīū skē'ū. O': — kē'uk [cook]. 579 enū_of. 586 dē'u. 588 nā'an. 594 bē'ut.

U- 603 kām. 604 sū_omer. 606 dē'uer. U: 609 fū_ol. 616 grāind. 619 fū_ond. 634 thrē'ū. U'- 641 āi. 643 naa nāi. 650 ebāit. 651 wīdhāit. U': 658 dāin. 663 āis. 666 ūzbut.

Y- 673 mū_otj. Y: 701 fōst fast. Y'- 706 wē'i.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 761 laud. 767 nāiz. U. 797 skvāk'in.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fīs. 811 plīs. 813 biik'n. — siidj [sage]. — tlīer [clear]. — kiin [cane]. — sliit [slate]. — plīit [plate]. — stiishen [at Mouldsworth]. — reliishen. 866 pē'uer. E.. 867 tii. 890 bīust. I.. and Y.. 898 nāis. O.. — bāif [beef]. 925 vē'is. 938 kārner. 939 tlōs. 940 kē'urt. 941 tē'ū. 947 bē'īl. 950 sū_oper. 955 dāits. U.. — trē'uent [truant]. 963 kwīt. 969 shē'uer.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Burslem, Froghall, Leek, Leek Frith, Longport, Rocester, Tunstall. The places are not distinguished.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 meek. 17 la'u. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. A: 40 kəm. 56 wesh. A: or O: 60 lu_ogg. 64 ru_ogg. A'- 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 suu. 74 tū. 81 leen. 82 wu_onst. 84 mūr ma'uer. 87 thuz. 89 būth. 92 noo. A': 104 rood. 111 a't. 113 wool. 115 woom wa'm wa'm. 117 wan- [connected], wa'n [in pause]. 122 na'u. 124 stuum.

Æ- 138 fēdher. 152 weter. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 183 te'it. 195 menī. 197 tje'iz [(tj'iz) at Leek Frith]. 200 wiit. Æ': 210 thii. 214 niidher. 223 dhier. 224 wier.

E- 233 spik. 241 riin. 244 we'l. 251 miit. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 ewii. 265 stre'it. — fe'ild [field]. 287 be'izemz. E'- 290 e'i. 291 dhe'i. 292 me'i. 293 we'i. 299 gre'in. E': 312 ier.

EA- — shiik [shake]. EA: 326 a'ud. 328 kj'a'ud. 331 sa'ud. 332 ta'ud. 334 aapeth [halfp'orth old, new (epeth)]. 338 kaa. 346 ject. EA'- 347 je'd. 348 aiz. EA': 350 dje'd. 359 niiber. — ier [year]. 366 griit. 371 staa. EO: — bru_ont [burnt]. EO'- 411 thre'i. 412 [(a'r) her used]. EO': 426 fe'it. 427 be'i. 428 se'id [sec'd=saw]. 437 tra'uth. EY- 438 de'ii. EY: 439 tru_ost.

I- letter I (a'i). 440 wik. 446 na'in. 448 dhe'iz. I: 452 ai, a-. — brid [bird]. 458 ne'it. 459 re'it. 467 we'ild. 480 thi_ogg. I'- 492 sa'id. I': 500 laik. 505 we'if. 509 we'il. 513 we'ier. — we'it [white].

O- 524 wold. O: — sru_ob [shrub]. 531 da'ut'er [Burslem], da'uter [Leek], da'ut'er [Froghall]. 535 foks. 537 ma'ud. 552 kaa. O'- 555 sha'u. 558 la'uk. 559 madher [Leek Frith], madher [Rocester], ma'dher [Longton]. 560 ska'ud sk'a'ud sk'uu. 562 ma'un [Rocester]. O': 569 ba'uk. — ka'uk [cook]. 579 enu_ot. 583 ta'ul. 586 da. 587 d'ū. 588 na'um na'um. 591 mūr [by Mr. Daniels, of Leek, who called more (ma'uer)].

U- 603 kəm. 604 su_omur. 605 s'ū. 606 daar, da'r [an old form at Leek]. U: 616 gra'ind. — bu_on [bound, as a book]. 623 fu_ond. 634 thra'u. U'- 640 kj'ai. 641 ai. 643 naa nai. 650 ebait. 651 widhait. U': 658 da'in. 663 ais. 665 ma'is. 667 ait.

Y- 674 did. 675 dra'i. Y'- 706 we'i. Y': 712 me'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lad. I. and Y. 756 srimp. O. 761 laud. 767 naiz. U. 797 skwikin. 798 ka'ier. — ori [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 pleez'n [places]. 824 tjer. — tiiler [tailor]. — griin [grain]. 851 ant aant. 857 kj'cs. 862 s'ef. E.. 867 tii. 890 bis [beasts=cows]. I.. and Y.. — mish'e'in [=machine]. O.. 920 pe'ant. 925 va'is. 939 t'ls. 940 kunt. 947 be'ilin. 955 da'its. U.. — wiit [wait, at Burslem]. 963 ka'it. 964 sha'u'it. 965 e'il. 969 sha'uer.

SOUTH CHESHIRE OR BICKLEY cwl.

by Mr. Darlington, of Bickley, written in glossie for his Folkspeech of s.Ch., pp. 15-29, and here transliterated and rearranged by permission.

A- 3 biik. 4 tak tee. — wak'n [to make awake, get up]. 5 mak mee. 14 draa. 15 aa. 20 liim. 21 niim. — skraap [scrape]. 28 eer. — skiter [scatter]. 33 riidher reedher. 35 naal. 36 foo. A: — om [ham]. 39 ka'um. 41 theqk. 43 out eqk'itj [handkerchief]. 44 land. — stōnd [stand].

46 kand'l. — gander [gander]. 47 wander. 48 su_oq. 49 eq. 50 tu_oqz. — kən [can]. 51 mən. 52 ween. — pən [a pan]. 54 want. 55 es. 56 wəsh. A: or O: 58 frəm. 59 lam. 60 lu_oq. 61 ɛmu_oq. 62 stru_oq. 64 rang ru_oq. 65 su_oq. 66 thu_oqk. A'- 69 nə'u. 70 too. 72 ə'u. 76 tə'ued. 81 liu. 83 moon. 84 mə'ner. 85 soor. 87 klə'uez. 89 bæ'ueth. 91 moo. A': 101 ook. 104 rood. 106 brood. 108 dof. 111 ə'ut. 112 ə'ul. — Aaf [an oaf]. 115 woun. 117 ələ'uun [alone]. 122 nə'n. 124 stou. — 134 ləth [loath]. 135 kləth.

Æ- 138 fīdher fīedher. 141 nūl. 143 tūl. 146 mīn. — tē'um [teem, pour out, empty]. 150 le'iest. 152 wiiter water [as a vb.] waater [as a sb.] weeter. 153 seterdi. — prati [pretty]. Æ: 154 bak. 155 thetj. — atjern [acorn]. — sheed [a shade]. 156 ɛdher [an adder]. — gēdher [gather]. 161 dii. 163 le'i. 166 miid'n. — baartet [barefoot]. — əwaa'r [aware]. 172 grēs. — rət [a rat]. 180 bath. Æ'- 184 le'ied. 185 re'id. — sprīid [spread]. 187 le'iev. 188 nii. 189 wē'i. 192 me'ien. 194 anī. 195 mem. 196 wən [= (wər-ən)]. 199 blaāt. 202 jēt. Æ': 204 de'id. 205 thrīd. 207 ne'id'l. 210 klii. 212 wii. 216 del djel de'iel. 217 e'itj. 218 she'ip. 219 sle'ip. 221 fe'ier. 222 ɛə'uər [see No. 222, p. 347]. 223 dhe'ier. 224 wē'ier. 226 mə'uust. — rəs'l [wrestle]. 228 swat swāt. — jeth [heath]. — sheeth [sheath]. 230 fat.

E- 232 briik. 234 need. — triid [tread]. — stīd [stead]. 235 wē'iev. 237 bliin. 239 sūl. 247 ween. — ɛt'n [eaten]. — fīdher [feather]. E: — fatj [fatch]. 260 lii. 261 sii. 262 wii. 264 iil. 265 strē'it. 267 jīd. 269 sēt. 270, ii, bali. 278 wensh. 284 thresh. 287 be'izum. E'- 289 ɛə. 290 e'i. 291 dhe'i. 294 fe'id. — ste'il [steel]. 299 grē'in. 300 kiip. — she'it [sheath]. E': 305 hāi. 306 ɛ'it. 307 nāi. 308 ne'id. 310 e'il. 312 e'ier.

EA- 317 the'i. 319 gaap. EA: 323 fet'n fə'ut'n. 324 e'it. 328 kə'ud. 330 ə'ud. 331 sə'ud. 332 tə'ud. 333 kaaf. 334 eaf iif. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. — ə'up [holp = helped]. 340 ɛoord. — soord [sward, rind]. 343 waarm. 345 daar. — ɛoorn [yarn]. 346 giit. EA'- — shad'n [past part., shed], she'id. 347 jed. 348 āi [pl. (E'in)]. — le'up [leap]. — ɛə'u [hew]. 349 fia'u. EA': 350 djed. 354 shof. 355 djef. 356 le'ief. 359 niiber. — shem [seam]. 360 tjem te'im. — be'iem. 361 be'ien. 363 tjep. — ste'ip [steep]. — loos [loose]. 365 naar. 366 griit. 368 djeth. — dɛə'u [dew]. 371 strii. EI- 374 nii. 375 riiz. 376 biit. EI: 379 iil. EO- 386 ɛə'u. 387 nɛə'u. EO: 390 shu_od. 394 jander. 395 ɛu_oq. 399 bre'it. — baarm [barm, yeast]. 402 laarn. EO'- 409 be'i 410 ə'u. 411 thre'i. 413 də'v'l. 414 fle'i. 415 lig. — ɛp [hip berry]. 416 de'ier. 417 tɛə'u. 418 brə'u. 419 ɛoor. EO': 423 thāi. 425 le'it. 426 fe'it. 427 be'i. 431 be'ier. 434 bet. 435 ɛoo ɛoor [your]. 436 trə'u. 437 trə'ueth. EY- 438 de'i. EY: 439 tru_ost.

I- 440 wik. 442 ivi. 443 frāidi. 444 ste'il. 446 nāin. — senu [sinew]. 447 ɔr. — sheer. 448 dhe'iz. I: 452 āi. 453 skwatj [cowitch grass]. 454 witj. 455 lāi. 458 ne'it. 459 re'it. 460 we'it. 462 se'it. 465 sɛtj. 466 tɛiilt. 467 wē'ild. 469 willan [to will], wu_ol. 473 blāind. 475 wē'ind. 477 fāind. — bih'unt [behind]. 478 grāind. 485 fīs'l. 487 ɛsterdii. 488 jat. I'- 491 sāk. 494 tām. 498 rāt. 499 bet'l. I': — de'itj [ditch]. 500 lāik. — we'itj [-wich in names of towns, as Nantwich]. 501 we'id. 502 fāv. 503 lāi. 505 we'it. 507 wu_omen. 508 māl. 509 we'it. 510 māin. 511 we'in. 512 spāber. 513 weer. 514 āis. 515 we'iz.

O- [Here Ch. almost universally follows the standard English and only exceptions are marked.] — brak [broke]. — sha'uv [shove]. — stə'v̄n stə'ul'n stou [stolen]. O: [Only exceptional pronunciations noted.] — kraft [croft]. 526 [(ə'us) is used, Ws. hwósta]. 528 thə'ut. 529 brə'ut. 531 dā'uter. 536 ɛə'uld. 538 wu_od. 539 bə'u. — swə'ul'n [swollen]. — ə'up'n [holpen, helped]. 542 bə'ut. — krap [crop]. 546 fār. 547 bæ'uerd. — tharn [thorn]. — ɔs [horse]. — gresdat [grassplot]. — goth [girth]. O'- 555 shə'u. 559 mu_odher. 560 skə'u. — ɛə'um [gum of a tooth]. 563 mu_ondi. 566 u_odher. O': 569 bæ'uk. 570 tə'uk. 571 ɛu_od. 572 blū_od.

575 *stæ*.d. 577 *bæ*'u *bæ*'u. 578 *plæ*'u. 579 *enæ*'u. — *pæ*'u [pool]. 584 *stæ*'u [stool]. 587 *dæ*.n. 595 *ie*'ut. 596 *re*'ut. 597 *su*.t.

U- 599 *þu*.v. 600 *lu*.v. 601 *fæ*'ul. 602 *sái*. — *thom* [thumb]. 603 *ku*.m. 606 *dæ* *dæ*'uer. 607 *bu*.ter. U: 609 *iu*.l. — *pæ*'u [pull, same as for pool, top line above]. 614 *á*nd. 616 *grá*nd. 617 *sá*nd. 619 *tu*.nd. 620 *gru*.n. 621 *wæ*.n. — *o*nder [undern]. — *bæ*re [borough]. 634 *thre*'u. — *kæ*s [curse]. 635 *wæ*th. — *rá*st, *ræ*'ust [rust]. 639 *dæ*.st. U- 640 *ká*.i. 642 *dhá*.i. 644 *su*.k [suck]. 645 *dæ*.v. 646 *bæ*'u. — *stæ*'up [stoop]. 648 *aar*. 650 *ebá*it *ebá*'ut. U: — *bæ*'uk [bucket]. 655 *fái*, *fæ*'u [ugly]. 656 *ræ*'um. 657 *brá*in *bræ*'m. 658 *dám*. 661 *shæ*uer. 662 *æ*.z. 663 *á*cs. 665 *má*s *mæ*'us. — *klá*it [a elout]. 671 *má*ith *mæ*'uth.

Y- 676 *lá*i *lig*. 677 *drá*i. 680 *bizi*. — *du*.zi [dizzy]. Y: 686 *bá*.i. 688 *sít*. — *shí*lf [shelf]. 690 *ke*'índ. 691 *má*índ. — *dent* [dint or blow]. 700 *wæ*s. 701 *fæ*st. Y'- — *kjæ*'i [ky, kine=cows]. 705 *ská*.i. 706 *wæ*'i. 707 *thæ*rt'eín. 708 *á*ier. Y': 709 *fá*ier. — *pæ*máuer [pi-mire]. 711 *fé*s. 712 *mé*'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *mæ*'güt [maggot]. 723 *diiri*. 733 *skjaarkroo* [scarecrow]. — *ske*'it [skate]. 741 *maazi*. E. 743 *skræ*m. — *talígraft* [telegraph]. I. *and* Y. — *skræ*k [shriek]. — *læ*mber [limber, limp?]. — *splent* [splint]. 757 *tiini*. — *sterep*. O. 761 *læ*'uud. 763 *raam*. — *su*.k [sock, a ploughshare; either Fr. soc. or Welsh swch]. — *næ*.d [nod]. 766 *mæ*'idherd. — *ræ*'ul [to roll]. 771 *fand*'l [fondle]. — *læ*'up [loop]. — *flu*.p [flop]. — *loo*z [lose]. — *gæ*slin [gosling]. — *nat*.j [notch, a cog]. — *pæ*uer *pæ*'uer [pour]. 790 *bedgín* [bedgown]. U. — *dæ*'uk [to duck, bend down]. 797 *skæ*ak [sneak]. — *træ*nd'l [trundle]. — *pæ*ansh [paunch]. — *aan*sh, *aanzh* [hunch]. 805 *kræ*.dz. — *æ*ri [hurry]. — *skæ*ri. — *is*'l [to move along the ground, to hustle?].

III. ROMANCE.

Generally only irregular words are given.

A.. — *ket*.j [catch]. 824 *tjæ*'uer *tjæ*'ier. — *maa* [a mall]. — *mæ*ster [master]. 852 *apern*. 866 *pæ*'uer. E.. 868 *djii*. — *pæ*l [peel]. — *ríkempens* [recompense]. 871 *egre*'i. 878 *salæ*ri. — *jaarb* [herb]. — *rifæ*r [refer]. 887 *klaardj*. — *jaarn* [heron]. — *mæ*zer [measure]. 903 *flæ*uer. I.. *and* Y.. 898 *né*'is. — *seq*'l [single]. — *rens* [to rinse]. 909 *bræ*'iz. 911 *sester*. O.. — *pæ*'utj [to poach]. 920 *peint*. 921 *ekwæ*'ut. 924 *tjæ*'is. 926 *spe*'il. — *kæ*umfert. 929 *kái*.kuumber. — *kæ*ord [cord]. 939 *klæ*'us. 940 *kwæ*'ut. 941 *fæ*'u. — *æ*'u [a hoe]. 944 *elá*i. 945 *væ*'u. 949 *mæ*'uld. 952 *kwæ*'uers. 955 *dá*it. — *rá*it [route, which many people call (ra'ut) in rec. sp.]. U.. 963 *kwæ*'ret, *kwæ*t. 966 *fæ*'ut. — *pí*lpit [pulpit]. — *skwæ*ri [squirrel]. — *skwæ*er [a squire].

D 26 = e.MM. = eastern Mid Midland.

Boundaries. Begin on Combs Moss, opposite Black Edge ($1\frac{1}{2}$ n. Buxton, Db.), and pass s. along the summits of Long Hill and Burbage Edge to Moss House on b. of Ch. Here go ssw., taking in a small strip of Ch., and enter St. about Quarford between Flash and Leek Frith. Pass over the hills called the Roaches (:ræ'utpe), and sweep se. on w. of Butterton, e. of Grindon, and through Blore. Then turn s. to the e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and proceed sw. to Rochester (:rooster), through St.: this is the e. b. of D 25. Then follow the Db. b. along the Trent to Repton, just s. of the river, and then probably (but not with absolute certainty) across the s. peninsula of Db. to the Trent again, where it forms the b. of Db., and pursue this border e. and n. round to Stanedge. Then turn w. passing over Bamford Edge, s. of Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Mam Tor [misprinted Man Tor on p. 315], where turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest Liberty to Hay Dale, and then to the starting-point. From Stanedge this is the s. b. of D 21. This minute description is due to TH.

The s. part of this b. from Repton across the Db. peninsula is uncertain, the country not having been well explored. But the dialect has a s.Db. or Le. character.

Area. This district comprises all Db. s. of the line which divides the North from the South Peak, with the exception of the peninsula between St. and Le., and contains also a narrow slip to the e. of St.

Authorities. See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ‡ so., ° io.

Db. †Alvaston, †Ashbourne, †Ashford and Bakewell, †Ashover, †Bamford, †Barlborough, †Belper, †Bolsover, †Bradwell, †Brailsford, ° †Brampton, †Castleton, †Chellaston, †Chesterfield, °Codnor, †Codnor Park, †Combs Valley, †Crich, †Cromford, * †Derby, †Doe Hill, †Dronfield, †Eckington, †Eyam, †Foolow, †Great Hucklow, †Hathersage, †Hleanor, †Higham, †Idridgehay, †Ilkeston, †Little Hucklow, †Matlock Bath, †Middleton by Wirksworth, †Middleton by Youlgrave, †Milford, †Morton, °Norton, †Quarndon, ° †Repton, †Ripley, †Sandiacre, †South Wingfield, †Stenson, †Stretton, †Sutton, †Taddington, †Tideswell, †Twyford, †Unstone, †West Hallam, †Whittington, †Winstler, ° †Wirksworth.

St. †Alstonefield, †Flash, †Rocester, †Stake Gutter Farm.

It will be seen that the whole of my information for this district comes through T.H., who is a native of Db., and has frequently travelled over the country on foot and by rail during many years for the purpose of examining the dialect. In fact I am able to give only a very small part of his collections.

Character. As a whole the character of this dialect may be given as: A- (*ee*), A' (*úv, uu, oo*), E' (*é'i*), I' (*ái*), O' (*á'u*) most distinctive, and U' (*aa^l, aa*). But there are many slight differences. It seems best to distinguish at least four varieties, though the distinctions are neither strong nor always consistently marked, Var. i. northern, or the South Peak, Var. ii. western, Var. iii. eastern, and Var. iv. southern.

Var. i. The Northern, or the South Peak form (the n. Peak is part of D 21), generally has (*dii*) and not (*dee*) day. O' is regularly (*á'u*), though (*á'u*), which probably generated (*á'u*), is still heard. U' is occ. (*á'u*), but regularly (*aa^l*). This dialect extends over all the s. and sw. slopes of the Peak as far s. as Winstler.

Var. ii. The Western has regularly (*dii, sii*) day, say. O' is regularly (*á'u*), but occ. (*á'u*). U' is regularly (*aa^l*), but occ. (*á'u*) in Db., and regularly (*á'u*) in St.

The (*kh*) was heard here from the fathers and grandfathers of living people. The dental (*tr-, dr*) has also been heard here sporadically. This variety extends from Winstler to Ashbourne, and over the small slip of St.

Var. iii. The Eastern shades off to D 24 and 27. In the n. part (*dee*) is regular, though (*dii*) is found, but at Ashover and further s. (*dii*) becomes regular. I' seems to be regularly (*é'i*), a degeneration of (*ái*). Singularly enough U' becomes (*ái*) in a few places, as in D 25, and (*á'ə*) has been heard, which is intermediate between (*ái, á'a*), and is found also in D 27. But (*á'u, á'i*) are exceptions, and (*aa*) is the general form. This variety extends from the n. b. on the e. of the ridge of hills which runs down the middle of Db., as far s. as Ilkeston, but the separation of (*dee, dii*) indicates a difference at a few miles s. of Chesterfield. There is another ridge passing n. to s. through Bolsover, and to the e. of this the verbal pl. in *-en* does not extend. It is doubtful whether that portion of D b. should not rather be included in Nt. D 27, as the configuration of the country also suggests, but in the absence of sufficient information the county b. has been followed. Northward, Chesterfield, Unstone, Dronfield, and Norton approach very closely to D 24, which at Rotherham and Sheffield has the verbal pl. in *-en*. The chief distinction is therefore in the treatment of O' as (*é'i*) in D 24, and its treatment as (*á'u*) in D 26. Though in deference to the feeling of the inhabitants that their speech differs materially from Yo., I now include the whole of this region in D 26, I at one time included

Dronfield and Chesterfield in the same district with Rotherham and Sheffield. As far as pron. and grammar are concerned, the distinction seems to be very slight.

Var. iv. Southern. There are only two points in which this variety is clearly distinguished from the others. O' is regularly (iu, iu), and U' regularly (ǣu, ǣu), a triphthong arising out of (ǣu), according to TH.'s observations, by lengthening the transverse opening of the mouth, which action in my own speech leads rather to (ǣ'u, E'u). The triphthong is very neatly uttered, the first element being remarkably short, so that (dǣ'uan) down approaches (dǣ'un). The (iu) is another derivative from (ǣ'u), such as we have in D 19, and hence can only be regarded as a variety like (ǣ'u) itself, neither (iu) nor (ǣ'u), having entirely displaced (ǣ'u). But for some time I was inclined to make the part of Db. s. of Quarndon (3 n.w. Derby), at which the s. character seems to commence, a part of what is now D 29.

Throughout all these varieties, except perhaps to the e. of Bolsover, the verbal pl. in -en is heard, the definite article is (th), sometimes (dh) before vowels and voiced consonants and (s, f, t') by assimilation, but in the n. parts of Var. iii. (t') seems to be used exclusively, as it is in most of D 24.

Illustrations. TH. had with great pains and trouble obtained for me eight es. and six dt. to illustrate this s. and m. part of his native county, as a contrast to his native region Chapel-en-le-Frith, in the North Peak, D 21. These I gave first, arranged so as to bring their resemblances and differences prominently forward. And I adopt for this purpose most of TH.'s minute distinctions. These shew the relations of the four varieties very clearly. But I have added also seven dt. similarly arranged bringing out the character of Var. iii. in especial. Then follow some specimens chiefly for Var. ii. and the Bolsover form of Var. iii. Finally I add a cwl. for each variety arranged from the w.n. by TH. at the places mentioned.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR DERBYSHIRE ES.

The following eight es. were written in pal. by TH., mostly from direct dictation. In conjunction with the following dt. they illustrate the principal varieties of Db. pron.

Var. i. SOUTH PEAK.

1. *Bradwell* (:brade) (9 ne. Buxton), lying almost immediately south of the n. b. of D 26. This was pal. in 1876 from the dict. of S. Dakin, b. 1831, assisted by his father and brother, all shoemakers, natives and residents. This is the only place in the district which calls wait day pay (*wæit dæ pee*) in place of (*wiit dii pi*), etc.

2. *Taddington* (:tad'ntən) (6 ese. Buxton), pal. by TH. from his own knowledge, but corrected by Mr. T. Oldfield, native, resident in Manchester.

3. *Ashford* (:ashfɜrt, :ashfɜd) (9 ese. Buxton), pal. in 1874 5 from dictation of Mr. Joshua Birley of that place.

4. *Winstor* (4 nw. Matlock Bath), pal. in 1874 from his own knowledge by TH., and submitted twice to Mr. Wm. Rains, native, resident in Manchester 25 years, his cousin, Mr. W. Foxlow, grocer, b. 1830, and Foxlow's assistant, b. 1850, the last two of whom had only just moved from Winstor to Manchester, and spoke the dialect purely.

Var. ii. WESTERN DB.

5. *Ashbourn* (:ashburn, :ashbɜn) (10 sw. Matlock Bath), first version pal. in 1874, from dict. of B. Plant, sexton and native.

6. *Ashbourn*, second version pal. in 1876 from dict. of J. Coxon, b. 1800, then a farm-labourer, and his wife, b. 1819, both natives and constant residents.

Var. iii. EASTERN DB.

7. *Brampton* (Old 3 w., New 1½ sw. Chesterfield), pal. 1873 from dict. of Mrs. Bennett, b. about 1825, and her husband, b. 1823, both natives of New Brampton, who resided there and spoke the dialect till 1848, visiting the place frequently afterwards. The dt. was subsequently corrected where necessary from inquiries made by TH. at New Brampton in 1873. This specimen is peculiar in using (âi) for U', found in very few places. But TH. informs me that in 1883 he found (âi, âi) for U' at Dore (3 nw. Dronfield), Totley (3 wnw. Dronfield), Holmsfield (2 wsw. Dronfield), Dronfield Woodhouse (6 nw. Chesterfield), Chesterfield (from an elderly man), Old Brampton, and Brampton Moor, and also, together with (aa, aa^l), at Ashover. This shows a small district near Chesterfield in which this peculiarity occurs.

Var. iv. SOUTHERN DB.

8. *Repton* (:rep'n) (7 ssw. Db.), pal. in 1876 by TH. from dictation of Mr. G. Smedley, native, once overseer and relieving officer, and always a constant resident, b. 1808. Smedley gave the refined form (âu) to U', but TH. has used (ěau), the common form in the neighbourhood.

* * * To shew the great resemblance between the several es, here considered, when a word is *exactly* repeated in a following line, it is represented by (,) only. Hence whenever the reader sees (,) he must take the next printed word above it. Sometimes the passage has been altered, so that there are no corresponding words, and some lines or parts of lines are therefore entirely blank. But this will occasion no difficulty. The seven dt. which follow are treated in the same way. In these two sets of illustrations all TH.'s suspended final consonants are inserted, and the (,) is not used if two words differ in this respect.

0.	1	<i>Bradwell.</i>	wái	:dʒən)z	na'u	daats.
	2	<i>Taddington.</i>	,,	,,	næ'u	dáuts.
	3	<i>Ashford.</i>	waa	,,	na'u	daa'ts.
	4	<i>Winstler.</i>	wái	,,	,,	daats.
	5	<i>Ashbourne i.</i>	,,	,,	,,	dà'ts.
	6	<i>Ashbourne ii.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	<i>Brampton.</i>	wá'i	,,	no	dáúts.
	8	<i>Repton.</i>	wái	,,	no	děáuts.

1.	1	wē'l, lâr,	ʒə		mɛ	buudh	laf	ɛz	ʒə)n
	2	,, :tu_mɛz,	ʒoo	ɛn	ɪm	,,	,,	ɛd	dh'iz
	3	,, :tu_m',	dhEE	,,	,,	buuth	,,	,,	,,
	4	,, ,,	dhE'i	,,	,,	buudh	ən	ʒɛ	,,
	5	,, meet,	dhE'i	,,	,,	,,	lɔf	ɛt	wɔt
	6	,, :dʒim,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	,, :tɔmɛz,	ʒoo	,,	,,	búedh	laf	ɛd	dh'iz
	8	,, :dʒim,	ʒo'	,,	,,	buudh	lɔf	ɛt	,,

1	v	má'nd,		A	du)ne	kéer	fɛr	dhat'.
2		ní'z	v	má'in.	uu	kjEERZ?		
3		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,		
4		,,	,,	,,	,,	kjéERZ?		
5	A)m	gu'in)	t'	tɛl)jɛr.	,,	,,		
6	,,	,,	,,	tɛl'in	ʒɛ.	kjEERZ?		
7		ní'z	v	mɔ'in.	úv	,,		
8		,,	,,	má'in.	uu	,,		

1	dhat)s	noodher	e'ier	ner	dhier.
2	"	"	"	"	"
3	"	"	"	"	"
4	"	"	"	"	"
5	"	niidher	ier	"	"
6					
7	"	noodher	"	"	"
8	"	niidher	"	"	"

2.	1		nəbd'i	d'iz	thra'u	bi)in	laft	ət.	
	2	dher	iz ne	məni	əz	d'in	bikAAZ	dhe)r	" " dhat
	3	")	z na'n	"	"	de'iz	kAAZ	"	" " "
	4	"	iz)ne	"	dhet	"	bikAAZ	"	" " dhat
	5	"	"	"	əz	d'iz	"	ləft	"
	6	"	"	"	mən	de'iz	bikəs	"	" " "
	7	"	"	"	əz	d'in	kAAZ	"	laft "
	8	"	"	"	"	d'iz	bikAAZ	"	ləft "

1				wət	shəd	mak)em?	it)s	nən
2	wi	noon,	du)nt)əz?	"	shu)d	"	"	iz ner
3	we'i	"	" wi?	"	"	"	"	)s nən
4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	iz)ne
5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	" " "
6	"	"	dhat'	"	shəd	"	"	" " "
7	wi	"	du)nu	"	shu)d	"	"	" " "
8	"	"	"	"	shəd	meek)em?	"	" " ner

1	e	lákli	thiqg	ət	AA.
2	veri	lákli	iz	it?	
3	"	"	"	"	
4	"	"	"	"	
5	"	"	"	"	
6	"	"	is)t?		
7	"	lákli	iz	it?	
8	"	lákli	"	"	

3.	1	wel				ber	le)mi	tel)dhí	
	2	ət əni	reet	it	wər	e	dhis'n,	se dju)st	a'ud jər
	3	a)aa'vər	"	"	"	"	suu	"	a'ud dhí
	4	aasunier	"	"	"	"	se	"	a'ud "
	5	ət əni	reet	"	"	"	sù	"	" "
	6	"	"	"	"	"	su	"	a'ud "
	7	"	"	"	ap'nt	"	se	"	a'ud jər
	8	éáusemivər	dhis	is	f fakt	)th mater,	su	"	a'ud "

1				weet	tíl)í)v	dá'ún.	
2	ná'íz,	men,	en	bí kwá'íet	„ „	„	íer je.
3	„	„	„	kwá'íet	„ „	dú _o n.	àrk dhí!
4	„	„	„	kwá'íet	„ í	dá'ún.	àrk'n!
5	„	„	„	kwá'íet	„ í)v	dú _o n.	„
6	„	lād,			„ A)v	ta'úd dhí.	àrk-dhí!
7	ne'íz,	men	„	kwá'íet	„ „	dú _o n.	„ je!
8	ná'íz,	„	„	kwá'íet	„ áí)n	„	du _o n je íer!

4. 1 A)m shæ'uer A íerl em see—

2	'A)m	sàrtín	A)	„	„	sii—A)miin	su _o m	en		em	vz
3	'à)m	„	a	„	„	„—	„	v	dhæ'íz	fók's	„
4	A)m	shæ'uer	A)	„	„	„—A)	„	v	dhæ'uz	„	„
5	„	sàrtín	„	„	„	„—	„	v	dhæ'uz	„	„
6	A)m	„	„	„	„	„—	„	v	dhæm	fók'	„
7	A)m	„	„	„	„	see—	„	v)t'	„	„	„
8	A)m	„	„	„	„	sii—	„	v	dhooz	fóks	„

1	dhæ'üz		vt	nood	AA	vbaat	ít—	aa!	vsh
2	went	thræ'u	th)	wu _o l	kensàrn	fre)th	farst	dhærsel'z,—	
3	„	thræ'u	th)uul	thi'qg	„	„	„	dhærsen'z—	
4	„	„	th	wu _o l	„	„	„	„	—
5	„	„	„	„	kensàrn	frem)th	fast	„	—
6	„	thræ'u	dh)	wu _o l	thi'qg			„	frum
7	„	„	t'	wu _o l	kensàrn	„	)t'	„	„
8	„	„	th	„	thi'qg	„	)th	farst	„

1				shæ'uer	vz	A)m	wik'.
2	dhat)i	dàd	shæ'uer	un _o f ^a .			
3	„)a	„	„	in _o f ^a .			
4	„)i	„	„	un _o f ^a .			
5	„ A	„	„	„			
6	farst	te	kast.				
7	dhat	A	dàd	seef	„		
8	„	„	„	séf ^a	„		

5. 1 vt)th ju_oqkst lād íssen', v gríit)en v ná'm íer á'úd, nood

2	vz)	„	ju _o qgíst	lād	íssel',	„	bíg' lād	ná'm	íer	„	„
3	„	„	„	„	íssen',	„	gríit	„	ná'm	„	„
4	„	„	„	„	„	„	bíg'	„	„	„	„
5	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
6	es)	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
7	vz)t'	„	„	„	„	„	gríit)en	ná'm	„	„	„
8	„	„	„	„	„	„	bíg' lād	ná'm	„	„	„

1 is feedher tu_oqg in e minit,
 2 ,, feedherz váis direkli, ev it 'wær se
 3 ,, ,, ,, es sa'un ez e'i íerd it, ,, ,, wær ,,
 4 ,, ,, ,, in e minit, ,, ,, 'wær ,,
 5 ,, ,, váis' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wær ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, iv ,, wær ,,
 7 ,, ,, vó'is' es sæ'un ez íi ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 8 ,, ,, váis' in e minit ,, ,, 'wær ,,

1 kwíer ez it iz, en A)m shæ'uer 'E'id speak)t' trúuth
 2 ,, en skwík'in, en A)d tru_ost 'ím t')tel),, ,,
 3 ,, ,, skwA'k'in, ,, A)d ,, ,, fe)t spiik),, træ'uth
 4 ,, ,, skwík'in, ,, A)d ,, ,, t' tel),, ,,
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, bak' ,, fer telín),, ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, A kəd tru_ost ,, t' spiik)th trúuth
 7 ,, ,, skwíek'in ,, ,,)d ,, ,, te tel)t' træ'uth
 8 ,, ,, skwík'in ,, ,,)d ,, ,, fer)t' spiik)th ,,

1 oní aa, 'dhat i wú_od.
 2 ,, dii ,,),,) ,,
 3 ,, ,, dhat a ,,
 4 ,, ,, A ,, dhat'.
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, dhàt.
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, kú_od.
 7 ,, dæe 'dhat ,, wú_od.
 8 ,, dii ,, ,, ,,

6. 1 Jò mi laf^f, ber)th æ'ùd wu_oman ersen' el tel je,
 2 en)th ,, ,, ersel' ,, ,, oní
 3 ,, ,, ,, ,, ersen' ed ,, ,,
 4 ,, ,, ,, ,, æ'ù'l ,, je, ,,
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ær'd ,, je, ,,
 6 en)dh ,, ,, ,, el ,, ,,
 7 en)t' ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 8 en)dh ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

1 djú's' s seem,
 2 on je ez laf's naa, en tel je stre'itfòret, tæ'u,
 3 ,, ,, ,, iz laf'in naa¹, ,, ,, ,, re'it à't, en AA,
 4 ,, ,, ,, laf's naa, ,, ,, ,, stre'it aat tæ'u,
 5 ,, je ,, lof's naa¹, ,, ,, ,, ,, à't ,,
 6 ,, je dhæt ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 7 ,, ,, ez laf'n naa, ,, ,, ,, ,, á't tæ'u
 8 ,, ,, ,, lof's nčáu, ,, ,, ,, ,, of' tū

1				iv jə)n gu en	aks)er —
2	báut	mítj	bəðher,	ev jə)n oonli	,, — oo!
3	widhaa't	əni	edæ,	iv jə)l ,,	,, — a)m
4	widhaat	,,	bəðher,	ev ,, ,,	,, — oo!
5	widhaa't	,,	,,	jə)d ,,	eks)er — ,,
6	,,	mítj	edæ'u,	if jə)n e máind t'	,, — ,,
7	widháit	mu)tf	bəðher,	iv ,, nəbet	aks er — ,,
8	widhěáút	əni	,,	if jə)l oonli	,, ,, — ,,

1				
2			wu)nt	er?
3	shə'uer	ə'u	wu)l, wu)nt	,, ?
4			,,	e?
5			,,	er?
6			,,	e?
7			wi)nt	,,
8			wu)nt	er?

7. 1	et	ə'ni	rect,	ə'u	ta'úd	'mE'i	wən	A	akst)er
2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	it	,,	,,	,,
3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	'mEE ən)t	,,	a	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	'mE'i	,,	A	,,
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	Ekst)er
6	aa'iver		ə'r	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7	et	,,	,,	ə'u	,,	,,	,,	,,	akst)er
8	ěá'u)iver		ə'r	,,	,,	'mEz	,,	,,	,,

1	tə'uthri	táimz	óer,	en	ə'u	fAAZ)t'
2	tə'u	er	thre'i	,,	,,	shu)d)ner
3	tə'uthri	,,	óer,	ə'u	díd,	,,
4	tə'u	er	thre'i	,,	,,	ə'ut)ne
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ə'r shu)d)ne
6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ə'r ,,
7	tə'u	,,	thrà	táimz	,,	ə'u ,,
8	tíuthri	táimz	,,	,,	ə'r	ed)ne à't te

1	noo	iv	əni'bədi	də'üz,		wəd)'n	joo
2	bi	ru)qg	i	sítj	e	thi)qg	ez
3	,,	,,	ebaa't	su)tf	,,	,,	wət
4	,,	,,	i	sítj	,,	,,	wu)t)'n
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	wəd du)n
6	,,	,,	óer	,,	,,	,,	shu)d-e?
7	,,	rəqg	ebáit	,,	,,	,,	wəd du)n
8	,,	ru)qg	ən	su)tf	,,	,,	wət ,,

- 1 th'qk ?
- 2 „
- 3 th'qk'n ju ?
- 4 th'qk ?
- 5 „
- 6 „
- 7 „
- 8 „

8. 1 wA' eZ A' wer tel'in ju, æ'u)d tel ju wíer
 2 we'l „ A „ si'in, „ „ „ buudh áu en „
 3 „ „ a „ „ „ „ „ „ „ aa¹ „ wíer
 4 „ „ A „ sii'in „ „ „ „ „ aa „ wíer
 5 „ „ „ „ „ æ'r'd „ „ „ „ aa¹ „ „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 7 „ „ „ „ see'in, æ'u)d „ „ búedh aa „ „
 8 „ „ ái wes „ æ'r'd „ jér éáu „

- 1 æ'u fu_n' im dru_qk eZ mu_k'.
- 2 en wen' „ fu_nd t' dru_qk'n slətj „ v kAAZ er
- 3 „ „ „ fu_n' „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
- 4 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
- 5 „ „ æ'r fu_nd) „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
- 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
- 7 „ „ æ'u fu_n') „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
- 8 „ „ æ'r fu_n,th „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „

- 1
- 2 u_zbent.
- 3 u_zbend.
- 4 „
- 5 „
- 6 „
- 7 u_zbend.
- 8 u_zbend.

9. 1 æ'u d'i,tléert æ'u se'id im wi er oon e'im, en e'i wer lá'i'in
 2 „ sweer „ „ „ wídh „ „ „ „ „
 3 „ swóer „ „ „ wí „ „ „ áiz, liid,
 4 „ swóer „ „ „ wídh „ „ „ „ „ lá'i'in
 5 æ'r „ eZ æ'r „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 7 æ'u „ æ'u síid „ wí „ „ „ áiz, líg'in
 8 æ'r „ æ'r se'id „ wídh „ „ „ áiz, lá'i'in

1	AA	ev	iz	leəktʰ	i)th	rood,	in	iz	gù _o d	su _o ndi
2	A'		"	"	u _o pe)th	gráund,	"	"	"	"
3	AA		"	"	ən)th	graa'nd	wi	"	"	"
4	A'		"	"	ən)t'	graaud	in	"	"	"
5	"		"	"	u _o pe)th	graa'nd	"	"	"	"
6	stretʃt	AA)z	"	"	ən)th	"	"	)z	best	
7	oo		"	"	")t'	grá'nd	wi	iz	"	"
8	stretʃt	AAI	"	"	")th	gré'und	in	"	gù _o d	"

1	kuut	tlùs	et)t'		dæ'r,	daan	et)t'				
2	"	tlùs'	e)s)saíd	e)th	áuz	"	dáun	)th		
3	"	ən,	tlùs)	tu	er	oon	dúer	stuun,	daa'n	"	"
4	"	tlùs'	tu)th		aaz	dúer,	daan	"	"	"	
5	fluuz,	"	te)th		aa's'	dóer,	daa'n	"	"	"	
6	kuut,	"	egjɛ'n)	dh	à's'	dúer,	"	"	"	"	
7	kúet	ən,	agjɛn)	t'	á's'	dóer,	dáin	)t'		
8	kuut,	"	bi)	dh	é'aus'	dúer,	dé'au	)th		

1	bøtem	e)th	loon.	
2	kørner	"	jønder leen.	
3	ka'rner	"	jønZ	"
4	kærner	"	jønder	"
5	bøtem	"	)th	"
6	ka'rner	"	)th	"
7	kørner	"	jønd	"
8	bøt'm	"	)th	"

10.	1	E'i	wɛr	rúerɪn	en	bel'in					
	2	"	"	makɪn	e	náiz,	æ'u	se'd,	fer	AA	th)
	3	"	"	fret'in	ɛwii,	"	se'z,	i	su _o tʃ	e	wii
	4	"	"	makɪn	e	náiz	"	se'd,	"	"	"
	5	"	"	"	"	"	æ'	"	"	"	"
	6	"	"	gruunɪn	ɛwii				"	"	dh
	7	á	"	makɪn	"	ne'iz			"	ó)	t'
	8	E'i	"	wáinɪn	ɛwii	"	"		"	AAI)	th

1		láik	e	griit	səft	ka'f.						
2	wərd	"	"	baddi	tʃáilt,	er	e	lɪt'l	wentʃ	kráijɪn.		
3	dʒw _o st	láik	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"		
4	wərd	láik	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	skriimɪn		
5		"	"	bù _o l.								
6	"	"	"	pig'	[swáin].							
7	wərd	b'áik	"	baddi	tʃáild,	"	"	"	las'	kráijɪn.		
8	"	láik	"	"	tʃáild,	"	"	"	wentʃ	in	e	temper.

11.	1	en	it	wer	dju _o st	es)th	a'úd	wu _o men	en	er	dá'ut'er)
	2	,,	dhat		ap'nt,	ez		a'r	,,	,,	,,
	3	,,	it	dju _o st	sun	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	4	,,	dhat		,,	,,	buudh	,,	,,	,,	,,
	5	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	6	,,	,,		wa'r,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	,,	,,		ap'nt,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	8	,,	,,		ap'nd	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

1	i)lAA	kjə'əm	thra'u)th	bak'	fe'úd,	fre		i'qg'in
2	,,	ka'um	thra'u),,	bak	jàrt	wen	dhi)d bin	,,
3	,,	ka'um	thra'u),,	bak'	jàrd	fre		,,
4	,,	kjeem	thra'u),,	,,	,,	frem		,,
5	,,	ka'm	thra'u),,	,,	,,	,,	dhi)d bin	,,
6	in	,,	thra'u),,	,,	,,	frem		,,
7	i	,,	kamd	thra'u)t'	,,	,,		aqg'in
8	,,	,,	ka'm	,,	)th	,,	,,	i'qg'in

1	th)	tluuz	àt'	wen	dhi)d	wesht	em.	
2	,,)w'it'	,,	áut	t' dráì	v)th	wesh'in	dii.	
3	,,)wet	,,	à't	fu)t	,,	en),,	,,	
4	aat t'	,,	,,	fu)t'	,,	v)	,,	
5	th)	,,	à't'	,,	,,	,,	,,	
6	,,	,,	,,	t'	,,	v) dh	wesh'	
7	t' wet	tlúez	áit	te	drá'ì	en)t'	wesh'in	dee.
8	th)	,,	tluuz	,,	drá'ì	en v	wesh'	dii.

12.	1	wáil)th	kjet'l	wer	bá'ilín	fer)th	dri'qkín,	wən	fá'ín
	2	,,	,,	,,	bá'ilín	,,	tii,	,,	,,
	3	wáil),,	,,	,,	bá'ilín	,,	,,	,,	,,
	4	wáil),,	,,	,,	bá'ilín	,,	,,	,,	,,
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	6	,,	,,	tii-	,,	bá'ild,		wa'n	
	7	wə'il)t'	,,	,,	bə'ilín	,,	,,	wən	
	8	wáil)th	,,	,,	wəz	bá'ilín		wa'n	,,

1		su _o mer	dee	i)th	afterna'ùn,	en	it)'l	bi	v
2	br'it	afterna'ùn	i	su _o mer,	,,	,,	oonli	,,	,,
3	br'e'it'	su _o mer		afterna'ùn,			,,	,,	
4		su _o merz		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
5		afterna'ùn	,,	su _o mer,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6	br'e'it'	su _o merz		afterna'ùn,			,,	,,	
7	brə'it (br'it)	aftena'ùn	,,	su _o mer			,,	,,	
8		su _o mer		aftena'ùn			,,	,,	

1	wɛ'ik' sɪn' t'	nɛks	θarzdɪ.
2	wɛ'ik' ,, ,,	,,	,,
3	wɛ'ik' ,, ,,	,,	,,
4	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,
5	wɪk' ,, ,,	,,	,,
6	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,
7	wɪk' ,, kəm	,,	,,
8	wɪk' ,, t'	,,	,,

13.	1	en	Jo	noon,	A	nɪvɜr	ɪɜrd	nə'ut'	ɛbaat	ɪt	sɪn'.	
	2	,,	du _o n	ɜv	noo?	,,	,,	,,	nə'u	múɜr	ɛ	dhat
	3	,,	du _o nt	,,	SEE?	a	núɜr	lɜrnt	ənɪ	múɜr	abaa't	,,
	4	,,	du _o st	dhe'i	noo?	A	nɪvɜr	ɪɜrd	nə'u	múɜr	ən)t	
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	
	6	,,	du _o n	ɜv	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	
	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ne	,,	ɛ	,,	
	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ən)t		

1						ɛsh	shə'uɜr	ɛz	máɪ	neem)z	wɔt	ɪt
2	kɛnsàrn	te	dɦɪz	dii,	,,	,,	,,	mi	,,	:	dʒən	
3	bɪznɪz	u _o p'	tɪl	tɛdii,	,,	,,	,,	maa	,,	:	dʒak'	
4	frem	dɦad	dii	te	dɦɪs',	,,	,,	,,	máɪ	,,	,,	
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	wɔt	ɪt
6				tɪl	tɛdii,	,,	,,	,,	á)m	fɜr		
7	kɛnsàrn	te	dɦɪz	dee.	,,	,,	,,	,,	mɔ'i	neem)z	:	dʒak'
8	frem	dɦat	dii	te	dɦɪs'	,,	,,	,,	máɪ	,,	,,	

1	ɪz,	en	A	du _o ne	noo,	en	A	du _o ne	kjɜr	nə'ut'	ne
2	:shɛpɜrt,	,,	,,	,,	want				noodhɜr,	náa	dɦɛn'!
3	:shɛpɜd,	,,	a	,,	ner	,,	fɛ)t	dæ	noodhɜr,	dɦat)s	
4	,,	,,	,,	,,	ne	,,	t' dɔ'u	,,	,,	náa	dɦɛn'!
5	ɪz,	,,	A	,,	,,	wɔnt			núɪdɦɜr,	náa'	,,
6		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7	:shɛpɜrd,	,,	,,	dɔ)nt	want				noodhɜr,	dɦɛ'ɜr	
8	,,	,,	,,	du _o ne	wɔnt				núɪdɦɜr,	á)m	

1	múɜr	ɛbaat	ɪt.
2			
3	sàrt'm.		
4			
5			
6			
7	náa!		
8	shə'uɜr.		

14.	1	en naa	A)m	gu)in	wòm)p'mi	su _o per.	gu _o d	ne'it',
	2	" "	A)m	"	wA'm)p'mi	"	" "	" "
	3	" "	a)m	"	wA'm	fe)t e' mi	naa ¹ .	" "
	4	" "	A)m	af'	te mi	"	"	ne'it',
	5	" naa ¹	"	gu)in	" "	"	"	na'it',
	6	" su	"	af'	wA'm	" "	"	ne'it',
	7	" naa	"	gu)in	" "	"	"	na'it',
	8	" ne'au	"	"	"	t' ee mi	wel	na'it',

1	en	du _o)ne	bi	se	redi	t'	mag	gjam' e	oni'bodi	
2	"	"	"	"	"	t'	kroo	óer	ne'ubdi	
3	"	du _o)ner	"	"	kwik'	ebaa't	kroo)in	óer	" bodi	
4	låd.	en	du _o)ne	"	"	redi	t'	mag	gjam' "	u _o bdi
5	låd.	en	"	"	"	"	e	mak'in	gjam' "	oni'bodi
6	"	"	"	"	"	"	t'	kroo	óer	"
7	"	do'nt	"	"	shàrp	te	"	óer	won	"
8	"	du _o)ne	"	"	redi	t'	"	óer	oni'bodi	"

1	egj'en,	wen	dhi	taak'n	ebaat	á'ut'.
2	"	"	"	"	ebáút	"
3	egj'een,	"	e'i	ta'ks	ebaa't	dhis' dhàt en)t tu _o dher ta'ù dhi.
4	egj'en	"	dhi	taak'n	ebaat	á'ut'.
5	"	"	dhi)r	taak'in	ebaa't	"
6	egj'een,	"	i's	"	"	"
7	egj'en,	"	ii	taaks	e	dhis' er dhàt er)t tu _o dher.
8	"	"	dhe	taak'n	"	" " tu _o dher.

15.	1	e'i	mu _o d	bi	e	lhød'	et	ta'ùd	su _o met	wi
	2	it's	"	kwier	"	fa'ùl	ez	preets	báút	"
	3	e'i)z	"	púer	wik'	fa'ùl	"	"	widhaa't	"
	4	"	"	kwier	"	tjep'	"	taaks	widhaat	oni
	5	"	"	sóft	"	"	"	"	widhaa't	"
	6	e'i iz	"	"	"	fa'ùl	es	"	"	"
	7	ii iz	"	"	"	fi'ùl	ez	"	widháút	"
	8	e'i)z	"	priti	"	"	es	préts	widhéaut	"

1	na'ue	sens	in)t.	A	na'ut'	ne	múer	t)si	ta'ù	je.	
2	riiz'n.	en	dhat)s	mi	last	wárd.					
3	u _o nb'ithiqk'in	issen'	e	bit'.	a	du _o)ner	noo	ez	à)v	á'ut'	múer
4	riiz'n.	en	dhat)s	AA	ez	A	av	t'	sii.		
5	"	"	A)v	na'ue	múer	t'	sii.				
6	sens.	"	dhat)s	AA	ái)v	gót'n	t'	sii.			
7	riéz'n.	"	"	oo	ez	AA	av	te	see.		
8	riiz'n.	"	"	Aal	ái)n	gót	t'	sii.			

1		gu _o d	ne'it'.
2		"	"
3	fe)t sii naa ^l .	su	,, ,, ta'u dhi.
4		"	,, lað.
5		,,	na'it', ,,
6		su	,, ne'it'.
7		,,	na'it'.
8		,,	na'it'.

Notes to No. 1, Bradwell es., p. 426.

0. *no doubts*, the forms here are regular.

1. *lad*, and similarly *but*, par. 3, with (t) changed into (r).—*mind*, (di) or (a'i) is the regular long I form, and hence form of short I Y before (nd).

2. *through*, although not a O' word, is treated as such, and becomes regularly (æ'u). but see par. 4 in Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, p. 429.

4. *say*, and subsequently *day*, have (e), but the regular form would be (ii).—*sure*, this word is the only word in the es. which retains (æ'u) instead of using (a'u).—*wick* = *quick*, alive.

5. *that*, either (et) or (es).—*in a minute*, or (es sa'un ez ìver i ìerd im) as soon as ever he heard him.—*I'm sure he'd speak the truth any day*, 'that he would, or (en a)m shæ'uer 'e'i)l na'n tel v lði, 'dhat i wu)ne) and I'm sure he'll not tell a lie, 'that he will)not.

7. *two or three*, or (vbi) y wu)nst er twais') above once or twice.

8. *she found him drunk as muck*, or (en e'i wer ez dru)k ez ma'k') and he was as drunk as muck.

9. *declared* (di)theert).

10. *crying and bellowing*, the par. was translated at Eyam, (e'i wer rùerin en belderin lðik v griit soft ka'f'), he was roaring and bellowing like a great soft calf.

12. *drinking* or (tii) tea.

13. *as my wame's what it is*, or (ez ìver a wer ba'm, as ever I were born.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p') represents a (t) for to, assimilated to the two (m) between which it stands; the sound is the same as in 'thump me' (thamp' mi): there is no voicelessness of the first (m). A variant is (a)m baan t' mi su)per) I'm going to my supper.—*make game*, or mee gjam').

15. *that*, (es) as also used.

Notes to No. 2, Taddington es., p. 426.

0. *no* (næ'u) should probably be (næ'u).—*doubts*, etc., 9. *ground house down*, etc. The diphthong (áu) for (aa) having created suspicion, TH. especially visited Taddington in Dec. 1875, "and after conversing with and making inquiries from several natives, found that the sound was (áu, áú): among the persons interviewed three were of 50, 70, and 80 years of age." This, therefore, is a similar peculiarity to Chapel-en-le-Frith, D 21, which is only 9 nw. Taddington, but on the other side of the Peak, and differing in many respects. Adjoining Chapel, the Vale

of Goyt had (ái), and we shall meet this again in No. 7, Brampton es. The forms (aa, áu, áí) are strangely mixed in these regions.

1. *Thomas*, the usual address is by name, or *lad*.

2. *is not*, observe the (r) added, although not before a vowel: "euphonic (r) is much used at Taddington, Flag, etc.," TH.

4. *through*, *sure*, these are not O' words, and apparently for this reason have not (æ'u), but (a'u), but from the analogy of other words this itself should give (æ'u).

Notes to No. 3, Ashford es., p. 426.

1. *thee* or (soo) you.

2. *don't we* or (du)we wi?)—*is it* or (is) t).

3. *of this way* (v dhis'n)—*thy* or (jæ) your.—*done* or (dæ'un).—*thee* or (jæ) you.

5. *any day*, or (es sa'un ez anibodi) as soon as anybody.

6. *right out* or (stre'it of) straight off.—*do*, this (vðæ) should analogically be (vðæ'u), as *do*, *done*, are properly (dæ'u, dæ'un), but (dæ) is used again, par. 13, p. 435.

8. *both how and where and when she found*, or (ææ vbaat aa' æ'u fu)ne) all about how she found.

Notes to No. 4, Winstler es., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, (daats) with distinct (aa) and not (aa¹), and so elsewhere.

3. *hearken*, *a* before *r*=(*ä*) as in *yard* are part barn garden etc. here, and at Middleton-by-Youlgrave.

4. *say* or (si suu) say so.

7. *what do-en*, the remarkable pron. (wu_otj'n) was originally dictated, and was confirmed by Mr. Rains, p. 426, No. 4, in Sept. 1888.

10. *like a badly child or a little wench crying*, the simple (*läik v tjàilt skriimin*) like a child screaming, would be much more common.

14. *make game*, the (k) of (mak) is altered to (g) by the attraction of the

following word.—*anybody*, (u bdi) seems to have been coined from (nu_obdi) nobody, by omitting the *n*.

15. *chap* or (tʃ'ud) fool. With regard to this diphthong, Foxlow and Salt, who were fresh from the spot, said (ʃ'u) distinctly in hold, old, told, no, done, too, two, etc., but Rains, who had been absent 25 years, used another form, which TH. first represented by (ou) and afterwards by (ó₁u). As we find (ʃ'u) es., Nos. 2, 3, 6, this (ó₁u) is evidently not the present pron.; whether it was an older one, or a mere individuality, must remain uncertain.

Notes to No. 5, Ashbourne es., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, for U', OU.. etc., the regular form is (aa¹) or (aah), as TH. wrote it, or as I appreciated his own pron. (ææ). In one case at Ashbourne he heard (áu) as (bráæn) brown, but (braan) also occurred.

6. *any of you as laughs*, the (jæ) for *you* has the euphonic (r) before the following vowel (jær ez), and this is regular in the district. The (r) not before a vowel is constantly marked, and has the usual M. sound, probably (r).

SEVEN INTERLINEAR DERBYSHIRE dt.

These were all pal. from dict. by TH. The first five specially illustrate Var. iii, e.Db., which is not adequately represented in the eight es., by No. 7, Brampton, for it has the peculiarity found only in a few places near Brampton of (ái) for U'.

Var. iii.

1. *Eckington* (6 me.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of J. Anteliffe, b. 1805, native, wheelwright.

2. *Barlborough* (7 ne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of A. Cooper, fitter at iron-works, b. 1832, and his elder brother, both natives. This is almost identical with the preceding.

3. *Bolsover* (:hæ'uzer) (6 e.Chesterfield, on high ground), pal. 1880 by TH. from G. Shacklock, b. 1820, native. This scarcely differs from the preceding, but has (dæn), which approaches D 27. The absence of the v. pl. in *-en* is remarkable in these three.

4. *South Wingfield* (5 me.Belper), pal. 1883 by TH. from dict. of G. Hawksley, b. 1810, native, parish clerk. The v. pl. in *-en* appears in this and the two following.

5. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from another Thomas Hallam, b. 1809, native, collier. There is rather a remarkable coincidence of names here.

Var. iv.

6. *Brailsford* (7 nw.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from J. Hancock, b. 1835, native, small grocer and letter-carrier, assisted by another native, a farm-labourer.

Var. ii.

7. *Flash* (:flas¹) (7 me.Leek, St.), pal. 1880 by TH. from the dict. of J. S. Coates, b. 1843, native, small farmer, who used (tʃr-, dʃr-), which was not heard from others in the same place, and hence is omitted in this transcript. As this is the only St. specimen, it has been placed last, although belonging to Var. ii; it also bears a very close resemblance to No. 6, Brailsford.

* * * The (,) shews that the word is the same as in the preceding line.

1.	1	<i>Eckington.</i>	A)see, meets,	ju'sii	naa	ut
	2	<i>Barlborough.</i>	didn't a tel)ju soo?	jo'si		
	3	<i>Bolsover.</i>	A)see, tjaps, [ladz]	,,),	naa	
	4	<i>South Wingfield.</i>	,,)sii, ladz,	,,)se'in	naa [nâu]	
	5	<i>West Hallam.</i>	,,), tjaps	ju)se'i	ná'ə	uz
	6	<i>Brailsford.</i>	,,), ,	jo)se'in	naa¹	,,
	7	<i>Flush.</i>	,,), ,	,,)	,,	

1	A)m)re'it'	ebaat	dhat	lit'l	las'	ku_min	frəm)s'
2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
3	,,	,,	[ebâat]	,,	,,	,,	frə ,,
4	,,	ubaa't	,,	,,	wentj	kəm'in	frəm)t'
5	,,	ebá'ət	,,	,,	wensh	,,	,,)s'
6	,,	ubaa't	,,	,,	wentj	ku_min	,, ,,
7	,,	ebâut	,,	,,	,,	kom'in	,, ,,

1	skuul	jənder.
2	,,	,,
3	,,	jəndə.
4	skjə'ul	,,
5	skə'əl	jənder.
6	skjə'ul	,,
7	skə'əl	,,

2.	1	she)z)gu'in	daan	t')rúed	dhie	thruu	t')red	gjeet	ən)t'
	2	shi ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	3	shu ,,	dään	,,	,,	,,	red'	jeet	,, ,,
	4	ə'u ,,	daan	,, rood	,,	thra'u	,,	,,	,,
	5	,, ,,	dá'ən	dh) ,,	dhie	,,	dh)red	,,	,, th
	6	,, ,,	daa'n	,, ,,	dhie	,,	dhat ,,	gjeet	,,)dh
	7	,, ,,	dáun	,, ,,	dhier	,,	dh)red'	jeet	,, ,,

1	left and	sáid	v)t' rúed.
2	,,	,,	,, ,,
3	,,	sa'íd	,, ,,
4	lift	sáid	,, ,,
5	left	sáid	,, ,,
6	lift	sáid	v)dh) ,,
7	,, ənd	,,	,, ,,

3.	1	lu_ok)ju!	t')tjáild)	z	ga'n	u_ɔp'	te)t'
	2	,, ,,	,, tjáil	,,	,,	stre'it	,, ,,
	3	,, ,,	,, tjá'ild	,,	,,	u_ɔp'	,, ,,
	4	lɛ'uk	ladz!	,, tjáilt)s	,,	u_ɔp'	,, ,,
	5	lu_ok)	ju dhie_r!	th) ,,	,,	,,	,,)dh ru_ɔl'
	6	,, ,,	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,)dh ru_ɔl'
	7	,, ,,	,, ,,	,,	,,	stre'it'	,, ,,

- 1 dûer e)t' raq às.
 2 „ „ ru_oq âs.
 3 „ „ „ „
 4 dûe.
 5 â¹əs „
 6 dôe.
 7 dǎr.

4. 1 wíer shù)l ap'n fáind dhat dru_oqk'n dîef wíz'nd tɔap
 2 wíe shí)l „ „ „ „ def „ fele
 3 wíe shu)l „ fá'ind „ „ dif „ „
 4 wíer ɛ'u)l „ fá'ind „ „ dif „ „
 5 wíer „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 wíer e)l „ „ „ „ „ def „ má'n
 7 whíer ɛ'u)l „ „ „ „ „ dif wídhert fele, im

- 1 et dhí kaal :təm'.
 2 ez dhe „ „
 3 „ dhe „ „
 4 „ dhí kaan ɛ'ud :təmí.
 5 „ „ „ :təm'.
 6 „ „ „ :tu_om'.
 7 „ „ „ „

5. 1 wí)aal noo ìm verí we'l.
 2 „ „ „ „ „ „
 3 Jo) „ „ „ dòn)tɔe „ „
 4 we'í aa noon „ „ „
 5 „ „ „ „ „ we'l by)ɛ'ud.
 6 „ „ „ „ „ we'l.
 7 „ „ „ im „ „

6. 1 weent t')ɛ'ud tɔap' suun te'ítɔ)er nət te)du)it
 2 wu_od'nt „ „ „ [fele] „ títɔ „ „ „ „ „
 3 wéant „ „ „ „ tel „ su_omut,
 4 wíne „ „ „ sɛ'un títɔ „ nət te)ɔɛ'u)t
 5 wu_oner dh) „ „ „ sɛ'un „ „ „ „ „ it
 6 waut th) „ „ „ „ te'ítɔ „ „ t' „ „
 7 wu_one dh) „ „ „ sɛ'un „ „ fer)t' not ɔə'u „

- 1 egien, pûe thiq'!
 2 „ „ „
 3 „ „ „
 4 egje'n „ tɔá'ilt!
 5 „ „ thiq'!
 6 „ „ thiq'!
 7 „ „ pûer thiq'k!

7. 1 lu_ok)ɜe! iz'nt it tr'ù?
 2 " " " " "
 3 naa dhen! " " "
 4 la'uk ladz! " " tr'ú_on?
 5 lu_ok)ɜe dhúe! " " tr'ù?
 6 la'uk! " " tr'ú_où?
 7 lu_ok ɜe! iz'nt , tr'e'ù?

Notes to the Seven dt.

1. *mates*, No. 1, boys would say in this case *lads*, but addressing one only (*sári*) *sirrah!*

2. *side*, No. 2 the diphthong is said to lie between (*ái*) and (*á'i*), a mean difficult to hit; and similarly for par. 3, *child*, No. 2.

5. *very*, No. 1, a few say (*vari*).—*you*, the Bolsover informant has altered the phrase into a question, *you all know him, don't you, very well?* to which he supposed there would be an answer: (*aa, s'*)*l'ík wí da'u* aye, its like we do.

6. *soon*, No. 7, TH. marked Coates's pron. as lying between (*s'áun, s'e'un*), another speaker said (*s'áun*), which I have adopted, as it harmonises with the following *da'u*.—*thing*, obs. St. (*thiik*) in No. 7.

7. *true*. TH. writes the diphthong (*i'ù*) in Nos. 1 to 3, but makes the first element between (*u₂, e*) in No. 4, and between (*i, ə*) in No. 5, while in No. 6 and No. 7 he writes his equivalent for my (*e'u*), taken with a deeper (*a₁*) in No. 7, though others said (*tr'áuth*). TH. adds that he has often felt in doubt as to the first element, and thinks it must be (*ə^l*) or (*y₁*) of D 10, p. 146. The diphthong is evidently affected by the preceding (*r*), which renders (*riú*) difficult, but I think the intention is to say (*riú*). The *r*, printed (*r*) in the text, I presume to be TH.'s (*r*), p. 293, as the true (*r*) seems to be unknown in these regions.

Further Examples; all observed by TH.

Var. ii. WEST DERBY.

1. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth*, spec. concocted by people of Wirksworth, to shew how much 'broader' the miners at Middleton speak.
 (wíbr ɜrt gu'ín, sári? Á)m gu'ín daa'n tɜ :wəsb fɜr v paa'nd v paa'dyɜ),
 where art going, sirrah? [a common and not disrespectful address].
 I'm going down to Wirksworth for a pound of powder. Compare D 23, Ex. 5, p. 357.
2. *Wirksworth*. (lɛn)z á'ut ɛn't: íf dhi dɜ_s'nɜ, Á)l tlaa't dhi), lead us hold on it; if thee does not, I'll clout thee. (dha)z gjet'n v nɜu pɛɛr v ba'ats ɔn,
 thou hast gotten a new pair of boots on. (dhi ká.ɛn ít :ɜl :blɛk), they callen it Yule Block=log.
3. *Idridgehay* (3 s. Wirksworth). (iz dhat á'r dɜ_n ɜɜ thiik?), is that her do-en you think? (nɔn t' bɜ s'e'ín), none [=not, as often] to be seen. (dhe)n gjan ít tɜrɜ wɜ_o mɛn), they have-n given it to [euphonic *r*] a wrong woman.
4. *Flash* (7 nne. Leek, St.). (e'í)z v bad' m'á.n, e'í wɜ_onst bɜrɛd thɜ_u pɛns áapɛnɛ ɔf m'e'í, ɛn e'í)z nívr píid mɜ bak ɛgje'n, he's a bad man, he once borrowed threepence halfpenny off me, and he's never paid me back again.
5. *Alstonefield* (9 e. Leek, St.). (Á thá'ut v b'e'í in ín fɜr v ráid wí :tɜ_m t' m'e'ít', bɜr Á m dís'ít), I thought of being in for a ride with Thomas [who has a conveyance] to-night, but I'm deceived.
6. *Hartington* (7 sw. Bakewell, Db.). The following very old joke was told TH. at Ashbourne for Hartington as local, and pal. by him, and then inserted by a friend in conventional spelling in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* and *North Staffordshire Journal* of 16 Dec. 1887, as a dialogue between two old women at Hartington.

(A. *ee*, :pal', aa' du st dæ'u, en aa' du,z dh)æ'ud ma'n dæ'u?—B. *ee*, wai e'i)z dʒe'd.—A. dʒe'd! en pridhi aa' lu,qg az i bin dʒe'd?—B. wai, if e'i)d livd til temore ma'rnin, e'i)d e bin dʒe'd e fartnt.—A. en pridhi wot dʒeth d'ed i de'i)?—B. wai, e'i sit,im daa'n i)th tæ'u arnt tʃer, en fel fast esle'p, en wen i wak'nt, e'i wer stunn dʒe'd.—A. :lard bles us! we'i)er e'ier tudii en ga'n jisterdii.)—A. Eh, Poll, how dost do, and how does the old man do?—B. Eh, why, he's dead.—A. Dead! and prithee how long has he been dead?—B. Why, if he'd lived till to-morrow morning, he'd have been dead a fortnight.—A. And prithee, what death did he die?—B. Why, he sit him down in the two-armed chair and fell fast asleep, and when he wakened, he was stone dead.—A. Lord, bless us! we are here to-day and gone yesterday.

Var. iii.

7. *Bolsorer*. (aat i)t' écer), out in the air. (i)t' mårkit aal), in the market hall. (gü bi)t' kjarier), go by the carrier. (rüd t' pæper), read the paper. (raand t' taan), round the town. (i wu)dnt gjet at waid dhiz mårnün), he would not get it till this morning. (stöp ut wæam), stop at home. (dhe wer telin ju, l'ik), they were telling you, like=so to speak. (ä d)nt kjæer, as te gjetin it?), I don't care, hast thou gotten it?

VAR. i. NORTHERN SOUTH PEAK cwl.

compiled from wn. by TH. from South Peak, exclusive of those marked in the cs.

- B Bradwell (:brade) (9 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 Bd Bamford (:baamiert) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 C Castleton (10 ne.Buxton), pal. 1873-9.
 H Hathersage (:adhersit) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. in 1876, mostly from very old people, b. about 1810, 1794, 1793, and 1782.
 E Evam (:ii'im) (10 ene.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 T Tideswell (:tidze) (6 ene. Buxton), where the dialect has altered within twenty years, pal. 1865-77.

Notes.—(djaverer) jabberer, (v) for (b) by a man b. 1810 at Hathersage.—'s possessive usually omitted.—(kh) strongly pron. by grandfather of the Castleton informant, and lightly by his father.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 E tak, teed [took]. 5 B mak, mag, mee, e'i)z næ'ut' t')mee næ'ut' on' [he's nought to make nought on]. 6 CH meed. 20 B leem. 21 C neem. A: 39 B kæ'əm. 43 B ont and. — B sænd [sand]. 51 C ma'n. — B pøn [pan]. 54 B want. 55 B as. A: or O: 58 B fræ'u. 60 H lu,qg. 64 C raqg, E ru,qg. A'- 67 E guu. 69 HCET næ'u. 70 C tuu. 73 BT sæ'u. 74 HE tæ'u [from man b. 1782]. 76 BE tuud. 81 BH loon leen, C loon, E leen. 82 B a wænst [at once]. 84 B müer. 86 C unts üts. 87 T thuz. 89 B buudh. 97 C sæ'id. A': 101 H ük [man of 66]. 104 B ruud [old], T rood. 106 C brüd'. 107 C lüt [pl. (luvz)]. 108 C düt. 115 B wæ'm, wæ'm, H wæ'm, E wöm. 118 B buun. 122 B na'n [=not]. 124 BHC stunn. — C rump rüp [rope]. 132 B wat, C wät. 137 B noodher. Æ- 138 C teedher. 144 H egje'n. 152 BCT wæter water. Æ: 161 BH dee, CE dii. 172 B gres. Æ'- 182 B sii. 192 E miin. 197 BE tje'iz. 200 C wiit. Æ: 207 E ne'id'l. 212 E we'i. 214 B niidher. 218 E she'p. 224 H wíer. 225 H flesh. 228 E swiit. E- 231 th [generally]. 233 C speek. 241 E riin. 243 ET plee. — B eet [eat]. 251 B meet, H miit. E: 260 B lii. 261 C see, E sii. 262 C wii. 263 H ewii. — BC te'ilt [field]. 270 E baliz [bellows]. E'- 290 BH e'i éi á. 291 B dbEE, C dhe'i. 292 B mee, C me'i. 293 E we'i. 299 CT gre'in. E': 305 B ái. 312 BE e'ier. 314 C ierd.

EA: 322 C laf. 326 B a'ud. 328 BET kja'ud. 330 H a'ud [the noun is in T (a'at) a hold]. 333 B ka'f. 334 C aav, a'pni [halfpenny]. 337 E wa'u. 341 Bd mare [in the sense of match, fellow]. EA'- 347 B je'd. EA': 350 B de'd, C did'. 353 C bre'd. 355 E diif. 360 H tiim. 366 C griit.

EO- 387 B n'u jez dee [New Year's day]. EO: — B a'm [hem = them]. 394 B jander jand. 395 H ju'qg. 399 ET bre'it. 402 C le'm. EO'- 410 BEH a'u, H a'u [man of 82]. 411 BH thre'i. — B tree [tree]. EO': — E kraud [crowd]. 425 BT le'it, H lit [man of 94]. 427 H be'i. 428 E SEE se'i, H se'i, B se'id [see'd, saw]. 437 C triuth. EY- 438 BC de'i.

I- 440 BH we'ik. — gji [give]. 444 B stül. I: 458 BCT ne'it. 459 H rit [man of 66], re'it [man of 82]. 462 T se'it. 468 B t'p'der. 469 E wu'1 wa'ust [will wilt]. 475 B wa'ind I'- 492 H sä'd. 494 B tä'm. I': — C däit [ditch]. 500 H lä'k. 505 B wät. — BE ee [hay].

O- — BC smä'uk [smoke], sme'ik [(sme'ik) v. applied to a chimney or kiln, (smä'uk) to smoke a pipe of tobacco], T smook. 519 H ó'ur. 522 B ap'n. 523 Bd oop. O: — T kja'uk [cook]. 525 Bd a'f of [off]. 528 H tha'ut. 531 H da'ut'er. 537 B ma'ud. — B na'ü [knoll]. 541 CH wa'ne. 544 Bd kam den [come then, speaking to children]. O'- 555 C sha'u shu'f, T sha'un [shoes]. 556 B tä'u. 557 H tä'u [man of 66]. 558 BC lä'uk. 559 B nu'dher, C madhar. 560 BTE skjä'ud. 562 BC ma'am, H ma'un [man of 94], mä'un [man of 66]. 564 B sa'am, E saner [sooner]. O': 569 E ba'uk. 570 C tä'uk. 571 H g'ü'd. 579 BE inu'f. 580 C t'kh [old], t'kh [older]. 582 E kja'ül. 586 BHC da'u. 587 C da'am. 588 BCT na'ün, H na'un [man of 66]. 591 H mü'r. — T gja'us [goose].

U- 603 BC kam. 606 BC da'r, E dü'r [at E. (dü'r) is gen., (da'r) rare]. 607 B bu'f'er [the dentals heard from several old people, but they have gen. died out]. U: — H ba'an, E baan. 615 BH paand. 619 T tu'n. 632 B u'p.

634 H thra'u [man of 82]. — C räusti [rusty]. U'- 641 E ä. 643 B naa, H náu [men of 66 and 82], E in'náu [e'en now, directly]. 650 E abaat. 651 C báat. U': — H fläud [cloud]. 655 C fäü [ugly]. 658 BHE daan, CHE dáun. 659 BE taan. — H doon [down feathers]. 663 HC áus [from men of 66 and 82]. 667 B ät. 671 B maath.

Y- 673 B mä't. 679 H t'art. Y: 686 H bá'i. — E spard [speered, inquired after, here meaning asked in church by banns]. 702 BT we'i, wídh.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 C lâr. — C ba'qk, baqz [bank, banks]. I. and Y. — E e'lek [hilac, not (le'lek), a common older form]. O. 761 H lund, E lund'n [loaded]. — B dag [dog], C dog.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plës'ez [places, man of 82]. — T kjet' [in the sentence (dhu'r)z v trap' dju'et uf'er, ber juu kæn'e kjet' it, je noon) there's a trap just before, but you can not catch it, you know-en]. 822 E mi. — CE pii [pay]. 824 T t'ier. 830 T triin. — C thier th'e'ier [clear]. 833 E pé'r. — B groon gran [grand, in grandsire (grouser), etc.]. 851 B e'nt [formerly (noont)]. — C sooser [saucer]. 864 T bikooz. — B fa's [false]. — H travilin [travelling, the old dental heard from a man of 94]. E.. 867 BHC ti. — Bd fer [a fair]. I.. and Y.. 898 B náist. O.. 913 C ku'tmen [coachman]. — BC be'if [beef]. — H sa'il, E sa'il [soil]. 925 C váis. — B súrt [sort]. 939 H t'üs. — C tuust [toast]. 940 BT kunt. 947 B ba'il, E ba'il. 955 Bd daa't. U.. — E wiit [wait]. 965 B a'il, E a'il. 969 E sha'uer. — H ja'ust [used], E dhi jüz'n [they use, man of 84].

VAR. ii. WESTERN DERBYSHIRE AND EAST STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. at

(1.) w.Db.

Mb Matlock Bath.

C Cromford (1 s. Matlock Bath).

M Middleton-by-Wirksworth (2 sw. Matlock Bath).

W Wirksworth (3 ssw. Matlock Bath).

H That part of W. taken in 1876 from S. Simpson, b. 1800.

I Idridgehay (:idridʒee) (6 ssw. Matlock Bath).

(2.) e.St.

F Flash (7 nnc. Leek), wn. 1880 by TH. from Pickford, b. 1835, and family, and Coates, b. 1843, natives.

A Alstonefield (:A'rstfɪld) (9 e. Leek).

R Rocester (:rooster) (15 ese. Stoke).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 F tee tak. 8 F ee. 19 F teel. 21 F noem. — W gjam [game]. A: 50 H tu_oqz. 51 F ma'n. 54 H want. 56 H F wesh. A: or O: 64 FI ru_oqg. A'- 69 F na'u nœ'u nôu. 74 H A ta'u. 76 F tud. 82 W wu_ons. — F gruum [groan]. 84 MbF müer. 86 F üts. 87 I tluuz. 89 W buadh. 92 F noo. 93 H snoo, F snûu [old people formerly]. A': 102 R eks. 104 F rood. 115 W woom, F wa'm v)wha'm [at home] wòm. 117 M wœn. F t)A'n [the one]. 118 H F buum. 119 C guu. 122 I (nœn). 123 R nu_othqk. 124 MF stumm. — H F rôp [rope]. 131 H gôt.

Æ- 138 H F feedher. 143 WF tiil. 144 W egjen. 152 F weeter. Æ: 161 MbF dii. 172 MbF gres. 173 Mb wœ'r. Æ'- 189 H wä. 195 Mb me'ini, H F mœni. 197 MbFR tje'iz. 200 F wiit. Æ': 207 F néld. 210 H tlii. 214 WR müdher. 218 H she'ip. 222 F hîbr. 223 H dlier. 224 M wîer, F whîer.

E- 233 F spîik. 241 F riin. 243 W plii. — F beer [to bear]. — H iit [eat]. 251 H miit. E: — MF fatj [fetch]. 261 W sii. 262 F wiî. 265 W stre'it. 270 F balî. 287 F be'izemz. E'- 290 MFR e'i. 291 WR dhe'i. 292 WFR me'i. 299 F gre'an. 300 WF kje'ep, H ke'ip'n. E': 312 W e'ier. 314 F iu_ord. — H te'ith [teeth].

EA- — W eel [ale]. EA: 322 H lœf, F laf [(lakh) mother and grandfather of Coates]. 328 F ka'ud. 330 WR a'ud [sb. (a'ut)]. 333 F ka'f. 334 F aaf. 338 W kaa, F kjel (dhi wa'n kjeln v vnu_odher) they [the children] one eall-en of = on another]. — F sa't [salt]. 340 M jârd jârd. EA'- 347 Mb je'd, F [(lîit jhœdœd) light-headed]. EA': 350 F dj'e'd. 355 F dii. 359 H miiber. 366 F griit. EI- 375 MbA riiz.

EO: 388 W milk. 399 F bre't. — H bœn [burn], F bru_ont [burned]. EO'- 410 F a'u, a'u. — F nhœi [knee]. — F tlekh [flea, mother and grandfather of Coates]. 411 WR thre'z. 412 I [(a'r) used]. 415 M lœi [a lie]. EO': 424 F ru_okh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 425 F le'it. 426 F fe'it. 428 MbFR se'i. 437 F trœ'uth. EY- 438 F de'i.

I- — F wœk'. — W gji [give]. 442 F iviz. 446 R nœin. I: 452 M à. — F br'd. 458 MF ne'it. R na'it. 459 FR re'it. 461 F âu lé'tj dha kœn [how lights-it,—happens it,—thou cannot]. 487 F jœsterdii. — H dat [dirt]. I'- 494 M tâ'm. I': 500 F lœik. 504 F nhœi. 505 F we'if. — F hii [hay]. 508 MR mœi. 509 F whe'd.

O- — W smœok [smoke, r]. O: 526 F kœkh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 527 F bæ'ut. 528 F thœ'ut. 531 F dœ'uter. 532 F kœol. 535 W fœk. — M ta'æl [toll]. 541 C wu_one. 544 F tîn [(ju_oqgœr tîn dhæt) younger than that]. — H skûr [score]. — H A's [horse more used than (tœt) tit]. O'- 555 F shœ'm [shoon pl.]. 558 I lœuk, F lœ'uk lœ'uk. 559 W H FR mœdber. 560 H skœ'ud, F skœ'ud. 562 H R mœ'an, F mœ'an. 564 F sœ'an. 567 F t)u_odher. O': 570 F tœ'nk. 584 H sta'ud. 586 F dœ'u da'u. 587 F dœ'an. 588 MR nœ'an. 591 A mœ'ær. — H ta'uth [tooth]. 594 H bæ'ut, F bœ'ut.

U- 603 W *W* kəm, F kəm'n. 605 F sū'n. 606 MI dúur, F dæ'r. U: 612 F sū'm. 614 W aa'nd, [but] v pak' v ávanz [a pack of hounds]. 615 M paa'nd. 616 W graa'nd. 632 W u_op. — W fæ'r [a fir]. U'- 640 Mb kjàv. 642 W dha. 643 WR naa¹, R naa. 648 R aa¹r. 650 MI ebaa t, W ebaat. 653 F bur. U': 654 F sráud. 655 F fúv. 658 M W daa'n, WR [between] daa'n daan, FA dávu, AR daa'n. 663 W às, IR à's, F áus. 667 WIR à't, F áut. 671 F máuth.
 Y- 677 F dráí. 679 W tǽrtǽ. Y: 700 F was'. — W shæt' [shirt].
 702 M we'i. Y'- 707 W thatté'in. Y': 709 F fáier.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — F bəqk [bank]. E. 749 F lift ənt [left hand]. I. and Y. 756 F srimps. O. 761 W luud. — W dæg. 767 W náiz. U. 805 F krú'd [cheese curd]. — W kəl [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 W fə's. 818 F eedǽ. — F pii [pay]. 824 W tǽier. — F tǽin [chain]. 851 W eent. — M stii [stay]. É.. 867 MbF tii. — F sǽrvənt sǽrvǽ [z s [servant service], R sǽrvǽs. 890 W bīs [pl. cows]. — F lɛ'tɛr [letter, Coates, Pickford had no dental]. — F áuer [hoar]. 894 A dɛ'sit [deceived] I.. and Y.. 901 F íim. — M sǽri [sirrah, not a term of contempt]. O.. — W sáil [soil]. — R bɛ'if [beef]. — A maa'nt [to mount]. 939 W tǽus. 940 W kút. — M paa'de [powder]. U.. — WF wíit [wait]. 966 W frút. 969 F shə'uer.

VAR. iii. EASTERN DERBYSHIRE CWL.

wu. by TH. except when otherwise stated, exclusive of Brampton, which has a es.
 The places are arranged in order from n. to s.

N Norton (7 n.w. Chesterfield), from the Vicar.

D Dronfield (5 n.w. Chesterfield).

U Unstone (4 n.w. Chesterfield).

W Whittington (2 n. Chesterfield).

B Bolsover (:bæ'uzə) (3 e. Chesterfield), no verbal plural in *-en*.

Su Sutton (4 e. Chesterfield).

St Stretton (6 s. Chesterfield).

A Ashover (:asher) (5 s.w. Chesterfield). Beardow, about 55, parish clerk, native, gave (ái) in *down town*, and (ái) in *round house*, but his son gave (aa¹) in *round bouu down*, this is therefore a later form.

M Morton (8 n.e. Belper).

Hi Higham (7 s. Chesterfield).

Dh Doehill (7 se. Chesterfield, close to Doehill).

C Codnor (5 e. Belper), and Cv from the Vicar.

Cp Codnor Park (5 e. Belper).

R Ripley (3 ne. Belper).

Bp Belper (:bɛlpɛ).

Mi Milford (2 s. Belper).

H Heanor (5 e. Belper), dt. from Mrs. Parker.

I Ilkeston (8 ne. Derby) (:ɪls'n), by most working people.

Only a very few words were obtained from each place.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 BI é'v. 19 A teel. 33 A reedher. A: or O: 60 I lu_ogg. A'- 67 N gúv, B gujǽ [going]. 70 A tuuz [toes]. 72 N woo. 74 A tǽ'u, I tǽ'u. 84 BR múer. 86 N u_ots. 93 I snoo. A': 104 DU rúed. 115 N úgm, BA wǽam, I wǽm. 117 N wǽn. 118 DU búen, R buun. 122 R nǽn [in the sense of *not*]. 124 D stúen, R stuun. — A rúp [rope].

Æ- 138 I feedher. 143 A tiil. 152 Cp water. Æ: 161 NDB dee, ACCpRI dii, Dh dii [and (ii) for ÆG in several words]. — D kjǽrt. Æ'- 182 DR sii, Cv sɛ'i [or (*see*)]. 193 I tliin. 194 BR ənɛ. 197 D tǽ'iz, I tǽ'iz.

200 ND wíut, Cv wæut, R wíut. Æ': 210 MoCp thii. 214 A niidher. 223 A dhíur, Bp dhíu-r.

E- 231 NDUAB t' [always], Mi th. 233 N spē'ík. 241 N reen, A riin. 243 CpMiI plii, I ple'i [both (ii, e'i) several times]. — A BEER [a bear]. — Su e't [eat]. 251 Su me'it. E: 263 Cp ewii. 265 Cp stre't. E'- 290 BpI E'i. 292 IBp me'i. 294 Cv fiud, R fe'id. E': 312 Cp íu.

EA: 326 DCpR a'ud. 328 DBAR ká'ud. 331 A sa'ud. 332 B teld. 333 N kooł. 335 Cp AA. 338 Cp kAA. 343 A wárm. 346 Cp gje't. EA'- 348 A ín [eyes]. — N déu [dew]. EA': 360 Cv tiem. 361 Cv biénz, R biinz. EÍ- 376 A bit. EO: 392 Cp janz. — B dàrk [dark]. 396 Cp wæk. 399 N brá't, A bráit. EO'- 410 Mi a'u. 411 CpR thre'i. — C tre'i [tree]. 412 N shu. — CvR we'id. 415 N ló'i. 416 R déer. EO': 425 N liit ? lîit, A lîit. 426 fó't. 428 RÍ sâ. 431 A bíer.

I- 446 N nó'ín, Dh ná'ín. — ND'v pe'iz [pease], R piiz. I: 455 N lîg. 458 A náit. N niit, ? náit, nó'it, HDh ne't, R [between] náit ná'it. 462 N sá't. 466 N tpe'id. 473 N bb'nd. 477 N fó'nd. 487 A josterdii. 488 B jít. I'- 492 Hi sa'id. 496 U s'urn. I': 500 NB ló'k, R lá'k. 502 N fó'v, A faiv. 508 U mǝ'id. 509 B wǝ'id wáil. 510 DW mǝ'ín.

O- — A smook [smoke]. 519 R aver. O: — DR frag [frog]. — N fæg [fog, between *u* and *o*]. 528 B thá'ut. 529 B bra'ut. — B mǝ'rnín [morning]. O'- 555 B shá'u. 556 R tē [for the inf. not (t)], I tá'u. 559 B mǝ'dher, I madher. 560 R skjǝ'id, Mi skǝ'id. 562 N nuun [that is, as being rec. pr. no mark was put against, but (mǝ'um) would have been treated in the same way], D mǝ'ún, Cv mím, RÍ mǝ'ín, etc. 564 Mi sǝ'ún. O': 579 N mǝ'f. 586 CpR dá'u. 588 ACpI ná'um, Cv níum, D nǝ'ún.

U- 603 B ku'mín [coming], Cp. kǝp [come up, to a cow]. 605 A sǝ'n. 606 Cp. dúv. U: — D báim [boun going, see 658]. 615 N pá'nd, Cp paa'nd, U pá'nd. 616 A grá'nd. — A wǝ'nder [wonder]. 632 Bp u'p. 634 Cp thra'u. U'- [R (aa) normal (aa')]. 640 N káu. 643 NB naa, CpBp naa'. 648 B aar. 650 B ebá'ut, A ebáit [see 616, only two instances heard], HCpI ubaa't. U': [MoDh rather (aa') than aa)]. 658 D dá'um [from people of good education], BW daan, StACpRI daa'n, I dá'ón, UA dáin. 659 D tá'um [see 658], BW taan, U tá'um. 663 N áus, H á's', BBp aa's. 667 B aat, HiBpI á't, U á't. 671 I má'th.

Y- 679 Cp tǝatj. Y: 690 N kǝ'ind. 691 N mǝ'ind, I mǝ'ind. 694 Bp wark.

II. ENGLISH.

O. — D dag [dog]. 767 I nǝ'iz, D nóiz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — A teeb'l [table]. 811 A plés. — DB pee [pay], ACvR pii. 866 R púu. E.. 867 Cv tee, I tii. 890 N bíst. 891 N físt, A físt. — Cp pē'ip'l [people]. 893 Cp flá'uu, flá'uu. I.. and Y.. — 900 N krǝ'i [cry]. O.. — D báif [beef], Mi be'if. 920 Cp pá'nt. — B ekaant [account]. — B raand [round], I raa'nd. — NCv rúst [roast], AR rúst. — NC túst [toast], AR túst. 940 A knut. 947 R bóil. — B kraan [crown]. U.. 965 DR óil, I a'il. 969 B shǝ'uer.

VAR. iv. SOUTHERN DERBYSHIRE CWL.

wn. by TH.

Q Quarndon (3 mw.Derby).

A Alvaston (:AAvesten) (3 ese.Derby), said to be under refining influence of Derby.

C Chellaston (:tʃelísten) (4 sse.Derby).

S Stenson (4 ssw.Derby).

R Repton (:rep'n) (7 sw.Derby), just s. of the Trent.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- S R ð. A'- 76 R tuud. A': 118 S buun. 124 S stuun.

Æ- 138 S *feedhu*. 152 SR *weeter*. Æ: 161 A *dee* [refined], CSR *dii* [not refined]. Æ'- 182 S *sii*. 200 S *wiit*. Æ': 218 Q *shéip*, R *shíp'*. — R *stre'it* [street].

E- Q *th*, A *th dh*, S *th dh* [the latter before vowels and perhaps voiced consonants]. 232 R *breck*. E'- 290 R *e'i*. 292 R *me'i*. 294 S *fe'id*. 299 S *gre'in*. 300 S *kje'ip*. EA- 317 R *flii*. EA: 322 R *lof*. 326 S *a'ud*. 328 S *ka'ud*. 330 R [sub. (*a'ut*)]. 331 S *sa'ud*. 332 SR *ta'ud*. 333 S *ka'f*. EA': 350 R *dre'd*. 360 R *tiim*. 361 S *biinz*. — R *dám* [dew]. EO: — S *daa'rk* [dark]. 399 S *bre'it*. EO'- — S *tre'i* [tree]. — S *we'id* [weed]. 417 R *tpám*. EO': 425 R *láiit*. 426 S *fe'it*. 428 R *se'i*. I: 458 S *n'it*, R *náit*, R *ne'it*. 462 S *sát*. I'- [A *á'i*]. 492 S *sa'id*. I: 503 R *láiif*.

O- — S *smòk smúk* [smoke]. O'- 556 R *túu*. — R *fúud* [food, from incumbent]. 559 R *mádhur*. 562 SR *m'un*. 564 S *s'un*. O': 578 S *plá'u plóu*. 586 R *dáu*. 588 S *n'un*. 589 R *spám*. 594 R *báut* [from incumbent].

U: 615 R *peáand*. U'- 640 Q *kjáuz*. 643 R *nčáu* [see p. 426]. U': [at A (*zá'u*)]. 658 SR *džá'um*, R *daa'n*. 659 Q *táum*, S *tá'um tčá'um*, R *taa'n*. 663 S *éá'us*. 667 R *čáut*.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. — S *káin* [they kill-en for meat]. O. — SR *dog* [dog]. U. — S *ta'um* [tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — R *pii* [pay]. E.. 867 A *tii*. O.. — Q *béif* [beef], S *be'it*. 921 R *ekucáint*. 939 AS *thms*. — R *túst* [toast]. — R *rúst* [roast]. 941 S *fa'ud*. — R *tru'b'l* [trouble]. 947 S *bá'il*. U.. 965 R *áil*. 969 S *sha'uer*. — S *ma'uzik* [music], R *múzik*. 971 S *fla'ut* [flute].

D 27 = EM. = East Midland.

Boundaries. Those of Nt. Sufficient is not known to assume any other boundaries, and pronunciation is tolerably homogeneous throughout the county, quite distinct from D 20 to the e., and D 26 to the w., but not sufficiently distinct from D 24 at its extreme n., or from D 29 at its extreme s., to mark a line of separation with any confidence. The resemblance to D 26 was apparently much greater in 1844 than at present. But no other boundaries could be safely assumed.

Area. That of Nt.

Authorities. See County List under the following names in Nt., where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H. || so., ° in io.

°Beckingham, *†Bingham, °Blyth, †Bulwell, †East Retford, †Eastwood, °†Fimingley, °Gringley, †Kirkby-in-Ashfield, °Laxton, †Mansfield, †Mansfield Woodhouse, °Mattersey, °Misson, °Misterton, †Newark, †North Carlton, °North Wheatley, †Nottingham, °Radcliffe, °Rempstone, †Southwell, °Sutton, °Walesby, †Worksop.

Characters. The present pron. must be very modern, and due to education, because it agrees so much with rs. T.H. was, however, fortunate enough to find from two families at Bulwell (4 nw. Nottingham) a direct proof of the change since 1844. He learned that the words *keen*, *feet*, *rain*, *lane*, *night*, which are now there called (kiin, fiit, keen, leen, náit), that is, practically, in rp., were in

1844 called (kjé'in, fé'it, riin, lé'in, né'it'), of which the first three really agree with D 26. It is principally for this reason that I have considered it proper to group this district with D 25, 26. In the same place he also found an instance of the verbal plural in *-en*, (if *wi wern taak'in tu v sheperd dæg'*), if we were-n talking to a shepherd dog. The speaker was a labourer born in 1801 in the house where he resided in 1879. This was, however, the only instance that TH. heard.

The characteristic pron. is that the U' words s. of Worksop and East Retford have (âä), varying occasionally to (âu, a'ʷə,) and even (aa), but the first element is enunciated in a particular way. According to TH.'s observations, the vertical opening of the lips remains as for (a), but the horizontal length is abnormally increased, and the teeth are quite free from the side walls of the mouth. The effect of this is, he says, to introduce a faint (ʌe) before the (a), thus (dʌeân) down, and this was probably the sound intended when I appreciated (de'um) in Mr. F. Miles' pron. from Bingham. Generally, I apprehend that it is not so much the shape as the area of the opening of the mouth which affects the vowel sound, and I regard TH.'s description as rather that of his own organs when attempting to imitate the sound, than the practice of natives themselves. The effect can certainly be produced without this peculiar mouth opening. North of Worksop and East Retford, U' seems to be generally (âu).

Nt. also lies in *the teeth* region, that is, where the def. art. appears as (dhv, t', th), and the (th) is sometimes assimilated to a following (s). The regular usage is (dhv), then (th) and its (s) form, and finally (t'). Thus TH. heard at Worksop (v)th r_uq âas) of the wrong house, at Bulwell (A)m th)last âæt v)th märke) I'm the last out of the market, and at Kirkby (let mi tái th)at on) let me tie the hat on, but (dh) is used occ. before a vowel, as (dh)âa'əs) the house, heard at Mansfield. Examples of the assimilated (s) form are, from Mansfield and Worksop (frəm)s'skuul) from the school, from Bulwell (tə's'skuul) to the school, from Mansfield and Worksop (dɔnt tek's)st_unt) don't take the stunt, don't be sulky, from Newark (i)z p_ul'ín)s signl) he's pulling the signal. Examples of (t') are from Mansfield Woodhouse (t' t_uáld, t_u)t' dâv) the child, to the door, (Ev t' l_uq_gist dee) have the longest day.

The *r* not before a vowel is practically lost, as TH. was told at Bingham, or vocalised, but TH. very frequently writes it in. Such an (r) is, however, nearly (r_o) or (r).

The *h* generally disappears.

There are very few peculiar words or expressions, as (-sen) for *-self* and *it falls*, probably. Boys (*jo*) you, *i.e.* use you in speaking to each other.

The sp. is therefore like rs. without the vanishes and with (u_o) for (ä). It is almost entirely free from fractures, which abound in the adjoining D 20.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE dt.

from Mansfield Woodhouse (2 n. Mansfield), pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of a labourer, native, 59, and in all cases of different usage compared with others, also pal. by TH. from dict. of other natives from

B Bulwell (4 n.w. Nottingham), retired labourer, 78.

M Mansfield, patten-maker, 58 to 60.

N Newark, from a butcher.

R East Retford (7 e-by-n.Worksop), from the lock-keeper, 71.

W Worksop (:wasep), from a porter at the canal wharf, 56.

1. [we'l N, náu R] A see, tʃaps [ladz R, meets M], Jo [ʃu B] si nâɪ dhət A'm re'it [ráit BMNR] ebâɪt [abâut R] dhat lit'l gjel [gjerl MNW, gje'l B, las R] ku_omɪn frəm ʃən skuul [frəm]s skuul jənder N].

2. shi)z gu'ɪn dâɪn [dâun R] dhe rood dhív [dhéur R, dhév W] thruu dhe red gjeet ən dhe left and sáid v)dh rood [vɪ dhe rood BM, N and R omit the words vɪ dhe wái W].

3. luuk! [A)m shúer N, shúe: vu_of R] t' [dhe BWM] tʃáid)z gá'n stre'it [stráit R] u_op tu)t' [tɛ dhe BMN, tu)th W] dâv vɪ dhe [dôv v)th W] roq [ru_oq BW] âas [inclined to (âus)].

4. wíe shi)l ap'n [mɛ)bi B] fáind dhat dru_oqk'n dɛf [dɪf B] wiz'nd [sloqki N] fele ká'ld :təm.

5. wí aal noo ïm veri we'l.

6. we'ɪnt [wɔnt MR] dhi ɹ'ud [ɹ'uld BW] tʃap suu titʃ [laan N] ɛr nɔt tɛ du ït ɛgjen, púv thiq!

7. luuk [lu_ok ɹə N, dʒu_ost luuk W]! iz'nt ït trɪn [træ'ù BM, truɪ R]? v tóud ɹə shi wɛr ru_oq N].

A few insignificant variants have been omitted.

This gives a practical uniformity with only an occasional variety of (áu) for (áɛ) = U'.

OTHER EXAMPLES DICTATED TO TH.

1. At Bingham, being an old woman's account of what she said to a clergyman who asked her for subscriptions [(ʃu sii, sɛr, sɛz ái, ái)v vu_of tɛ dù wídh wɔt lit'l ái ɛ'v tɛ gʃiv ɛwee, ɛn a láik tɛ gɪ ït mɪsɛn, ɛn dhɛn a noo dhe)l gjet ït), you see, sir, says I, I've enough to do with what little I have to give away, and I like to give it myself, and then I know they'll get it.

2. At Mansfield (i)z gɔt ït ən ïm tɛnə'it), he's got it on him—is tippy—to-night.

BINGHAM (7 e.Nottingham).

fragments of the es. (1) as pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Frank Miles, artist, son of the former rector, marked M, and (2) as pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Henry Doncaster, a native and retired tradesman, marked D. The numbers in () shew the paragraphs of the es. where the passages occur.

M (4) ái)m saatɪn ái hívd ɛm see—dhæt ái dɪd seef vu_of
D ái)m saatɪn shùe[r ái ïed ɛm see—dhat ái dɪd sɛf' vu_of

M —(6) dhæt dh)ood wu_omɛn ɛsɛlf (8) frənd dhe dru_oqk'n biis.
D — dhət dh)ɹ'ud wu_omɛn ɛrsɛn fá'ənd dhe dru_oqk'n biis.

M (7) wɔt d)juu thiq? (9) shi siid ïm wi hɛr ɔon ɔ'iz lɔ'i'iq
D wɔr)v)ɹɛ thiq? shi siid ïm wi ɛr ɔon áiz, dɛ'd

M dɛun ən)th gré'umd, floos bɔ'i dhe dúur ɛɹ v heus. (13) ɛn
D dru_oqk ən dhe grá'ənd, ɛgje'n iz ɔon á'ɔs dùv. ɛn

M d)ɹe noo? (11) dhat hapt ɔn v wəʃɪn dee ez shii ɛn ɛr
 D dhat ap'nd ɔn (dh)wəʃɪn dee, ɛs shii ɛn ɛr

M da'uter ɪn lAA kAM thruu dhɛ bæk jaad frɛm i'qɪn e'ʊt dhɛ wɛt
 D da'uter ɪn lAA kAM thruu dhɛ bæk' jaad frɛm i'qɪn á'ɔt dhɛ wɛt

M flooz tɛ drii. (1) uu kíiɛz [kéɛɪz]? (14) á'i)m v goo'ɪn hoom
 D fluuz tɛ drá'i. uu kɛɛ[rz ɛbá'ɔt joo? A)m gu'ɪn òm)

M tɛ sʌpɛ. gud nɔ'ít.
 D p'mi sʌpɛ[r. gu'd nɔ'ít [nɔ'ít].

This shews a few points of difference, principally in the U' and I' words. I am not certain if I appreciated Mr. Miles correctly as (E'u) in place of (á'ɔ) for the first, and for the second, which varied from (á'i) to (ɔ'i), the (á'i) of Doncaster was probably more correct. But under these circumstances I do not consider it advisable to give more of Mr. Miles' version and words, with which he so obligingly furnished me. Transcripts from natural dialect speakers are always more satisfactory than from gentlemen who can only speak from memory, based possibly upon an originally incorrect appreciation.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE CWL.

Containing the principal wn. by TH. from natives at Bingham, Nottingham, Bulwell, Mansfield, Mansfield Woodhouse, Newark, Southwell (:sʌdhɪ), Worksop, and East Retford. The general sameness, as shewn by the dt., renders it unnecessary to distinguish the places.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 ták. 8 e'v. 18 kjeek. 21 neem. A: — kɹat [cat, observe (kát) cart]. A: or O: 60 buq. 64 ruq. A'- 67 goo, gu, gu'ɪn. 69 nóo noo. 73 soo. 81 leen. 86 ɔts, ɔts. A': 104 rood. 115 oom òm ɛ'm ùm. 117 wan won. 118 bónn. 123 nu, thiqk. 124 stóon stó'nn.

Æ- 138 faadhɛ fɛadhɛ. — lɛdhɛ [ladder]. — stéuz [stairs]. Æ: 159 e'z. 161 dee. — kát [cart]. Æ'- 193 thinn. 197 tjuz. Æ': 209 nív. 212 wee. 224 wíe.

E- 231 th, dhɛ, dh, t'. 233 spiik speek. 243 plee ple'i. 251 miit.

E: 262 wee. 265 stré'it stráit. 278 wensh. E'- 299 gríin. E': 312 ív. 314 ív'rd.

EA: 324 e'ít. 326 ɛ'ud. 328 kɛ'ud. 330 óud. 332 ɛ'nd [usually (tɛld)]. 334 ɛpɪth [halfpenny worth]. 335 aal. 340 jaad. 346 ɟjɛt. EA'- 347 e'd. EA': 355 ɹɛf. 360 ím. 361 biin, biin. 366 greeɪ greeɪ [usually (big)]. EI- 372 aa. EI: 377 stéik. EO: — jalɛ [yellow]. 396 wák. 402 laan. EO'- — trɪ [tree]. EO': 426 íe'ít. 435 jo joo. 436 tráu, tráu. 437 tráuth. EY- 438 dá'í da'í.

I: — báð [bird]. 458 náit. 459 ráit re'ít. 465 sítj. 466 [between] tɹ'íld tɹ'íld. 487 jisterdee. I'- 492 [between] sa'íd sa'íd.

O- 519 ove. O: — tráf [water trough]. 528 thá'at. 531 da atv. 541 wɔnt wɔnt we'nt. 550 wɛ'rd. O'- 555 shuu. 558 luuk. 559 fadhɛ [fodder]. 560 skuul. 564 suun. 567 t' tu'dher. O': 578 plá'u [with laterally elongated mouth opening, see p. 448]. 579 mʌ'f. 587 dʌ'n.

U- 606 dūv. 607 bu'te. U: 612 su'met [somewhat]. 616 grɛ'ɛand. 629 sʌ'n. 632 u'p. U'- 643 n̄aɹ, [between] n̄aə ná'ɔ [at Bingham], n̄aɹ naa ná'ɔ. 650 ebaat. U': 658 d̄á'ɪn [mouth as for 578], d̄aaɛn d̄ɛ'ɛɹn daan. 663 ʌs [as for 578]. ʌvs. 667 ʌt [as for 578]. ʌt á'ɔt ʌt.

Y- 679 tɹɹtj. Y: 694 [between] wokɪn wák'ɪn [working]. Y'- 706 wá'í.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. 758 gjeł [uncommon]. O. 767 nôiz. 789 râu. U. 796 blîu. 805 kerdz kra_o.dz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fîs. E.. 888 saatin. 890 bîus [pl. cows]. I.. *and* Y.. 898 [between] nâist nâ'ist. 901 [between] fâin fâ'in. — sârû sârî [sirrah]. O.. 947 bôil. 948 bâal. — tan [turn]. U.. 965 ôil. 970 dmu_s.

D 28 = w.SM. = western South Midland.

Boundaries. Begin between Flint and Connah's Quay in main Fl., n. Wales, on the river Dee, and follow the CB to Chirk, Dn., on the b. of Sh., and hence pass in Fl. southwards, leaving Northop and Mold on the w. and Hope on the e. Entering Dn., deflect slightly to the se., then, passing through Wrexham, go s. to the e. of Ruabon and w. of Chirk to the b. of Sh. Enter Sh. on the n. *sum* line 1, and go se. between Oswestry on the s. and Ellesmere on the n. Pass through Hordley and w. of Upton Magna till you strike the Severn by Atcham (4se. Shrewsbury). Then probably go n., passing e. of Upton Magna, Wem, Whixall, and Prees, but w. of Hodnet, to Whitechurch, Sh., and Wirwall, Ch. (2 n. Whitechurch). Enter the s. b. of D 25, and proceed along it sw. of Malpas and e. of Farndon to Aldford and Eccleston, and then, avoiding Chester, to the Dee, which pursue till the starting-point is reached nw. of Connah's Quay.

Area. This small district comprises the se. of main or Welsh Fl. and ne. of Dn., with the whole of detached or English Fl., a small portion of the n. of Sh. and a still smaller slip to the w. of Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but, thanks to the exertions of TH., some very fair conception of its character may be formed.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., || so., ° io.

Wales, Dn. °Chirk, °†Holt, °†Wrexham.

England, Ch. †Churton, †Eccleston, °†Farndon, †Shocklach.

Wales, Fl. (detached). †Bettisfield, °†Hanmer.

Wales, Fl. (main). †Bretton, °†Hawarden, °Hope, °Northop.

England, Sh. †Ellesmere, †Hadnall, °Hordley, °Loppington, °Prees, †Upton Magna, †Welsh Frankton, †Wem, †Whitechurch, °†Whixall, †Yorton.

Characters. This small district, composed of five distinct constituents Sh., det. Fl., Ch., Dn., main Fl., is not at all homogeneous; even each constituent is not so. But it is chiefly under the domination of Ch. A comparison of all the information obtained leads to the following as the general characters.

A- (ii ee), as (niim neem) name.

A' (oo nu), as (stoon stunn) stone.

E' (ii), as (grîm) green, slight leaning to (î éi).

III (ii e'i), as (niit ne'it) night, the last chiefly in *good-night*.

I' (â'i æ'i âi A'i), say about (âi).

O' (æ'un iun) noon, the former observed by TH., the latter is felt by others.

U (u_o) this is regular.

U' (â'u æ'u âu ôu), say (âu).

The whole of these characters together mark the dialectal pron. The U = (u_o) distinguishes it from Sh. on the one hand, the U' = (âu) connects it with s.Ch. on the other, and the U' = (â'u) connects it with Sh. A- = (ii) is a Ch. form. The

III = (ii) is singular, but occurs in w.Ch. There is most schism about O', TH. having almost invariably observed (*o'u*), as Mr. Darlington does in s.Ch., whereas other informants give (*iu*), a form we know in s. D 26 and D 29. But (*o'u*) is a remarkably unstable combination, as we already know.

The *r* has become Midland, say (*r*), instead of Welsh, except in most of the Sh. portion. The Welsh rising inflexion is uncertain. As a rule the Midland character prevails. The detached Flint is called English Flint by the Welsh, and, although the names of places are still Welsh, the language has been English for nearly a thousand years.

Varieties. There is so much uncertainty of speech everywhere, that it is not possible to define any particular varieties. It has therefore seemed best to make the varieties purely geographical, Var. i. containing the parts of Sh. involved, Var. ii. detached Flint, Var. iii. the small part of w.Ch., and Var. iv. parts of the Welsh counties of Dn. and main Fl. These are easily delimited. The phonetic limits may be taken as U = (*u_o*) from the U = (*o*) of Sh., and U' = (*áu ó'u*) from the U' = (*ái*) of Ch., and English as against Welsh in Dn. and Fl. But the distinctions between the varieties are difficult to seize, if only because of the non-homogeneity of each variety. The e. b. as already mentioned is not certain.

Illustrations. The forms of speech in this district are illustrated by four dialect tests, of which two were from dictation. The other two are rather uncertain, though one was written by a native, because of the difficulty in understanding the notation of the writers without personal interviews. These represent varieties i., ii., iii., and are arranged interlinearly. It will be seen that the Ellesmere and Hanmer forms are almost identical. Besides these there are 4 ewl., arranged almost entirely from wn. by TH. from trustworthy sources. So far as they go, they give the best information possible; but they are necessarily defective, because as a general rule the information was obtained as it was offered, and there was no opportunity for systematic investigation. We must rather be surprised at the amount of information obtained, than disappointed by its paucity.

FOUR INTERLINEAR DIALECT TESTS.

These illustrate three out of the four varieties. I was unfortunately unable to interpret the dt. sent me from Hawarden, Fl. Two of these were written from dictation of natives by TH. The other two are my own interpretations of io.

Var. i. NORTH SHROPSHIRE.

E. Ellesmere, Sh., pal. in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of the town-crier, Davenport. b. 1809, native, and son and grandson of natives. See also ewl.

W. Whixall, Sh., written in 1879 by the Rev. J. Evans, vicar, not a native, but resident from 1844 (he was still so in 1886), who had much examined the dialect and gave full details respecting the pron., by which the dt. has been pal. by AJE.

Var. ii. DETACHED OR ENGLISH FLINT.

H. Hanmer, written in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Heatley, b. about 1828, bricklayer, of the Arowry, a hamlet of Hanmer. Another dt. given me by Mr. Bateman, of the same place, could not be interpreted. See also ewl.

Var. iii. SOUTH CHESHIRE.

F. Farndon, written in 1879 by Mr. E. French, native, and pal. by AJE.

from his indications and the wl. I have retained his (iu), although he says the sound is *not* that of *u* in *mute*, and TH. heard (*u*'u). Mr. F. says that Farndon is not in the slightest degree affected by Dn., but rather the contrary, and thinks that "the first effect that the Welsh influence has on English is to destroy all provincial pron." The pron. of Farndon is perhaps more correctly given in the following cwl.

Var. iv. WELSH FLINT and DENBIGH is illustrated only by the cwl. formed from TH.'s wn.

1. *Ellesmere.* ə'i see, ladz, ʝe sii nə'u dhət ə'i)m rit
Whixall. suub əi sez, tʝaps, ʝe sin nə'au ez əu əi)m riit
Hanner. ə'i sii, ladz, ʝe siin nə'u ez ə'i)m rit
Farndon suu ə'i sii, miits, ʝe səi nəu dhət əi)m riit

E ebə'ut dhat lit'l wensh kəmin frəm dhe skuul
W ebáut dhat lit'l wensh ez iz ɛku_omin frə dhe skúul
H ebə'ut dhat lit'l wensh ku_omin frəm) s) skuul
F ebáut dhat lit'l wensh ku_omin frəm dhe skúul

E jander.
W jander.
H jander.
F jander.

2. E ɛr)z gù)in de'um dhe rood dhier thruu dhe red wíkit
W ɛr)z eguim d'áun dhe léen dhier thruu dhe red géet
H ɛr)z gə'u)in də'un dhe ró'd dhier thré'u dhe red wíkit
F iu)z gu)in dáun dhe ruud dhier thrúu dhe red giit

E ən dhe líft and sə'id v dhe rood.
W o dhe líft and sáid o dhe léen.
H ən dhe líft an' sə'id dhe ró'd.
F ən dhe left and sa'id ev dhe wii.

3. E séf enu_of dhe tʝe'ild)z gə'n stre'it' u_op te dhe raq
W sàrt'nli enaf dhe tʝáld ez gə'ən riit u_op te dúer v
H luk ʝe! dhe tʝə'ild)z gə'n stre'it' u_op te dhe rəq'
F shúr enu_of dhe tʝá'ild ez gən stréit' u_op te dhe dúer

E dúer.
W dhe raq ʝháus.
H dóer.
F ev dhe ru_oq áus.

4. E wàr ɛr mee fə'ind dhat dru_oqk'n dʝef
W wíer ɛr)l me ap fáind dhat dru_oqk'n deef
H meebii ɛr)l fə'ind dhat dru_oqk'n dʝef thín
F wíer iu)l tʝans te fá'ind dhat dru_oqk'n def

E ə'ud tʝap kAald :tu_om.
W srívd felr o dhe néem o :tu_oms.
H ríqk'ld felr dhier, ez dhe kA'ln :tu_om.
F wíz'nd felr v dhe niim ev :tu_oms.

5. E wi AAL noo ðm veri wel.
 W ʒs AAL noon ðm vare wel.
 H wi AAL noon ðm veri we'l.
 F wi AA nuu ðm veri wel.
6. E wu_one dhe ə'ud tʃap suun tətʃ er nəd te du)it
 W wu_onəd dh)ə'ud tʃap siun lɑrn er nəd te doo it
 H wu_one dhe ə'ud tʃap sə'un lɑrn er bɛtɛr tɪl dæ'u it
 F wu_one dhe ə'ud tʃap siun teetʃ er nət te diu it
- E ɛgʃɛ'n, pɪər thiq!
 W nəd nɔ mɔər, pɪər thɪn!
 H ɛgʃɛ'n, pə'uɛr thiq!
 F ɛgɛn, pɪər thiq!
7. E luk ʒɛ! ðn'ɛd it tru?
 W lɪk, ðn'ɛd it driu?
 H luk ʒɛ! ðn'ɛt it trə'u?
 F lɪk, izn't it triu?

Notes to Ellesmere dt.

2. *wicket* or (atʃɛt) hatch-et, little hatch, common low garden gate.

3. *child* or (ʃu_oq ɛn) young one.—*door* or (ə'us) house.

5. *we all know him very well*, or (AMUST EVRI bɔdi nooz ðm) almost everybody knows him.

shr- initial, is replaced by (sr-), as (srɪmps sru_obz) shrimps shrubs.

Notes to Whixall dt.

1. *chaps*, (ladz), or (ʃɔ fɛləz), not *mates*.—*a coming*, with either (u_o) or (ɛ).

2. *left* or (laft).

3. *enough*, probably (ɛnu_of).—*child* or (brat), which means pinafore, and hence one who wears a pinafore.—*right up to*, occ. (striɛt u_op tɪl).—*house*, the aspirate was especially said to be used.

4. *may hap to find*, to omitted.—*deaf* or (dʃɛf).—*shrivelled*, this word was noted to have been heard.—*name* or (niɛm).

5. *us*, this looks like an error.

6. *learn* or (teetʃ), the (ɛn) for (ɛr) seems to be a mistake.—*do*, as (doo), was marked occ., perhaps (diu) is the usual word.—*thing*, possibly (thin) is an error for (thiq).

7. *true*, here (driu) looks like an error.

Notes to Hanmer dt.

1. *lads* or (tʃaps) chaps.—*school* or (skæ'ul).—*wicket* or (atʃ) hatch.

3. *door* or (ə'us) house.—*may be*, perhaps.

6. *learn* or (tətʃ) teach.

Notes to Farndon dt.

The U' words are altered from (éu) to (âu). TH. heard (âu) generally, and sometimes (ə'u ə'u), but with no approach to (éu é'u), unlikely sounds in this part of the country. The (iu) was almost constantly heard by TH. as (ə'u), but the two forms are often confused, see O' words in D 26, s.Db., and D 29, l.e. Mr. French was very positive of the (iu), though he said it was not *u* in *mute*, and repudiated what he understood by (ə'u). The (A'i) was heard by TH. as (âi); the confusion is common among (âi A'i ə'i ôi).

1. *say*, see, Mr. F. wrote (sâi sâi), TH. (sü sâ) respectively.—*right*, TH. (râit).—*coming*, TH. (kâmin) the (ə u_o) in this is always uncertain in this neighbourhood.—*yonder* should probably be (jander).

2. *she's* (iu)z should probably be (ɛr)z, the customary form, but TH. heard (ə'u) once.—*road*, TH. (rood).—*gate*, TH. (gʃɛ't).—*way*, TH. had (wi), and F. had (wî).

4. *name*, TH. heard (nɛm) twice, and (niɛm) once; there is much uncertainty of usage here, just as there was a fight between (œ i) in the E, E-, E' words in received English in the xvth and xvith centuries.

5. *know*, probably (noon) would be more correct.

VAR. i. NORTH SHROPSHIRE cwl.

E Ellesmere, wn. by TH. Said to have no verbal pl. in *-en*, but (*noo dhis ka_ntri du_n jəʔ*) know this country, do-en you? was heard. No Welsh *r*; that is to say, (*r*), and not (*r*), was used when not before a vowel. Negatives, [*shauŋ*, *bənn*, *wənnə*] shan't, ben't, won't.

F Welsh Frankton (3 w. Ellesmere), wn. by TH.

Y Yorton (7 n. Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.

W Wem, wn. by TH. and † from Miss Jackson's Wood-Book.

L Loppington, wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Davis, Vicar.

H Hordley (13 nw. Shrewsbury), wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, Rector.

U Upton Magna (4 e. Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 EU *neem*. 25 H *maan*. 28 ELH *aar*. 31 U *leet*. 33 L *reedher*.
A: 50 H *tu_qz*. 51 EU *ma'n*, L *mən*. 56 W *wash*, L *wash*, H *wesh*. A:
or O: 58 F *frəm*. 61 L *em_uqst*. 64 E *raq*, U *ru_q'* [occ.] *raq*. A'- 67
F *goo*, U *gwiin*. 84 E *mûer*. 86 L *wu_ts*. 90 L *blāu*. 91 L *māu*. A':
104 YU *rood*, W† *ru_d*. 108 H *du_f*. 113 E *uul*. 115 E *oom wôm wə'm*,
EFU *wə'm*. 118 U *boou*. 124 U *stoon*.

E- 138 UE *faadher*, [occ.] *feedher*, UFYL *feedher*. 144 L *egen*. — E
staarz [stairs], F *st'rz*. 152 E *waater*, *wee-*, L *weeter*. E: 158 L *aater*.
161 E *dee' dee*. 172 E *gras*, EL *gres*. — E *rot* [rat]. 179 W *wod*.
Æ'- 183 F *tëtj*. 190 E *kee*, U *kjee*. 194 L *eeni*, U *ani*. 195 L *meeni*.
196 H *waar*. 197 H *tjeez*, U *tjiiz*. 200 UE *weet*, W† *wœt*, H *wist*. — W†
jeth [heath]. E': 216 E *deel*. 218 L *ship*. 219 F *sliip*. 222 L *jeer*.
223 EU *dhiër*, H *dhaar*. 224 EU *wiër*, H *waar*. 228 H *sweet*.

E- 232 F *breek*. 233 EU *speek*. 248 L *maar*. 251 U *meet*. E: 261
E *see' see*, U *see*. 262 E *wœ' wee*, U *wee*. 265 W *stre'it*. 270 L *bali*. 272
L *el'm*. 278 U *wen-sh*. E'- 290 U *i*. 297 W *fele*. 299 EU *griin*. 300
U *kiip*. E': 312 W *iër*. 314 E *iërd*.

EA- 320 WLH *kaar*. EA: 322 UY *lāf*. 326 EU *ə'ud*, L *ə'udd*. 327
L *be'udd*. 328 EU *ka'ud*. 333 L *kaaf*. 334 L *eef*. 345 L *dærst* [did dare].
346 E *gjeet*. EA'- 347 UEY *je'd*. EA': 350 E [between] *dē'd dēd*,
LHU *djed*. 355 L *diif*, U *dief*. 356 W† *lief*. 360 L *tjem*. 366 E *græt*, U
grət. EO- 385 L *biueeth*. EO: 388 U *milk*. 395 E *soqg*, U *su_q*.
402 EYLHU *lārn*. 404 E *staar*. 407 L *feedhiq*. EO'- 413 H *de'li*.
EO': 437 U *trūth*. EY- 438 E *dāi*.

I- 442 LIH *ivi*. 449 F *gjet*. I: 458 E *ne'it*, FU *nə'it*, W *nit*. 459
E *rə'it*, W [between] *rə'it rə'it*, W† *rit*. 478 E *grə'ind*. — E *ru_n* [run].
487 H *isturd*. I'- E [between] *ə'i éi* [or] *ə'i e'i* *āi*, W *ā'i ai*. 494 U
[between] *tə'im tāim*. I': — *da'itj* [ditch]. 500 H *la'ik*. 506 H *wamen*.
— E *ee* [hay].

O: 526 H *keuth*. 527 E *ba'ut*. 531 EU *daater*. 552 U *ka'rn*. — E *a'rs*,
EU *a's* [horse]. O'- 555 E *shə'u*, U *shun*. 558 E *luk luk bu_k*. 559 E
mu_dher mə- mē-, F *mə-*. 563 E *mu_ndi*. 564 E *sw'un*, U *suun*. 566 F
u_dher. 568 E *bru_dher*. O': 569 E *buk buk bu_k*. 570 E *tuk*. 571 F
gu_d. 573 U *flu_d*. 577 H *būn*. 579 U *inu_t*. 587 EU *du_n*. 588 E
na'un, U *nuun*.

U- 603 E *kəm*, U *kəmin*. 604 U *su_mer*. — FYW *thu_nder* [thunder].
605 E *sōn*, U *sh_n*. 606 EU *dūer*, F *dū_ur*. U: 612 EU *sh_m*. — Y
tu_mbl [tumble]. 622 U *u_nder*. 625 U *tu_q*. 629 U *su_n*. 632 EFW *u_p*.
633 EYW *ku_p*, F *kop*. 636 H *fardher*. 639 U *du_st*. U'- 641 EU *ə'u*.
643 E *nə'u*. 645 E *əbə'ut*. 647 E *wu_let*. U': 658 EU *də'm*, F *dāmn*.
659 EU *tə'm*. 663 F *ə'us*. 665 E *mə'us*. 666 U *u_zbend*. 667 E *ə'ut*.

Y- 673 EY *mu_tj*. 679 E *tjartj*. Y: 700 L *wærser*, U *wærst*. Y':
709 E *tāiër*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — Y *baqk*. E. 744 H *mœez'lz*. 745 H *tjeet*. 751 H *part*. I.

and Y. 758 H gal. O. 766 H mə'idhered. 767 H na'iz. U [between] nə'iz na'iz. 769 L mə'ud. U. — E t_ub [tub]. 794 YW d_{ju}g. 803 YW d_{ju}mp. 804 WU dr_uqk'n. 805 H kru_odz. 807 W p_us. 808 F pət, E p_ut, [between] p_ut pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 U plès. 817 H redish. 824 E t_{ji}er. 835 H veez'n. 836 H seez'n. 838 H trect. 841 U t_{ja}'ns. 845 H anshent. 850 E deens. 851 F nèt [old form], H aant. 852 H apern.

E.. 867 UY tee. 868 L djii. 869 UEH ved. 877 L aar. 878 H saleri. 887 H klaardi. 888 LH sàrtin. 889 H sees. 890 E bèst, H beest. 891 H feest. 894 H discev. 895 H riseev.

O.. — E bif [beef]. 916 H u_onjen. 918 H feeb'l. 922 H bash'l. 923 H ma'ist. 924 H t_{ja}'is. 926 H spa'il. 929 H ka'ukember. 942 H bæt_{er}. 947 H ba'il. — Y kol_{er} [colour], W ka_oler. 950 F sa_oper. 954 H ka_oshin.

U.. 965 H a'il. 968 H a'ister. 969 F shæ'ur.

VAR. ii. DETACHED FLINT cwl.

H Hammer, wn. by TH. from several natives.

B Bettisfield (2½ s. Hammer), wn. by TH. from a native workman.

Notes.

Construction. H and B both have verbal pl. in *-en*. B (dhe milk'n, dhe kiip'n; an jə d_un? wu_on jə də'u it? d_uo n jə noo? ə'u bìn jə?), they milk-en, they keep-en; have-n you done? will-en you do it? do-en you know? how be-n you? H (wi m ju)m we am, you am.

Negatives. (wu_one kəne didne shəne bìnə d_une) won't can't didn't sha'nt ben't don't.

Letter Names. Old A (aa), E (ii).

Intonation. No final rising inflexion.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — B wək [wake, feast]. 21 H neem nee'm, B nee'm. 33 H reedher. A: — H gənder [gander]. A: or O: 60 H bəq. 64 H rəq. B ru_oqg. A'- 67 [“(gə'z) goes, is a characteristic form in w. and sw.Ch., and in this district.”—TH.] H g_uin. 72 H úv. 73 H sò. 81 H leen. A': 104 HB rood, H ró'd. 115 H [between] wə'm wòm, HB wòm, H wə'm.

Æ- 138 HB feedher, [many others said] H faadher fīdher. — H steetz, B staa_z [stairs]. 152 H wiiter. Æ: 161 H dii, B dee tedee. 172 H gres. Æ'- 183 H tət. 187 H leev. 200 H wiet, B weet. Æ': 216 H d_{je}'l. 223 HB dhier. 224 HB wīer.

E- 231 HB dhe. 233 HB speek. 235 H weev. 241 B reen. 248 H meer, B maar. — H eet [eat]. E: — B fat_{er} [fetch]. 261 H sii see. 262 HB wee, H wee'. 265 HB stre'it. E'- 295 B brēd. 299 HB grīn. 300 H kip kiip. E': 307 B nāi. 312 HB ier. 314 B ierd. 315 B it.

EA: 322 HB laf. 326 H ə'ud, B ə'ud. 328 H kə'ud. 332 H tə'ud. 346 H giit gjeet. EA'- 347 H jē'd. EA': 350 HB d_{je}'d. 355 H d_{je}'f. 360 H t_{je}m. 361 H bāenz. 363 H t_{je}p. 366 H gree't. B greet. EO: 394 H jander. 395 H ju_oqg. 398 H stārvd. 402 HB lārn. 404 B stā_z. EO': 428 H sii. 437 HB trə'uth. EY- 438 HB dāi.

I- 440 H wīk. 447 H ar [=she]. I: 458 HB nit nait [but in the farewell] g_ud nē'it. 459 H rit. 466 B t_{ja}'ild. 469 H w_ul [will]. 477 H t_u'ind. I'- 492 H sə'id. 494 H tām tām tām, B [between] tām tām tām. I': 509 H wəl.

O: 531 HB da_oter. — H krap_s [crops]. — H əs əs'iz, B a's [horse]. 554 H əkras. O'- 555 B shə'u. 559 H m_udh_{er}. 560 H skuul skə'ul. 562 B mə'un. O': 579 H ən_uf. 586 HB də'u. 587 HB d_un. 588 HB nə'un.

U- 603 H k_umin k_umun [pres. p.], HB kamin. — B thu_onder [thunder].

605 HB sà_on. 606 HB d'óer. U: 634 H thræ'u. U'- 640 H ká'ajrs'
[cowhouse], B kjáuz [cows]. 641 H áu, B ə'u. 643 H nə'u. 650 HB ebə'at.
U': 658 HB d'áun, H dáun. 663 HB ə'us. Y: — B shu₃t [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 H meet [occ.]. E. 749 H líft. I. and Y. 756 H srímp.
758 B gərld, H gjɛ'rl [when used]. O. — B frək [froek, a woman's gown].
790 B gə'umd. U. 804 B dru_oqk'n. — H bu_oti [butty, mate].

III. ROMANCE.

A. 811 H plès. 841 B tjans. — B sleet [slate]. E. 867 H tee.
885 H veri. — B fàr [fair for cattle]. O. — B bif [beef]. 947 H bə'il.
950 B sa_oper.

VAR. iii. SOUTH CHESHIRE cwl.

S Shocklach (4 wnw.Malpas), wn. by TH.

Construction. (kos') canst thou.

Negatives. (wu_one shane kəu du_one) won't shan't can't don't.

F Farndon (7s.Chester) (:fārn), wn. by TH., † from W. Gronnow, a native, b.
1797 S, ‡ from the same and others also.

Constructions. (am jə) au you? verbal pl. in -en (an jə gat'n v basket
lɛnd ɛz?) have you got a basket to lend us? Omission of to (as in
last sentence).

Negatives. (anu shane du_onu wu_onə kəu) haven't shan't don't won't can't.

Letter Name. J (dʒi dʒa).

Vocabulary. No thou, no (weli) well-nigh.

C Churton (1 n.Farndon), wn. by TH.

E Eceleston (:eklɛstən) (2 s Chester), wn. by TH. The Duke of Westminster's
Eaton Hall is called (:ɛt'n).

Constructions. Verbal pl. in -en.

Negatives. (kəu) can't, (ku_onu) couldn't.

Letter Names. A (aa) originally, altered when the Bishop of St. Asaph's
daughters came.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 F tak. 5 S miik, F meek. 21 SF niim, F† neem. A: or O: 64
F ru_oq ru_oqg. F† raq'. A'- 67 F† gujɛn. 69 F† noo. 74 E tə'u. 80 S
ələdi. — S sùp [soap]. 86 F wəts, F† wə_ot+miil [oatmeal]. A': 102 S
aks. 104 SF rood, C ruud. 115 S wə'm, F oom wə'm wòm [and between the
two last]. 124 S stum. — S rùp [rope].

Æ- 138 SF faadhur, F†E fædhur. 152 F wiiter. Æ: — E gjedhærd
[gathered]. 161 SF dii. 164 F† mi. 166 S müd. Æ'- 183 SF v'itɪ, E
tətɪ. 193 E klæn. 194 E an. 197 S tɛiz. 200 SF wüet, F wiet. F†
wüt weet. — S jeth [heath]. Æ': 213 F† niidher. 216 E de'l. 223 F
dhur, E dhür.

E- 233 F†E speekin. 241 S riin. 243 S plii. E: — E rɛtɪ [reach].
261 F sii. 262 SF†C wii. E: 278 F† wensh. E'- 290 E ā. 299
S grén, F† græn. 300 F† kiip. E': 312 E āer. 314 SF† ierd.

EA: 322 S laf. 325 F wə'k. 326 SFE ə'ud [they divide (v nɛ'ud) an old].
328 S kə'ud. 332 E tə'ud. 334 S if. 343 FE wərm. 346 F gjét. EA'-
347 SF jɛ'd, F† ɛd. 348 F† əiz. EA': 355 F de'f. 359 F† niiber. 361
SF bi'en, F biin [refined]. 364 F tɛp. 366 S grüit, F† gret. EO: 390
F† sha'uld. 394 SF† jənder, E jan-. 399 F brät. 402 SF†E lərn, F le'rn.
EO'- 410 SE ə'u. EO': 425 F lüt. 428 F sī. 437 F† trə'uth. EY-
438 F† dai.

I: 452 F† ai. 458 S néit, [between] nait na'it, F nit nüt, F† nait, E nüt.
459 F rüt. I'- 490 E bái. 494 F† táim. I': 505 E we'f. 508 F
máil. 509 E we'f.

O- 522 F oop'n. O: — F sru_ob [shrub]. 531 SF† daater. 538 F†

wæ'uld. — E A's [horse]. O'- 555 F†shæ'u. 559 F† mædher. 560 F skæ'u skæ'ul. 564 F sæ'un. O': — E bra_ok [brook]. 586 SF† dæ'u. 587 SF† dū_n. 588 F† næ'un. 594 F† bæ'ut.

U- 603 F† kām. 605 SF† sū_n. 606 S dūer, FE dæ'nær. U: — F dū_m [dumb]. 615 F† pávnd. 636 E fæder. U'- 640 F káu_z. 643 F† náu. 652 F† kæ'uld. U': 654 F sráud. 658 F† dáun, C dáun. 662 F† úz. 663 F† áus' ə'us' E áus'.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — S biibi [baby]. 726 FE tAAk. — S boqk [bank]. — C atpiz [hatches, applied to the small gates themselves, and on this occasion to the valves of double iron gates 4 feet wide each]. — S tiitez [potatoes]. E. — E eez [ease]. I. and Y. 756 F srimp. O. 767 F† náiz. 770 F :tu_zmez. U. 798 E kwær.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 S plis. — C wiidiz [wages]. — S niitiv [native]. — C stiishen [station]. E.. 867 F tee. — E prêt† [preach]. — F† piin [pain]. — E sàrvizs [service]. I.. and Y.. 898 F† náis. O.. — S béif [beet]. — E dje'iner [joiner]. 928 F† áuns. — E ráund [round]. 939 F† tloos. — S tóst [toast]. 940 F kúut. 943 F tu_otj.

VAR. iv. WELSH FLINT AND DENBIGH cwl.

H Holt (:æ'ut'), Dn., separated from Farndon, Ch., only by a bridge over the Dee, wn. Dec. 1882 by TH. chiefly from Parish Clerk, 58, and wife, 57, both natives.

Negative. (wu_one) won't.

Peculiar (qg). (siqqin) singing.

W Wrexham (:riksəm), Dn., wn. Dec. 1882 by TH.

B Bretton (:bret'n), Fl., wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. from S. Mitchell, native.

Constructions. Verbal pl. in -en (an je got it?) have-n you got it?

Hw Hawarden (:árdn), Fl. (5 w-by-s. Chester), wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. The schoolmaster, Mr. Spencer, at the request of Rev. S. Gladstone, wrote a dt., but I have not succeeded in interpreting it, even with the help of this cwl., and a few words given to TH. by Mr. Spencer. † marks words for Buckley (:bu_okli) (2 wsw.Hw.). Most of the Hw. words were from two old men, b. 1798 and 1802, cutting fire-wood at Hw. Castle, who had been on the estate many years.

Constructions. (dhi an ad it) they have-n had it.

Negative. Hw (wònt) won't, † (wu_one kòne shanè mu_one du_one) won't can't shan't mustn't don't.

Letter name. A (aa).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H biik. 21 B niim. — Hw giim [game]. A: — B pøn [pan]. 44 B land. 51 B ma'n. A: or O: 64 H raq, B ru_oqg. A'- 67 H gu_oin, B guu. 69 B noo. 72 H wúw+r. 74 Hw ta'u. 86 W wu_ots. A': 102 W aks. 115 H wæ'm, B wóm, Hw oom. 118 B boon. 122 B nõ. 124 B stoon.

Æ- 138 HB faadher, HwB feedher. 152 HB wiiter. Æ: 161 HBHw dii. 172 HB græs. Æ'- 193 B kliin. 194 Hw ani. 200 H wíut, B wíut. Hw weet wíut. Æ': 216 Hw del devl. 223 W dhier, B dhær. 224 HWHw wíer, B wáer.

E- 233 HHw speek. 241 HBHw riin. 243 H plii. 251 B meet. E: 261 H sii. 262 H wii. 278 H went†, B wensh. E'- 290 H ä, BHw èi. 299 H griin, B grän. E': 312 H äer. 314 HBHw ierd.

EA: 322 HB laf. 324 Hw e't. 326 BHw a'ud. 328 B ka'ud. 332 Hw ta'ud. 333 Hw ka'f. — BHw iäun [a fern]. 346 B git, Hw giit. EA'- 347 H je'd, BHw e'd. EA': 350 Hw† dje'd. 355 Hw dif. 360 H tiim tje'm. 361 H bäenz, B bäen. 366 H greet, B griit. EO: 395 Hw

ɹu.ɣ. 402 HB lār̄n. EO'- 410 HHw æ'n. 416 H dā̄r. 420 Hw fō̄l̄r.
 EO': 437 B træ'uth. EY- 438 HB dā̄i.
 I- 449 HHw gjet. I: 465 B sīt̄. 466 Hw t̄jā̄ild. 469 H wu.ɫ. —
 Hw r̄u.ɳ [rūn]. I'- [W (ə'i ə'i) from various people]. I': — W dā̄it̄
 [ditch]. 509 H wā̄il.
 O: — BHw kraft [croft, field]. 531 H dā̄ater dō̄ut'ər, B dā̄at̄ər. — B
 krap [crop]. 552 B kār̄m. O'- 555 H shuu, B shæ'n [pl. (shæ'un)]. 560
 BHw skæ'n, Hw skiu. 564 H sæ'un. 566 W u.ɔ̄d̄er. 568 H br̄u.ɔ̄d̄er, W
 br̄adh̄er. O': 569 H bæ'uk. — W bræk [brook]. 571 Hw ḡū.ɔ̄. 578 W
 [between] pl̄ə'n pl̄ə'u. 586 Hw dæ'u. 587 HHw d̄ū.ɳ. 588 HB næ'un.
 U- 603 H kām. 604 H su.ɳer [summer]. — HB th̄u.ɳder [thunder].
 605 HBHw s̄ū.ɳ. 606 HB dæ'uer, Hw d̄ū.ər. 607 W b̄at̄e b̄u.ter. U:
 [W, both (ə u.ɔ̄) used, but mostly (u.ɔ̄)]. 612 W s̄ū.ɳ. — Hw su.ɳet [some-
 what]. 616 Hw gr̄ə'und. 629 H su.ɳ. 632 H u.ɔ̄p. 633 H k̄u.ɔ̄p, W k̄əp
 k̄əp. U'- 640 B k̄jān [pl. (k̄jɛ'i) kine]. 641 B āu. 643 Hw nāu. U':
 658 HBHw dā̄un, W dō̄un [various speakers]. 659 H tā̄un, W tō̄un [various
 speakers]. 662 Hw ū.ɔ̄z. 663 HB āus. 667 H ɛ'ut. Y- 682 B lit'l.
 Y: 701 Hw fō̄st.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 B ladz [often, (traps) occ.] — W b̄æqk. — 738 H t̄eet̄uz, W t̄it̄uz,
 B p̄et̄iit̄uz. O. — H d̄əg [dog]. U. — W t̄əb [tub]. 794 W d̄jəg
 d̄jə.ɣ. 803 W d̄jəmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — B t̄eɔ̄b'l. 811 H plis. 835 Hw r̄eɔ̄z'n. 848 H t̄j̄iind̄. E..
 867 Hw t̄e. — B piin [pain]. I.. and Y.. — W l̄ə'inz [lines]. O.. —
 B p̄u.ɳp [pump]. — W k̄ərd [cord]. — W s̄əp [a sup]. — H mu.ɫ'n
 [mutton].

D 29 = e.SM. = eastern South Midland.

Boundaries. Start from near Atcham on the Severn (4 se.Shrewsbury), and
 proceed northwards to e. of Upton Magna, of Wem, of Whixall, and of Prees,
 but w. of Hodnet and just e. of Whitechurch, to the b. of Sh. near Marbury, Ch.
 (7 sw.Nantwich). Then turn e. and se. along the b. of Sh. to Burley Dam, and
 following the s. *teeth* line 4, proceed ne. to n. of Audlem, Ch., round which turn
 suddenly, re-entering Sh. near Adlerley. Cut across the ne. horn of Sh., passing
 s. of Norton-in-Hales and going ese. by Mucklestone, St., and s. of Ashley and
 Standon to Stone, and then ene. to Rocester, on b. of Db. Follow the b. of Db.
 to the s. and e. till just s. of Repton. Cut across the s. tail of Db. to the Trent
 on the b. of Db. and Le. From this point circumbulate Le., following its
 b. to the b. of Wa., which pursue till you strike the n. *sum* line 1, where it coin-
 cides with the reverted *ur* line 3, and follow it to the w. and sw., passing through
 Wa. s. of Southam and Warwick, e. of Henley-in-Arden, w. of Solihull. Enter
 Wo., passing n. of King's Norton and s. of Hales Owen and Stourbridge, but n.
 of Kidderminster to the Severn, where quit the reverted *ur* line 3, but continue
 the n. *sum* line 1 and go up the Severn to the starting-point, Atcham.

Area. Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn; St. s. of Stone, a slip on
 n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db., and all Le.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where
 * means vv. per AJE., † per TH.. || so., ° io.

Db. No authority, but this narrow peninsula is assumed to belong to the same
 district as m.St. on its w. and Le. on its e., and from the analogy of Repton,
 Db., D 26, it, as well as the outlying parts of Db., probably resemble Le. more
 than St., but this little peninsula has not been explored phonetically.

Le. †Ansty, †Barlestone, °Barwell, ||Belgrave, °Birstall, †Blaby, °Cottesbach,

*†Enderby, †Glenfield, °Harby, †Illston-on-the-Hill, *†||Leicester, †Loughborough, †Market Harborough, †Mount Sorrel, °Normanton, *Syston, †Thurcaston, *Waltham.

Sh. †Bolas Magna, †Coalbrookdale, †Crudgington, †Edgmond, †Hodnet, †Ironbridge, †Madeley, †Market Drayton, °Newport (also TH. in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook.), †Shifnal, †Wellington.

St. *°Barton-under-Needwood, °Bradley, *†°Burton-on-Trent, †Cannock Chase, †Cannock Town, °Codsall, †Darlaston, †Eccleshall, †°Enville, †Hanbury, †Haughton, †Hopwas, †Leigh, †Lichfield, °Newborough, †Stafford, °Stretton, †Tamworth, †Tutbury, °Upper (or Over) Arley, †Uttoxeter, †Walsall, †Wednesbury, †West Bromwich, †Willenhall, †Wolverhampton, †Wootton, †Yoxall.

Wa. †Allesley Gate, *†Atherstone, †Bedworth, °Birmingham, †Brandon, †Bulkington, †Coventry, °Curdworth, °Elmdon, †Leamington, †Nuneaton, †Polesworth, †Saltley, °Sherborne, †Warwick.

Wo. †Cradley, °Dudley (locally in St.), †Hagley, *†Selly Oak, †Stourbridge.

Notwithstanding this large number of authorities, there is a deficiency of exact information in the outskirts, which has rendered much of the boundary conjectural, as through Wa., and has obliged me frequently to take refuge in county boundaries, a confession of ignorance in itself.

Character. Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to find one determinative character on which reliance can be placed. The speech is on the whole very homogeneous, and I have found it impossible to maintain a division into three parts, which I at one time tried. But I have noted four so-called varieties, the first three with several subforms. These are, however, scarcely more than geographical, and hence I append to each a list of some of the places from which information has been obtained.

Var. i. ne. Shropshire and nm. Stafford.

ia in Sh., Edgmond, Hodnet, Market Drayton, Newport; in St., Eccleshall, Wootton.

ib wm. St., n. of Watling Street.

Bradley, Cannock, Haughton, Stretton.

ic em. St.

Barton-under-Needwood, Burton-upon-Trent, Hanbury, Hopwas, Lichfield, Tamworth, Tutbury, Yoxall.

Var. ii. ne. and se. Shropshire, s. Stafford, and n. Worcester.

ii_a me. and se. Sh., Ironbridge, Madeley, Shifnal, Wellington.

ii_b s. St., Codsall, Darlaston, Dudley, Walsall, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.

ii_c n. Wo., Cradley, Hagley, Selly Oak, Stourbridge.

Var. iii. Warwickshire.

iii_a e. Wa., Allesley Gate, Atherstone, Bedworth, Brandon, Bulkington, Coventry, Nuneaton, Polesworth.

iii_b w. Wa., Birmingham, Curdworth, Elmdon, Knowle, Leamington, Warwick.

Var. iv. Leicestershire.

Belgrave, Birstall, Cottesbach, Leicester, Loughborough, Syston, Waltham.

The main points to which attention has to be directed are the treatments of A in open syllables, of AEG in both open and close syllables, of EG, E', EO', I', O', U, U'. Now my information is

not complete enough to furnish an example of each of these eases for each variety and shade of variety, but the following table (p. 462) will show the general character and the extremes of divergence.

In all these, A-=(é^v) is the older form; (ee éi) are modern variants. AEG=(ii) and EG=(ii) seem also to be the older form (how old, of course, cannot be said), of which (é^v éi) are variants; the (ái) form found at Selly Oak in (náil snáil) nail snail, seems to be an importation from the S. div. But observe the change in Var. iib., s.St., where (éi) is regular. In Var. iii. the (reen wéi) seems to have been quite recent; E', EO' are more commonly (éi). In the S. div. we *say* with our mouths and *see* with our eyes. It might be pretty well said to be reversed in the M. div. The (éi) form is particularly strong in Var. ie. em.St. The O' (íu) has become the regular form for O', as in s.Db., D 26, but it is only a variant or development of (æ'u), which also occurs, and the other development (á'u) is likewise found, as in m.Db., D 26. The U' is not very certain, but any form except (á'u) is merely local.

In addition to this the omission of (h) is universal, and even pervades the better-educated classes. In Le. it is sometimes wrongly inserted. The (r) before a vowel is mild, and probably Midland (r). Whether it is really trilled or not I am not prepared to say, but, following TH., who considers it to be "the common English r," as it is his natural r, I use (r) for it, wrongly as I believe. When not before a vowel, I consider it as the Midland (r), which is readily slightly trilled and as readily produces an effect like (v), although by a different collocation of the organ. The definite article is always (dhv), I believe, though TH. gives some eases of (th t') in the neighbourhood of Cannock, m.St. See notes on the Cannock es., par. 3, p. 470.

In s.St., Var. iib., but apparently not in Var. iia., occurs a very peculiar way of marking the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs, tantamount to rec. *I don't*, etc. We generally omit the vowel of *not* and alter the preceding vowel; they generally omit the *n* and also alter the preceding vowel. This occurs, likewise, in Cradley, Wo. The following were heard by TH. at Darlaston, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Willenhall, Wolverhampton, and Cradley.

1. *I a'n't* (ái ènt). 2. *I haven't* (ái èt). 3. *it isn't* (it èi, èint).
4. *isn't it* (it it?). 5. *I ben't* (ái bit béint). 6. *I don't* (ái dut).
7. *I shan't* (ái shee, sheet, shèt, shAA). 8. *I won't* (ái woo wôu wôu wùt).
9. *I can't* (ái koo koot, kAA kA't). 10. *I wouldn't* (ái u_od'n).

In the Dudley es. we also find *I don't care* (ái doo kéer), *that doesn't matter* (dhat doo mater), *won't she* (woo er?), *I don't want* (ái doo want), *don't you be* (doo ju bi). This has not been noticed in the Black Country district of se.Sh.

The verbal plural in *-en* is quite distinct in Sh. and St. It is very little heard in Wa., and it is now almost lost in Le., but was not so in the lifetime of the late Dr. Arthur B. Evans, who in his *Leicester Words, Phrases, and Proverbs*, 1848, art. *sen*, p. 89, says: "A shepherd said of some sheep, which did not

See p. 461, line 2.

	VAR. I.		VAR. II.			VAR. III.		VAR. IV.
	ia ne.Sh. and nm.St.	ib wm.St.	ic em. St.	iiā em. and s.Sh.	iib s.St.	iie n.Wo.	iiiā e.Wa.		iib w.Wa.
A-	lém	nem	nim	nem	ném ním	ném	ném nem	nem
AEĜ-	tīl	tīl	—	—	—	éil náil	—	tīl
AEĜ:	dii	dii, dee	dii	dee	dèi	dèi	dii	dii
EĜ	rīn	rīn, reen	rīn	reen	rén	rén	reen	rīn
E'	holecv	grīn, grēn	grēn	grīn	grīm grēm	green	grīn	grēn
EO'	thre	thrii, trii	thre	—	—	thrii, thre	thrii	thre
I'	wáif	wáif	wáif wá'if	wáif	wáif wá'if	wáif	wáif	wáif, wó'if
O'	shū	mám	tīu dāu m'ám	mūn	tán dāu mām	nūn mōp	léc'uk sēc'm	mám
U	uop	uop	uop	kuop	uop	uop	uop	uop
U'	áus	áus, čáut	áus áos	n'á	áut ýáut áut	dáen de'm	áus	dám áut nó'á

fatten so well as was expected: 'Lord bless ye, they *worrin* their *sens* to death with *warmint*, and I han baccared 'em, but its no use at all,' i.e. 'They tease' (present tense) 'and torment themselves with vermin, and I have washed them with tobacco-water; but it is of no use.' The present tense is formed in this way—'They *worrin*,' i.e. 'They worry.' 'They *pushin*,' i.e. 'They push.' 'They *pullin* 'em up,' i.e. 'They pull them up.'

Dr. Sebastian Evans, in re-editing the work, with additions, for the E.D.S. in 1881, omits this article, but in his preface, p. 27, inserts:

"A number of monosyllabic verbs have an alternative form ending in 'en' in the present and past tenses indicative, and sometimes in the infinitive. 'Pushen,' 'pullen,' 'looken,' 'gotten,' 'patten,' for 'push,' 'pull,' 'look,' 'got,' 'put,' are of very common occurrence, but most common on the Wa. borders. "An' somehow ye looken sorry, too"—*Adam Bede*, "I allays patten a sprig o' mint in mysen."—*Ib.* 'What d'ye goo fur to pushen a thatus fur?' 'Known, seen, gi'n, done, ta'en,' are always used instead of 'knew, saw, gave, did, took,' and sometimes even stand as the presents of these verbs."

Neither of the two Dr. Evanses seem to have properly appreciated the grammar, and both write apparently in ignorance of the usage of Ia., Db., Ch., St. George Eliot refused to be considered an authority on dialect, and quotations from her are far from being conclusive in Le. grammar. Here *ye looken* is right enough, but *I patten* could hardly have been said. I should have been glad to see Dr. S. Evans's authority for 'to pushen,' the inf. in *-en* (on which see D 24. p. 404); *known, seen, gi'n*, are probably never used except in the verbal pl. in *-en* in the present tense, in the past they use (*nood, seid, gid*) *know'd, see'd, give'd, 'done ta'en'* lend themselves to either use. Again, it is quite wrong to suggest that dialect speakers have 'an alternative form ending in *en*' in verbs, for this is the original form which rs. has *omitted*, and when dialect speakers omit it also, they blindly imitate rs. Dialects are not arbitrary monstrosities, they are really living growths, and the deformative agencies are the results of an incursion of 'received speech' by education and intercommunication.

I think that Dr. S. Evans's statement that '*en* or *un* is a very general substitute for *him*,' must be an error. I have never found *en* = *Ws. hine* out of the S div. When given me from elsewhere, it has disappeared on inquiry. Of course *un* (*un*) for *one* is common everywhere.

There is a common use of (*ai*)n (*du*)n for I have done, see above, p. 338, col. 1, l. 8. Dr. S. Evans considers it to be *I'n* for *I han*, and gives also *he han, he'n. We han, we'n*, is of course quite right, but *I han, he han*, seem to be mistakes somewhere or another.

FIVE INTERLINEAR CS.

Var. *ib.* west mid Staffordshire.

C. Cannock Chase, n. side; pal. in 1877 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Thomas Rowley, b. 1823, many years storekeeper to a colliery company, born near Rugeley (*ridpli*) (S ese. Stafford). In the form of the definite article *the* Mr. Rowley was not consistent, using (*th, dh, dhu*), which are preserved as he dictated. TH. considered that (*th*) was the normal form, and wished to use it throughout, but I have thought it best to preserve Mr. R.'s mixed usage, which probably prevails near the s. *teeth* line 4, p. 18. See further in note to Cannock Chase, par. 3, p. 470, where the results of TH.'s examination of this region are given.

Var. *ib.* The 'Black Country' of South Staffordshire.

D. Dudley, locally in s.St., practically in n.Wo., may be considered the centre of the Black Country, or coal and iron districts. This cs. was sent by Richard Wool, Exchange Chambers, Worcester, to LLB. in 1875. It is not known who made the version. The cs. was first transcribed in received spelling, and then certain parts were struck out and re-written dialectally in red ink, after which they were revised by another person who used purple ink. The version is careful, but entirely in "iö." I have attempted to pal. it by help of the wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, and I think that it gives a good conception of the Black Country speech. The peculiar form of the negative is well brought out.

Var. *iii. e.* Warwickshire.

A. Atherstone (8 se. Tamworth). This version was written in 1875 by Mr. R. S. Knight, F.R.S.L., then residing at Atherstone, with the dialect of which he had been 14 years acquainted, and in 1876 he read it to me. He wrote *whoy*, *dwouts*, with a *ɹ* extending over the *ou*, and it was difficult from his pron. to be quite sure how I should represent them. But in some vn. from natives by TH. at Atherstone in 1886, which did not reach me till this page was in type, I find long *i* and *ou* represented by (*ʌ*^ʰ*i*, *áu*), and hence I have adopted these forms. The long *i* varied within the limits (*ái*, *ʌ*^ʰ*i*), the *ou* remained invariably (*áu*). See the *ewl.* p. 487.

Var. *iv.* Leicestershire.

It was intended to insert a *cs.* for Leicester, which had been written by the late Mr. Findley, a second-hand bookseller of that town, in Glossic, and then read to me. After much correspondence TH. went to Leicester to examine some of the sounds, and his correction of Mr. Findley's writing made it so little different from that of Waltham, while it still left some points in doubt, that I have unwillingly omitted it. The *ewl.* for Le. contains Mr. F.'s words as heard by TH., marked *Lr.* They were essentially town and modern pronunciations.

W. Waltham (16 enc. Loughborough), in the n. of Le., just at the base of the e. horn of Le., was written for me by Miss H. Ball, then a student at Whitelands Training College, a native of Waltham, and subsequently read to me by her, in 1877, when I noted the principal points in pal.

E. Enderby (4 sw. Leicester). Miss E. Hirst, of Enderby, was present when Miss Ball read her version, and gave the variants inserted in the last line. Where no words are found in the line E, it must be understood that the words above in W are to be substituted. In the notes are several remarks obtained by questioning these students. These last three versions should be compared together and with the *ewl.* for Syston, given and read to me by Miss Adcock, a native, and one of the teachers at Whitelands Training College.

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|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| 0. <i>Cannock Chase.</i> | <i>wái</i> :dʃən)z | <i>nó</i> | <i>dáuts.</i> | |
| <i>Dudley.</i> | <i>wái</i> :dʃən | <i>vz</i> | <i>noo</i> | <i>dáuts.</i> |
| <i>Atherstone.</i> | <i>waʰi</i> :dʃən | <i>vz</i> | <i>noo</i> | <i>dáuts.</i> |
| <i>Waltham.</i> | <i>wái</i> :dʃən | <i>ez</i> | <i>nóu</i> | <i>dæuts.</i> |
| <i>Enderby variants.</i> | | | | |

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| 1. C | <i>wel</i> , :dʒak, | <i>dhì</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>ìm</i> | <i>mɛ</i> | <i>bóth</i> | | <i>lɔf</i> | <i>ɛt</i> | <i>wɔt</i> | |
| D | <i>wel</i> , <i>neeber</i> , | <i>ʃoo</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>im</i> | <i>ken</i> | <i>búrth</i> | | <i>lɔf</i> | <i>ɛt</i> | <i>wɔt</i> | |
| A | <i>wel</i> , <i>núber</i> , | <i>ʃoo</i> | | | <i>kən</i> | <i>booth</i> | <i>ɔn</i> | <i>ʃɛ</i> | <i>lɔf</i> | <i>ɛt</i> | <i>dhís</i> |
| W | <i>wel</i> , <i>neebe</i> , | <i>ʃəu</i> | <i>en</i> | <i>ii</i> | <i>mɛ</i> | <i>booth</i> | | <i>læf</i> | <i>ɛt</i> | <i>dhís</i> | |
| E | | <i>ʃoo</i> | | | <i>ee</i> | | | | | | |

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|----------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|------------|
| C | <i>ʌ)m</i> | <i>gʌn</i> | <i>tɛ</i> | <i>tɛl</i> | <i>ʃɛ.</i> | <i>uu</i> | <i>kjɛɛr?</i> | <i>dhat</i>)s | <i>niidher</i> | | |
| D | <i>ái)m</i> | | <i>tɛl</i> | <i>im</i> | <i>ʃɛ.</i> | <i>·ái</i> | <i>doo</i> | <i>kéɛr!</i> | <i>bu</i> ₒt | <i>dhat</i> | <i>doo</i> |
| A | <i>núuz</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>mʌʰim</i> . | | | <i>uu</i> | <i>kíɛr?</i> | <i>dhat</i>)s | <i>náidher</i> | | |
| W | <i>niúz</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>mʌʰim</i> . | | | <i>uu</i> | <i>kaaz?</i> | <i>dhat</i>)s | <i>niidher</i> | | |
| E | <i>nunz</i> | | <i>máim</i> . | | | | <i>kéɛr?</i> | | <i>náidher</i> | | |

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|------------|--------------|
| C | <i>ír</i> | <i>nɛr</i> | <i>dhír.</i> |
| D | <i>mater.</i> | | |
| A | <i>ír</i> | <i>nɛr</i> | <i>dhír.</i> |
| W | <i>íɛ</i> | <i>nɛ</i> | <i>dhíɛ.</i> |
| E | | | |

2. C *veri* *fiù* *me'n* *dái* *bikaaz* *dhe)r* *laft* *àt,* *wi*
 D *dher* *eent* *məni* *men* *dáiz* *kəs* *dhe)m* *laft* *at,* *wi*
 A *dher* *eent* *məni* *ez* *dá'i* *kəz* *dhé)r* *laaft* *ət,* *wi*
 W *fiù* *men* *dái* *kəz* *dhe)r* *laeft* *ət,* *wi*
 E *we*

- C *noon,* *du*_o*ne* *wi?* *wət* *əd* *mee*k *əm?* *it* *eent* *veri*
 D *noon,* *du*_o*n* *wi?* *wət* *shəd* *mak* *əm?* *it* *eent* *veri*
 A *noo,* *dú*_e*nt* *es?* *wət* *shəd* *mak* *əm?* *tjeent* *veri*
 W *nóu,* *dóunt* *wi?* *wət* *shu*_o*d* *mak* *əm?* *tjeent* *veri*
 E *mek*

- C *láikli,* *iz* *it?*
 D *láikli,* *wət*_s *dhi* *se'i?*
 A *la'ikli,* *ez* *it?*
 W *lóikli,* *is*_t?
 E *la'ikli,*

3. C *áu*_i*v**er,* *dhiiz* *er* *dhe* *faks,* *se*
 D *áusemev**er,* *dhiiz* *bín* *dhe* *ráits* *e* *dhe* *kées,* *soo* *loo*
 A *áu*_i*v**er* *dhis* *iz* *dhi* *wii* *ən* *it,* *soo* *loo*
 W *au*_i*v**e,* *dhiiz* *e* *dhe* *fæks* *e* *dhe* *kees,* *so*
 E

- C *óud* *dhi* *náiz,* *men,* *en* *bi* *kwáiv*_t *tíl* *áiv* *fin*_s*ht,*
 D *dju*_o*st* *shu*_t *u*_o*p,* *fr*_e*nd,* *en* *bi* *kwáiv*_t *tíl* *ái*_n *du*_o*n.*
 A *djast* *oold* *jer* *na'iz,* *en* *bi* *kwá'iv*_t *tíl* *a'i*_n *du*_o*n.*
 W *djist* *á'ud* *je* *rə'u,* *fr*_e*nd,* *en* *bi* *kwáiv*_t *tel* *ái*_v *du*_o*n.*
 E

- C *ark* *dhi!*
 D *aarken!*
 A *aarki.*
 W
 E

4. C *ái*_m *shə'u**er* *a* *íerd* *əm* *sii* *soo*—*su*_o*m* *ən* *əm*
 D *ái*_m *shú**er* *ái* *íerd* *əm* *séi* —*su*_o*m* *e* *dhem* *fooks*
 A *a'i*_m *sartín* *ez* *a'i* *íerd* *əm* *see* —*su*_o*m* *o* *dhem* *fooks*
 W *a*_m *səotín* *a* *írd* *əm* *see* —*su*_o*m* *e* *dhem* *fooks*
 E

- C *ez* *went* *thrə'u* *it* *aal* *dhem*_s*enz*—
 D *wət* *noon* *dhe* *wu*_l *thiq* *fr*_o*m* *dhe* *veri* *fast* —
 A *ez* *went* *thruu* *dhe* *hol* *ən* *it* *fr*_o*m* *dhe* *fəst* *dhem*_s*enz*—
 W *ez* *went* *thriu* *dh*_o*l* *thiq* *fr*_o*m* *dhe* *fast* *dhes*_a*nz* —
 E

C dhat *ái* díd, shæ'uer vnu_of.
 D *ái* ierd em séi dhís:
 A dhat *á'i* díd, síef inu_of.
 W dhat a díd, seef vnu_of.
 E

5. C es dhe ju_oqgíst lād imsen', e big lād e náin íer
 D dhet dhe ju_oqgíst su_on iz self, e big tɔap náin íer
 A ez dhe ju_oqest lād imsen, e gret b^{á'}i e n^{á'}in,
 W dhet dhe ju_oqgíst su_on iz sen, e gret b^{ó'}i e n^{ó'}in
 E náin

C óud, nood is feedherz v^áis in e minit, iv it
 D ood, wɛl, éi nooz iz fiedherz v^áis et wu_onst dhoo it
 A nood iz feedherz v^{á'}is et wons, dhoo it
 W nood iz fe'edhez v^{ó'}is et wu_ons dhoo it
 E

C was se kwier, en *ái*)d warent dhat lād
 D wuz soo ru_om en skweekin, en *ái*)d tru_ost im
 A wuz se kwier en skwiikin, en *á'*)d tru_ost im
 W wá'v se kwier en skwíekin, en a wɛd tru_ost im
 E

C te spiik dhe tríuth aníwii.
 D te spéik dhe tríuth *óni* déi, dhat)s wot *ái* u_od.
 A te spiik dhe tru^uth *óni* dii, aa, *á'*) wod.
 W te spí^uek dhe tríúuth *eni* dee, aa dhar)a wu_od!
 E speek dii.

6. C en dh)óud wu_omen ɛsen' ɛl tɛl *ani* ɔn jɛ ez læf'n
 D en dhe ood u_omen ɛself ɛl tɛl *óni* ɔn jɛ
 A en dhe áuld wu_omen ɛsen ɛl tɛl *óni* ɔn jɛ ez lææf
 W ɛ dh)ool wu_omen ɛsen wíl tɛl *eni* ɛ jɛ dhet læf
 E

C náu, en tɛl jɛ stre'it áut', wídháut *ani* bødher
 D en tɛl jɛ stréit ɔf wídháut *óni* bødher
 A náu, en tɛl jɛ stret ɔf, tu, wíj'áut mu_otj bødher
 W ná'u, en tɛl jɛ'u street ɔf, en aal, wí)á'ut mu_otj bødher
 E jo stríit

C ɛt aal ɛv jɛ)d dju_ost eks ɛr, *ái*)l warent.
 D if jɛ)l ɔonli aks ɛr aa! woo ɛr? dhat)s aal.
 A if ju_o)l ɔoni aks ɛr, oo wóoent ɛr?
 W if ju_o)l *óni* æks)ɛr, oo wíiuent shi?
 E

7. C aniwii, ær toud it 'mii wen ái ekst er, tû er
 D áusmever, er tood 'mii wen ái akst er, mənɪ v
 A liistwiiz, shi too'ld 'mii wen A'i akst er, tuθri
 W eni'æ'u shi ta'ud 'mii et wen a ækst er, tuu er
 E 'mee t'ru

C thrii táimz óer, ær did, en 'ær A't te noo aal
 D táim, er did, en 'ær Aat te noo
 A ta'imz óer, did shi, en 'shii ed'nt Aat te bi ruoq
 W thrii tóimz, ove, did shi, en 'shii hed'nt Aat te bi roq
 E táimz

C ebáut it, wət)n 'joθ thiɔk?
 D wət er)z taakɪn ebáut, wət du)n jo thiɔk?
 A óer sɪtʃ v thiɔk ez dhɪs, wət du 'joθ thiɔk?
 W ən sɪtʃ v páint ez dhɪs, hed shi, wa)re ʒæ'u thiɔk?
 E wə)da jo

8. C wel, ez ái se'd dʒuost náu, 'ær)d tel ʒe
 D wel, ez ái wez gu)ɪn te séi, ær)d tel ʒe
 A wel, ez A'i wez v si)ɪn shii)d tel ʒe
 W wel, ez ái wer v see)ɪn, 'shii wu)d tel ʒæ'u
 E jo

C wíer en wen 'ær fu)nd dhe dru)qk'n as ez
 D áu wíer en wen er fá)nd dhe dru)qk'n beest ev
 A áu en wíer en wen shi fu)n dhe dru)qk'n biist ez
 W æ'u wíer en wen shi fá)nd dhe dru)qk'n biest ez
 E

C ær kaalz er u)zben.
 D v mən ev 'ærɪ.
 A shi kaalz er u)zben.
 W shi kaalz er u)zben.
 E

9. C ær swóer ær siid ðm wídh er oon áiz, lá)ɪn
 D er swóer er sɪn ðm wídh er oon áiz lá)ɪn
 A shi swóer ez shi sid ðm wí er oon A'iz, v la'i)ɪn
 W shi swóer ez æ'u shi siid ðm wí er oon ó'iz lee)ɪn
 E áiz lá)ɪn

C aal iz leqth ən th) gráund, en t')mend t')mater i)d
 D aal vlu)q ən dhe gráund,
 A stretʃt aal iz leqth ə) dhe gráund,
 W spráald et fu)l leqth ən dhe gráund
 E

C gət)s best koot ən, tlōs tu iz oon dōer,
 D in iz su_ondi kúet, kloos táí dhe dúer
 A wi iz god su_ondi kúet ən, klúuus tu dhe dúer
 W in iz gu_od su_ondi koot, tlōs bi dhe dōoer
 E

C dáun et th)kA'rner e'th leen jōnder.
 D e dhe áus, dáun et dhe kArner e)dhe leen dhúer.
 A e dhe áus, dáun et dhe kArner o jōn léen.
 W e,dh)á'us, da'un et dhe kAAner e jōn leen.
 E léen.

10. C i wez groonin fer AAl dhe wæld láik
 D éi wez blaatin ewéi, sez 'er, fer AAl dhe wæld láik
 A ii wez wA'inin ewii, shi sez, fer AAl dhe wærd lA'ik
 W ii wAAR e wA'inin ewee, shi sez, fer AAl dhe wæld láik
 E wáinin

C sò_m óud pig.
 D a babi.
 A a sik tʃA'ild, er e lit'l gel in e fret.
 W a badli tʃáild in e fret.
 E

11. C en it ap'nd dju_ost ez e'r en er daater i lAA wez
 D wil, dhat ap'nd ez 'er en er daater e lAA
 A en dhat ap'nd ez shii en er daater in lAA wez
 W en dhæt æp'nd ez shii en er daater e lAA
 E

C kamin thræ'u th)bak jârd frem iqgin th)
 D kAm thru dhe bak jârd frem aqin áut dhe
 A ekomin thruu dhe bak jæærd frəm iqin áut dhe wet
 W kAm thriúu dhe bæc jææd thrəm iqin á'ut dhe wet
 E

C thuz áut ən th)washin dii.
 D kluz ən e weshin déi.
 A kluez tu dra'i ev e weshin dii.
 W thooz te drái on e weshin dee.
 E

12. C wáil th)ti ket'l wez báilín, wA'n fáin
 D wáil dhe tee ket'l wez báilín fer tee, wōn fáin
 A wA'il dhe kit'l wez báilín fer téi wōn fA'in
 W wáil dhe kit'l wAAR a bō'ilín fer tii wu_on fō'in
 E tee fáin

C su_omerz afternæ'un, en it)'l bi e wik t'
 D bráit su_omer afternún, dju_ost e wiik eguu kám
 A brá'it su_omer aaternuun, ooni e wik eguu kóm
 W brá'it su_omer aaternuun e wiik sîn ku_om
 E bráit niún

C neks thæzdi.
 D nekst thæzdi.
 A la'st thæzdi.
 W neks thæzdi.
 E thæzdi.

13 C en du_on soo noo? ái niver iurd noo móer ebáut it
 D en wət)s thiik? ái never iurd oni múer e dhis
 A en duu je noo? ez a'i niver larnd noo móoer ner dhis
 W en d)je nóu? a nive laant eni móor ne dhis
 E

C frem dhat dii te dhis, esh shæ'uer ez mái neem)z
 D u_op te tedéi, ez shúner ez mái neem)z
 A e dhat biznis u_op te tedii ez shúner ez ma'i níem z
 W e dhæe uféer tel tedee ez séeef ez m'oi néem)z
 E mai

C wət it iz, en ái du_o)ne want te noo niidher.
 D :djak :shæped, en ái doo want te noo néedher, dhier
 A :d)æn :shæped, en a'i dóoent want tu na'idher, dhier
 W :djæk :shæped, en a dóoene wənt te iidhe, dhie
 E náidhe dhie

C
 D náu!
 A náu!
 W ná'u!
 E

14. C su náu ái)l gu wəm te mi su_oper, gu_od náit
 D en soo ái)m gu)in wəm te ee mi su_oper, gu_od néit
 A en soo a'i)m e gu)in wəm tu su_oper, god na'it
 W en soo a)m gu)in om te hæ)mi su_ope, gu_od nó'it
 E na'it

C en du_o)ne dhii bi se redi te meek gjeem ev e felær
 D en doo je bi so fast te kroo over oni bædi
 A en du_o)ne jo bi se kwik te kroo óer e mæn
 W en dúuent bii so fast te króou óer e bædi
 E

C	agjɛ'n	wɛn	i	tɑ'ks	vɛáut	ɛ'ut.
D	ɛgɪn,	wɛn	i	tɑɑks	v	dhis dhat ɛr tu _o dher.
A	ɛgɛn,	wɛn	i	tɑɑks	o	dhis dhat ɛr dhe tɔdher.
W	ɛgɛn,	wɛn	v	tɑɑks	v	dhis dhat ɛr dhe t)u _o dhe.
E						

15. C	i	wu _o d	bi	v	fæ'ul	vz	tɑ'kt	wɪdháut	ani	sɛns.	ɛn
D	éi)z	v	sili	fíul	vz	rat'lz	wi)áut	ɔni	reez'n.	ɛn	
A	it)s	v	wéik	féul	vz	preets	wi)áut	réz'n.	ɛn		
W	it iz	v	wíek	fuul	vz	preets	wi)áut	ri'z'n.	ɛn		
E			wiik	fíul				riiz'n.			

C	dhat)s	AAI	ái	gɔt	t'	sii	vɛáut	it.	su	gu _o d	náit.
D	dhat)s	AAI	ái)v	gɔt	tɛ	séi.				gu _o d	bái.
A	dhat)s	MA''i	laast	wærd.						god	ba''i.
W	dhat)s	mi	laast	wéærd.						gu _o bbái.	
E				wæd.							

Notes to the Cannock Chase cs. p. 464.

2. *know-en*, the v. pl. in *-en* is well marked in this form.

3. *are the facts*. TH. wrote (th) here and in some other places, where the informant dictated (dhe), and that form is here restored; similarly in par. 5, *speaks the truth*; and par. 8, *found the drunken*, TH. changed the informant's (dhe) into (t'), which in these cases he considered to be "the normal form undoubtedly," and which was dictated in par. 12, *the next*. In order to arrive at some conclusion as to the usage, TH. examined the whole of his notes respecting m. St. for places a few miles on either side of the s. *teeth* line 4, p. 18. On the n. of this line the places were Rough Close near Longton, Barlaston, Stone, Leigh, Uttoxeter, Oakamoor, Rocester, and Alton. In these places, out of 13 definite articles observed, TH. found 7 (th) and 6 (dh), but no (dhe). On the s. of the line in Eccleshall, Wootton, Haughton, Hanbury, Tutbury, Burton-on-Trent, Cannock Town, Littleworth, Bony Hay (n. side of Cannock Chase), Lichfield, and Tamworth, TH. observed 65 instances of this use of the definite article. Of these there were 10 (th), 17 (dh), 35 (dhe), and 3 assimilations to (s) and (t). This shows a mixed region, but a prevailing (dhe) on the s., and a balance between (th, dh) on the north. It was not to be expected that there would be a perfectly sharp delimitation of usage, and mixed regions were to be looked for.

It is satisfactory to find that the mixed region is so narrow in the present case. This is another result due to TH.'s exceptional diligence and untiring powers of collation, to which I already owe so much.

3. *quiet*, either (kwáɪt) or (kwa''ɪt). —*finished* or (dú_on).

9. *best coat* or (su_ondi koot, best dʒakit, su_ondi dʒakit).

12. *fine* or (bráit) bright.

14. *make game* or (gjam).

15. *he would be a fool as talked without any sense*, or (it)s ɔonli fæ'ulz ɛs tɑ'ks wɪdháut sɛns) it's only fools as talk without sense.

Notes to Dudley cs. p. 464.

1. *I don't care, that don't matter*, see p. 461, and the Darlaston note 7, p. 475, and example p. 477, for the peculiar method of expressing the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs. I have not met with it elsewhere, but Mr. Elworthy says he has met with it in Sm.; it is, however, so far as I know, unrecorded.

2. *they are*, represented by (dhéi)m) they am, is suspicious. *what)is it thou say'st*, (dhi) is unaccented (dhéi) thee.

8. *a man of hers*.

Notes to Atherstone cs. p. 464.

0. *why* (wa''i). The exact sound was not determinable. TH. found that it lay between (A''i, ái) in this neighbourhood, and gave (A''i) from the pron. of a

native, which perhaps agrees with Mr. Knight's *oy*, but Mr. K. did not say (j'i) except in a very few cases, as (nə'idher).—*doubts* (dāuts), this diphthong was also quite uncertain. Mr. K. had no clear idea of the sound, and varied it. TH. finds (tāen) at Nuneaton, and (āut) at Polesworth, and Mr. K. said (dā'um ææ'et) which shews a mixture of both. I have therefore selected the neutral (āu) throughout, which, indeed, I now find that TH. heard at Atherstone.

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* seemed to have the usual M. character, and as Mr. K. always felt it I have left (r), as in TH.'s notes, to be pronounced probably (r), but very faintly. Indeed as informants in this district constantly wrote *corfe* to indicate (kɑɑf) they could not have much notion of a final (r), unless indeed they meant (kɑɑf).—*laugh*, the miners say (lɑt).

2. *don't us*, this is a S. form widely diffused, but here (dūunt wi) is also used.—*it is not*, (t'ænt) is a very common form, as in many places (bænt biənt) are not used.

3. *I have*, (di)u) is very common all about, even when it might not stand for (di)m) as here, see p. 338, col. 1, l. 8, and p. 463, for Dr. Evans's opinion.

4. *certain*, not (saartin).—*say* (si), see, *séi* are all heard.—*laugh*, (lɑæf) as pron., but compare par. 1 (lɑf) and (lɑf) in note and par. 2 (lɑaft).

6. *without*, here Mr. K. said (wi)āæt) which is like Nuneaton.

7. *she*, it is very probable that (shi) she, should be (ʃr) her, throughout.—*wrong*, (rɔŋ) was also said. I continually found it difficult to distinguish (o, u) in Mr. K.'s pron. of closed syllables.

8. *saying*, in such cases (si)in) would be used.—*beast*, Mr. K. has heard (bēist, thrēi), the two sounds (ii, éi) are not kept well apart, probably through an intermediate (ii).

13. *do you know*. Mr. K. had never heard (du)n jə), but he had heard (en jə) have-n you? and also (wi)n bi)n āæt tudii) we have-n been out to-day, but as a general rule the verbal plural in -en is not used. It is, however, used commonly at Baddesley-Ensor (3 n.w. Atherstone), a mining village. The Atherstone farmers regard a (:badpli mən) Baddesley man as a 'foreigner,' and declare they cannot tell what he says.

Notes to the Waltham and Enderby es.
p. 464.

0. *has*, the villages use (á'z), (a^l) is about the pron. of the unlettered.—*no* inclined to (nóu).

1. *he, me*. W has (ii mi), E (ee mee) or (éei méei), (sniil) snail, is recognised in E, not in W.—*may* emphatic is (méei) at E.—*neighbour*, *r* final is not pron. except before a vowel, but becomes a vowel (ɛ) as in London.

2. *row, noise*, (rɑ'u) approached (rɛ'u).

3. *friend* (meet, tju)m) mate, chum, would be used rather than 'friend.'—*till I've done* (wáil ái)v du)n) is more common.

8. *beast* (biəst), pl. (biəsez).—The plurals (ʔ'uz'n pléez'n) houses places, are found at both W and E, but (nɛst nɛz'n) nest nests, at W only.—*door* (dóoustɛd) is used in W for threshold.—*yon* (dʰən) has been heard among little children.

10. *whining, squealing* (wɔ'in'in skwi'plin) are both used.—*fret* used in W, not in E, (baal'in) was suggested.

12. *boil*, (bɔ'íl) both W and E (páint áil dʰáin), etc., point oil join, etc., used at W, not at E.—*ago* is seldom used for (sín).

15. *goodbye*, made into one word (gu'bbai), is used on all occasions, even when the parting is but for a short time.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR dt.

Var. ia.

1. *Edymond, Sh.* (1½ w. Newport), pal. by TH. in 1885 from the dict. of D. Pigott, shoemaker, native, b. 1818.

Var. ia.

2. *Eccleshall, St.* (7 n.w. Stafford), pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of T. Key, native, formerly workman, b. 1807.

Var. ic.

3. *Burton-on-Trent, St.*, pal. by TH. in 1879 from dict. of J. Hill, tailor, b. 1820, native, "as spoken when he was young."

Var. *ic.*

4. *Lichfield, St.*, pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of E. Tredgold, labourer and native, b. about 1840.

Var. *ia.*

5. *Wellington, Sh.*, pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of W. Griffiths, working man and native, b. about 1850.

Var. *ia.*

6. *Coalbrookdale, St.*, pal. by AJE. from the writing in io. with full indications by Rev. F. W. Ragg, since 1880 vicar of Marsworth (15 wnw.St. Albans and 2 n.Tring, Ht.), formerly of Ratling, Ke., see p. 142.

Var. *iib.*

7. *Darlaston, St.* (4 ese. Wolverhampton), pal. by TH. in 1879 from the dict. of H. Blackhouse, foreman ironroller, native, b. 1833.

Var. *iv.*

8. *Belgrave, Le.* (2 ne.Leicester), pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss C. S. Ellis (no connection of the author), of Belgrave, in io. with very full indications and numbered wl.

Notes upon these tests are given immediately after the interlinear arrangement.

1.	1	<i>Edgmond.</i>	A)	<i>si,</i>	<i>tjaps,</i>	<i>je) s'in</i>	<i>náu</i>
	2	<i>Eccleshall.</i>	A)	<i>sii,</i>	<i>tjaps,</i>	<i>je se'in</i>	<i>náu</i>
	3	<i>Burton.</i>		<i>ái sii,</i>	<i>tjaps,</i>	<i>jo s'in</i>	<i>náu</i>
	4	<i>Lichfield.</i>		<i>ái sii,</i>	<i>tjaps,</i>	<i>je s'in</i>	
	5	<i>Wellington.</i>		<i>é'i see,</i>	<i>mets,</i>	<i>jo siin</i>	<i>nó'u</i>
	6	<i>Coalbrookdale.</i>	sôu	<i>sez ái,</i>	<i>mi bu_otiz,</i>	<i>jo sin</i>	<i>nèu</i>
	7	<i>Darlaston.</i>		<i>ái sèi,</i>	<i>ladz,</i>	<i>du_on je si</i>	
	8	<i>Belgrave.</i>	sou	<i>A'i séei,</i>	<i>tjaps,</i>	<i>je see</i>	<i>ná'u</i>

1	dhət)	ái)m	rít	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmín
2		A)m	re'it	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmín
3	ez	ái)m	re'it	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmín
4	dhət	A)m	réit	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmín
5		é'i)m	rə'it	ebə'ut	dhat	lit'l	wensh	kəmín
6	ez	ái)m	riit	ebóut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmín
7		ái)m	ra ⁿ 'it	ná ¹ e ebá ¹ et	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmín
8	dhət	ə)m	ra'it	ebá ¹ ut	dhət	lit'l	gəl	ekə _o mín

- 1 frəm)dhə skə'ul jander.
- 2 frəm skə'ul jander.
- 3 frəm sk'ul jənder.
- 4 frəm skə'ul jəndə.
- 5 frəm)dhə)sk'ul jəndər.
- 6 frəm dhə sk'ul jander.
- 7 frəm)s)sk'ul jander.
- 8 thrəm dhə sk'ul jənder.

2. 1 ɛr)z gjæ'u'in dáun dhe)rood dhíer thræ'u dhe)red gjeet
 2 ɛr)z gu'in dáun dhe)rood dhier thræ'u dhe)red gjeet
 3 ɛr)z gu'in dáun)dh rood dhie thræ'u)dh red gjeet
 4 ɛ')z gù'in dâun dhe rood dhie thrau dhe)red gjéit
 5 ɛr)z gò'in d'oun dhe rood dhier thræ'u dhe)red wíkit
 6 ɛr)z gu'in dóun dhe róud dhier thru dhe)red géet
 7 ɛr)z gu'in dá'en dhe rôud dhier thríu dhat red gjéet
 8 shéi)z ego)in dá'un dhe rood dhíer thríu dhe red gíit

- 1 on dhe)lift and sáid ev)dhe)rood.
 2 on dhe)lift and sáid ev)dhe)rood.
 3 on)dh lift and sáid v)dh rood.
 4 on dhe lift and sáid v)dhe)wii.
 5 on dhe lift and sáid v)dhe)rood.
 6 v)dh lift and sáid v)dhe)wéi.
 7 on dhe lift and sá'id v)dhe)rôud.
 8 on dhe left and sá'id v)dhe)wii.

3. 1 lu_k)je! dhe)tjáiild)z gá'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 2 wái! dhe)tjáiild)z gá'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 3 læ'uk dhie! dhat tjáilt)s gá'n stre'it u_p te)dh ru_qg
 4 lu_k je! dhe)tjáiild)z gá'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 5 luk! dhe)tjáiild)z gá'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 6 shúer enu_f, dhe)tjáiild)z gən striit u_p te)dh dóer v)dh
 7 lu_k je! ɛr)z gá'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 8 shúer iná'u, dhe)tjáiild)z gən striit u_p te)dhe) dóer v)dhe)

- 1 áus.
 2 áus.
 3 áus.
 4 áus.
 5 ə'us.
 6 raq óus.
 7 á'us.
 8 raqg áus.

4. 1 wíer ɛr)l bi láikli enu_f te fáind dhat
 2 wíer ɛr)l mé)ap'n fáind dhat
 3 wíer ɛr)l fáind dhat
 4 wíer ɛ)l veri láikli fáind dhat
 5 wíer ɛr)l veri læ'ikli fə'ind dhat
 6 wíe ɛr)l tjaans te fáind dhat
 7 ái shud thi_qk ɛr)l fá'ind óud árd
 8 wíer shi)l tjaa'nsh fá'ind dhat

- 1 dru_oqk'n djef wíðherd fele ez dhi kaaln :tu_om.
- 2 dru_oqk'n def wíðherd læ'ukin fele —dhe kaan)im :tu_om.
- 3 dru_oqk'n dif dráí-skjind á'ud :təmi.
- 4 dru_oqk'n def wíðhed u_op ma'n ez dhi kaal :tu_om.
- 5 dru_oqk'n árd íerín rív'ld fele ez)dhe kaan á'ud :tu_om.
- 6 dru_oqk'n djébf snív'lín fele wíðh névm e :tu_omes.
- 7 íerín skini dru_oqk'n :tu_omi.
- 8 dru_oqk'n diif srív'ld felær e dhe niim e :tu_om.

5. 1 wí aal noon)im wé'l.
- 2 wí aal noon)im veri wé'l.
- 3 wé'í aal noon)im wé'l.
- 4 jó aal noon)im, du_o)ne je? wél enu_of.
- 5 wí) aal noon)im veri wé'l.
- 6 wí aal noon im veri wél.
- 7 jóu aal nōun im ra'ít enu_of.
- 8 wí aal nōouz im veri wél.

6. 1 wu_one dhe á'ud tʃap sæ'un lærn)er not te dæ'u)it
- 2 wu_one dhe óud tʃap sæ'un lærn)er not te dæ'u)it
- 3 wu_ont dhat á'ud ma'n sæ'un te'ítʃ er not te kæm ta
- 4 wu_od)nt dh)á'ud ma'n sæ'un títʃ er not te) dæ'u)it
- 5 wu_o)ne dhe)á'ud tʃap' sæ'un teetʃ er not te díu)it
- 6 wí)ne dh)óud tʃap síun laan' eí nu_ot te duu)t
- 7 wù)t ì mak er bóut, púer thíqg! er wù)t díu it
- 8 wuunt dhe á'ud tʃap síun teetʃ er not te díu it

- 1 egjèn, pæ'uer thíq!g!
- 2 egjèn, púer th'íq!g!
- 3 iz áus egjèn, púe wentʃ!
- 4 egjèn, púe wentʃ!
- 5 egjèn, púer thíq'!
- 6 egéen, púer thíq!
- 7 egjèn!
- 8 egen, póoer thíq!

7. 1 læ'uk! ènt)it trə'u?
- 2 læ'uk! í)ner)it trə'ù?
- 3 læ'uk! iz'nt it re'it?
- 4 lu_ok je! í)ner)it dhe trə'uth?
- 5 luk at)er! ì)z snapt)er!
- 6 luuk)i! eent it tru?
- 7 luk! dì)t ái tel je?
- 8 líuk! iz'nt it tríu?

Notes on No. 1, *Edgmond, Sh.*, dt.

1. *coming*, marked as between (kəmin, komin).
 2. *road* or (leen) lane, both here and at end of par.
 3. *wrong house*, or (ru_oq də'uər) wrong door.
 5. *him*, (im) or (im).
 7. *isnot* (ɛnt).
- Sentences. (A am)uə klɛmd), I am not starved. (A wu_osh ju ad'n), I wish you had-en. (pikt in jəd fast), pitched in head first.

Notes to No. 2, *Eccleshall, St.*, dt.

2. *road* or (leen), sometimes (loon) old.
3. *up* (u_op), but (ruq, druqk'n, :təm, wu_onu), considering this inconsistency to be an accident of transcribing, I have used (u_o) throughout. — *wrong house* or (ru_oq dūr), wrong door.
7. *true*, marked as between (trə'u, trə'u).

Notes to No. 3, *Burton-on-Trent, St.*, dt., with omitted words.

1. *so*, if used, would be (suu), as in (təmi, ai ta'ud dhi suu), Tommy, I told you so.—*girl*, when used, called (gjel).—*way* would be (wi).
3. *sure* (shə'uə).—*enough* (ɛnu_of).
4. *chance* (tjəns). — *shrivelled* not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srɪmp, srəud) shrimp, shroud.—*name* (nəim).—*old Tommy*, because they know him well; if they did not, they would use some such phrase as (a'ud mən ɛz dhe kaal :təmi) old man as they call Tommy.
5. *very well*, the very (veri) seldom used.
6. *fellow* (felə).
7. *true* (trə'u).

Notes to No. 4, *Lichfield, St.*, dt.

1. *so*, (dhe sen sū)en)suu, ɛt su_otj ɛ plɛs), they say-en so-and-so at such a place.—*right* (i)z réit, (i)uəri i ?), he's right, isn't he? (Jo noon it)s réit) you know-en it's right.—*now* (uáu).
3. *child*, between (tjáild tjá'ild).—*wrong house*, or (ru_oq dūr), wrong door.
4. *chance* (tjəns). — *shrivelled*, not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (sru_obz sru_oberi) shrubs shrubbery. (púər wɪdhəd u_op fəluər, ɛ)uəri i ?), poor withered up fellow, isn't he?—*they call* (dhi) or (dhe kaal), no verbal pl.

in -en here, possibly a slip, see (noon) = know-en, par. 5.

6. *teach*, or (læɒn læn), learn.
7. *truth*, between (trə'uth trə'uth).

Notes to No. 5, *Wellington, Sh.*, dt.

2. *wicket* (wikit) is in common use for a small gate.—*road, way* is used in (dhat)s dhe wee ɛr)z gə'n).
3. *sure enough* (shəuər ɛnu_of). — *wrong house* (ru_oqg ə'us) or (ru_oq' dūr) wrong door.
4. *rivelled* = wrinkled or shrivelled, it occurs both in Chaucer and Gower, and is referred to Ws. *ge-rifian*, or *ge-rifian*, to wrinkle, as a diminutive of *to rive*, to tear, to split. *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srɪmps srə'ud) shrimps shroud.
7. *snapped* = snubbed, or has spoken snappishly to. *To snap a person up or short* is a common phrase. TH. considers it a form of *snape*, or *sneap*, which is widely diffused.

Notes to No. 6, *Coalbrookdale, Sh.*, dt.

4. *snivelling*, my informant had *snivelled*, which must be wrong.
6. *the*, the original has (t'), which also must be wrong, hence I have written (dh), as in No. 4. There is no tendency to (t') in these regions. Mr. Ragg was not always quite certain. We can really only trust uneducated natives.

Notes to No. 7, *Darlaston* dt.

- The text has been rather freely treated by the translator. The (A'i) throughout approaches (ai).
3. *wrong house*, observe the diphthong (á'v) for U': (ru_oq dūr) wrong door, may also be used.
 6. *will not*, (wú)t) that is (wu_ol nət). — *bolt*, run away.
 7. *did not* (di)t) = (did nət), the second (d) elided with the (n). This is the peculiar Black Country negative form. For (di)t ai tɛl ju) it was suggested to use (i)t ɛr bótɪn ná'v), isn't she (the little girl) bolting (running away) now.

Notes to No. 8, *Belgrave, Le.*, dt.

1. *so* (soo, sv).—*I* (ói, oi, v).—*say* (séi see ɛ'u), (sez ói, sez ii) common. — *now*, Miss Ellis says, "a in pat. received English, and õõ, is, I should say, the most common form amongst

the working people of my district of Le." I conjecture that she means my (á'u) rather than my (æ'u), and have therefore so written it.—*you* (joo), emphatic.—*that* as (vz) almost universally.—*I am* (x)m or (A'm).—*right*, 'r just trilled with the tip of the tongue,' in the wl. she refers to the 'uvula rise' (r_o), but I suppose she means the Midland (r) even before a vowel.—*that* (dha't), 'a in pass,' constantly followed by (dhiier) there.—*girl*, (wentj) is more common, (la's) less so.—*coming*, Miss E. thinks the verbal noun *-ing* is distinguished from the participle, but does not say how.—*from* (threm, threm), regular.—*school*, "skeeool or F. eul," this would give (skiul skæal), I have used (ín), TH. writes (y'u), that is, nearly (i₁u), but I translate him also by (ín).—*youder* was not given in the dt. or wl., but I have added (jænder), which TH. heard at Loughborough.

2. *she*, (shí, shéi, shee) are given by Miss E., for which (shéi) is a compromise; TH. at Loughborough heard (shéi).—*is*, (h) often inserted when emphatic, as (shí hiz A tæl jə) she is I tell you.—*going* (gojín, gujín).—*on*, 'o in homme,' giving (on) not (ən), constantly (v) unaccented.

3. *enough*, 'now as in allow,' which must be taken as *now* in par. 1, (inur) often, and also (en_of).—*has*, emphatic (Ez), as (shí ez'nt got wən) she has'nt got one.—*gone*, 'been and went are commoner than gone, "the ehild has been" would be most normal.'—*to*, emphatic (tú).—*door*, Miss E. 'thinks

dour as *our* (dá'ær) is used, but *dower* as *over* in *mower* is perhaps most common.—*wrong*, the (g) is added only before a following vowel as (veri ræqg vɪ ðm) very wrong of him.—*house*, 'home is (oom) and often (wæm).'

4. *will*, Miss E. has heard (wu_ol).—*shrivelled*, 'wizened is used often of an apple, and also (sriveld),' (seil sriqk sru_ob), Midland (r).—*name* (nim níem), but (næm) was to be expected, see ewl. 'The people here often say *in* the name, for *of* the name,' both *in* and *of* become (v) when unemphatic.—*Thomas*, as the name was not supplied, I have inserted (:tu_om) as in the other versions.

5. *we*, at times (wéi wee), and with less emphasis (wi).—*all*, constantly (haal). "We knows, they knows present, I we they known in the past tense; I known 'im years ago, I seen 'im yesterday, I or we (dæn nóou) don't know." That is, Miss Ellis was entirely unacquainted with the verbal plural in *-en* in Le.—*very* sometimes (veru).

6. *won't*, sometimes (uunt).—*old* 'owed as in cow,' which she called (ká'u), but I think (æ'ud) as TH. heard at Loughborough was meant. The EAL is never treated in the same way as the U'.—*teach* may also be used, but (tærn) is more common, (r) slightly marked.—*do it*, it is commonly used for *its* to a child or animal, as *it head*, *it feet*.

7. *look* (lunk) also used.—*isn't* (eent) is the usual word.

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

VAR. ia, *Market Drayton*, Sh., noted by TH. in 1882.

(an jv dū_on) have you done?—(lE)s gv skj'iu) let's go [to] school.—(dhv iimer wii) the eamer [shorter] way.

Edgmond, Sh., noted by TH.

(æR)z gA'n) she's gone.—(áu bin jv?) how are you?—(vɪ tu_oq)z u_oq i)dhv m'íd'l, vɪ wægz vt éitj end) her tongue's hung in the middle, and wags at each end.

Eccleshall, St., noted by TH.

(vz if dh'i kəsne stæR) as if thou could'st or canst not stir.—(wi mæn av ez tii) we must have us [=our] tea.—(A s'i, sæRi, ù du_os thiqk A se'id last ne'it vz spök tæ'u mi?) I say, sirrah, who dost think I seed [=saw] last night as [=dhat] spoke to me?

VAR. *ib*, *Haughton*, noted by TH. in 1882.

(tèk it i)dh)áus') take it in the house.—(an jv dù_on ?) have you done?—(dhe m'lk'n, jv noon) they milk-en, you know-n.—(v su_op m'uer *weeter on fer ba'il) a sup [drop] more water on for [to, omitted] boil. * Not recorded, but supplied.

VAR. *ic*, *Barton-on-Trent*, noted by TH. and *Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

(wiv_lr)z jv modlv ? ái noo dhe)s)su_omet u_op, v_r a'r wu_odne be'i vwi: v_n dhe)s su_omet u_op wi joo, fer jò k'ner iit jv_r d'ne). Father at dinner to daughter, "Where's your mother? I know there's something up, or she wouldn't be away: and there's something up with you, for you cannot eat your dinner," the girl had lost £2, and the mother had gone to look for it.—(jò)n b'v v fa'in wá'il) or between that and (fáin wá'il), you have-n been a fine while.—(v'i)z gu)in v)dh áus) he's going into the house.—(v'i livz egj'v_n dh'v_r in djeneli) he lives against (opposite) there in general.—(iz'nt v'i gu)in tv d'v it ?) isn't he going to do it.—(jò)n brook v w'ndv, jò)n v'i)t' pii fa'l_rt) you have-n broke a window, you will-en have to pay for it.—(it in v jòvn, gi)t' me'v) it is not yours, give it me.—(gjer)u_op ! jò)n gar)it) get up ! you've got it.—(nòt v_t jv nóv) not hot you know.—*(v'v p'vst iit) half-past eight.—*(v'i)l dvu)t v dhatenz) I'll do it in that way.

VAR. *ic*, *Barton-under-Needwood*.

Carol as dictated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst.

(az v'i sat v_n v su_oni baqk
 v_n :krásemv_s dii i)dh m'AN'v,
 v'i saa thréi sh'ps ku_om siilv_n b'v'i,
 v_n :krásemv_s dii i)dh m'AN'v.
 v_n in su_od béi in dh'éz thréi sh'ps
 but :d'poozef v_n iz féev ledi,
 v_n v'i d'v_r w'is'l v_n sh'éi d'v_r siq,
 v_n aal dhe belz v_n éevth d'v_r r'iq,
 fa d'p'v dhet dhe :seev'v_r éi wvz
 b'AN,
 v_n :krásemv_s dii i)dh m'AN'v).

As I sat on a sunny bank
 On Christmas day in the morning,
 I saw three ships come sailing by,
 On Christmas day in the morning.
 And who should be in these three ships
 But Joseph and his fair lady,
 And he did whistle and she did sing,
 And all the bells on earth did ring,
 For joy that the Saviour He was born
 On Christmas day in the morning.

TH. thinks (saa, ledi, aal) should have been (s'cid, leedi, aal.)

VAR. *ib*, *Darlaston*. Sentences noted by TH.

(ái koot dív it, v_n ái bit v gu)in tv dív it, nor ái sheet, bikAAZ ái dv)t' nóv w'v_t it iz) I can't do it, and I be not a going to do it, nor I shan't, because I don't know what it is.—(dh' shudst tv_r dhv tr'vth) thou shouldest tell the truth.—(i)z á'v_t v w'v_rk, v_n i koo gj'v_t n'v_n) he's out of work, and he can't get none.—(wi)m v_t dh'is af'ter'v_n) we am=are off this afternoon —(wi)m gu)in w'v_m t'v_r v_r su_operz) we am=are going home to our suppers.—(i'v_r)z k'v_uke n'v_ot w'v_t jv)v thróvd v'v'v'v) here's cocoa nut what (=that) you've throwed=thrown away.

Dialogue on the Darlaston "Wake Beef," between H. Blackhouse and J. Reynolds, a fellow-workman, on 22 August, 1879, related by himself on 29 August, and pal. by TH. The "Wake" is an annual feast and occurred that year on Sunday, 24 August. Printed afterwards in the *Wolverhampton Magpie*, 20 Sept. 1879.

B. :las fra[^]iði na[^]it, wen mi
en a[^]uer :tu_om wen gu_jin u_op
dhe strit t)av v lùk et dhe
:wèek :bif, wi went es fàr ez
dhe :wa[^]it :la[^]ièn; en tərnd
egjè'n, en kəmìn bak thrù dhe
:a[^]li dhi wes thrii er fòuer sītìn
et dhe dūer kolìer fashən, līt'l
:djaki :renelz, :dʒou :kjè'rlis, en
tū mūer ev iz palz, dɔg-ru_on'èrz.

R. wíer es' bìn, :ari?

B. t)av v lùk et dhe :bif.

R. wì)n bìn t)av v lùk at it,
en dhat)s á[^]uer shéer, iz it
dha[^]in?

B. aa, ái rek'n it iz. gu_od
na[^]it.

B. Last Friday night [(A[^]i) approach-
ing (ái)] when me and our Tom were-n
going up the street to have a look at
the Wake Beef, we went as far as the
White Lion, and turned again; and
coming through the Alley there was
three or four sitting at the door collier
fashion, little Jacky Reynolds, Joe
Careless, and two more of his palz
[companions], dog-runners.

R. Where hast been, Harry?

B. To have a look at the Beef.

R. We have-n been to have a look
at it, and that's our share, is it thine?

B. Ay, I reckon it is. Good-night.

VAR. iib. *Walsall*.

A servant girl's account of how her brother Jim's leg was hurt, pal. at Cannock from her dict. 1877, by TH. and two other sentences

(aar :dʒim wa[^] ku_omìn bak frəm si)in iz ànt :sali, en i ku_om
ekra's dhe filz, en gjētìn over dhe stáil, en i ert)s lɛg, en it waa
bad ever sɛ loqlg, en shi gət su_om pòultis tæ'u it, en it waa ever sɛ
mu_otʃ bɛtɛr), our Jim was coming back from seeing his aunt Sally,
and he came across the fields, and getting over the stile, and he
hurt his leg, and it was bad ever so long, and she got some poultice
to it, and it was ever so much better.—(Jis, sɛr, dhis iz it, dʒu_ost
óuer dhe brɪdʒ íer), yes, sir, this is it, just over the bridge here.
—(ái wu_od'nt gi thri eepens foo jɛ), I wouldn't give three half-
pence for you.

VAR. ia.

NORTH-EAST SHROPSHIRE AND NORTH-WEST STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

N Newport, all the words referred to Newport (:nuupert) in Miss Jackson's account of Sh. pron. as prepared by TH.

B preceding a word from Newport shews that it was sent by Mrs. Burne: following a word, that Mrs. Burne gave the same sound as Miss Jackson.

The following are from wn. by TH. :—

E Edgmond, Sh. (1½ w. Newport).

Nh Newport in 1885 [as distinguished from Miss Jackson].

M Market Drayton, Sh.

H Hodnet, Sh. (5 sw. Market Drayton) in 1881.

Ee Eccleshall, St. (7 nw. Stafford), including words given by Miss Burne, and wn. at Wootton (1½ ssw. Ee.)

The line separating Var. ia, b from Var. iia, seems to pass s. of Bolas Magna, Edgmond, Newport, Sh., and n. of Crudgington, Wellington, Sh., and s. of Cannock, St., but n. of Wolverhampton and Walsall, St.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N tek B [before vowels], tee B [before consonants]. 5 N mek B [before vowels], mee B [before consonants], M miik. — M griiv [grave]. 19 B tiil. 20 B léem. 21 M niim, Ec neem. 23 B séem. 31 B liit. 33 E rædher. A: 39 BE kam. 41 B theuk. 43 B ond, Ec and. 51 B mæn, MEC ma'n. 54 EM want. 55 B es. 56 NM wesh B.

A: or O: 60 B lu_oq. 61 B emu_oq. 64 BNhEc ru_oq, EM ru_oqg.

A'- 67 N gū'in [going] B, E gjujin ga'u_ojin, Ec gu, H gun. 69 M noo. 70 Ec tuu. 72 B uu. 73 B soo sv. 74 Ec te'u. 76 B toud. 81 Nh leen. 82 NhEc wu_onst. 84 EcN múuer B. 86 BNhEEc wu_ots, M ots. 87 M tlunz. 89 B búeth. 92 EEcU noo.

A': 102 B aks. 104 N rood, E rood, B roud. 106 Ec brood. 110 N nati [naughty], B kanæ. 113 Ec oolsum [wholesome]. 115 B óem [ʔ], EcNhE wòm. Ec [occ.] oom, M wa'm. 118 B bóen, E bæ'uæn, Ec buun. 120 E egoo. 123 N nu_othin. B 124 N stoon [accented], -sten [in composition and unaccented], E stæ'uæn, M st'an, Ec stuan.

Æ- 138 BNhEMEc feedher, M fiidher. — E gjædher. 140 E iil. 141 B niil. 143 B tiil. 144 B ugen. 148 B fiir. — N lez'ur [a leasow, pasture]. 152 Nh weeter, M wiiter. Æ: 155 NM thetj. — N gjædher. 158 B aater. 161 NNhEMHEc dii B. 169 E wen. 171 Ec bærli. 172 NEM gres B. 179 wat. Æ'- 185 Ec re'id. 187 E liiv. 193 B kleen. 194 N ænthin [anything]. 195 B moni. 197 M tpiiz, tpiiz tpe'iz, Ec tpe'iz. 200 N wæet, B, Nh wæit, ME wiit, Ec wiit. 202 B jet. Æ': 207 B need'l. 209 E niiver. 213 N eedher B, æidher, B iidher. 216 N di'e'l B. 217 B ectj, E éiti. 218 E ship. 223 BMEc dhúr, Ec dhúer. 224 BMEc wier. 226 Ec must múest. 228 B swat.

E- 232 N briik B, B breck. 233 B speek spiik, MEc spiik. 241 N rin riin B, NhEMHEc riin. 243 BEEc plii. — N biir [to bear]. 248 N múier B. 249 N wier. 251 B meet, EEc miit. — N fidher [feather]. E: 260 B léé. 261 B séz, Nh dhe'seen [they say], MEEc sii. 262 MEHEc wii. 264 B iil. 265 Ec stre'it. 266 H wel. — N feeld [field occ.], Ec fe'ld. 270 bel, B bali. 287 B biuzem. E'- 290 M á, Ec e'i. 291 N dhee. 292 N mee, Ec me'i. 296 N bileev B, N bilæf [belief], Ec biléiv. 299 M grūin, MEc gre'in. 300 M kiip. 302 E miit. E': 305 Ec ai. 306 EcN ait. 312 EcM iir. 314 M iurd. — Ec gje'is [geese].

EA- — N jiel il [ale]. 320 B kier. EA: 321 N siid [used]. 322 N lfi B, M laf. 324 E e'it. 326 B oud, EcM a'ud. 328 N kod, B koud, Ec kja'ud. 329 N fod. 331 N sod, B soud. 335 B aa, aal, Ec aavis [always]. 336 N faa, faan [fallen or we fall, less usual than (fel'n)]. 337 B waa. 338 NE kaa. — N shúir [share, portion]. 343 B waarm. 345 B daar. 346 B giit, M giit, Ec gjet. EA'- 347 BEM je'd, M e'd. 349 N fæ [nearly]. EA': 350 N di'e'd B, EMec di'e'd, Ec de'd [of a person liked (i/z ga'n de'd) he's gone dead, of a person disliked (i/z dped en 'ud div'l) he's dead, an old devil]. 355 BEc diit, E dpef [Ec says (du'm en diit) in this order]. 356 N leet. 359 N niiber. 360 Ec tūm. 361 Nh bi'enz, EcM biinz. 363 N tpi, B tpep. — Ec iir [year]. 366 NEMEcNh griit B, Nh griid big thiq [great big thing]. 368 N di'e'lh. — N dum [dew].

EI- 372 NEc ai ai, EMec aa. 376 N bit, B biit. EI: 377 B stiik. EO- 387 N :nuupert, E :næ'upert [Newport], E no'u. EO: 388 M miik. 390 N shad. 394 NEEc jander. 402 M lorn lærn. 405 B aarth. 406 B aarth. EO'- 409 B bæc. 411 B three. — N tree [tree], Ec trei. 413 Bde'v'l. 414 B thai. 415 B lai. 417 N tjaa, B tpiu. EO': 425 B lait. 426 B fait. 428 Ec se'in se'i. 431 M béier. — Ec na'i [knee]. 436 N truu. 437 M træ'uth, Ec [between] træ'uth triuth. EY- 438 BNhMEc dai, M da'i.

I- — N siner [sinew]. — N jes [yes]. 450 N tuuzdi. I: 458 N nait nait [I take B.'s oi to mean (ai). Nh nit, M ne'it nait, Ec nait [approaching (na'it)]. 459 N rait rait, Ec re'it. 460 N wát B. 467 M we'ld. I'- 490 N bai baai. — Ec straik [(er ken rimember wiit bi'in e paund e straik), she can remember wheat being a pound a strike = bushel, i.e. £8 a

quarter]. 494 M *táim*. 498 N *rúait*. I: 500 NEc *láik láik*. — EEc *ii* [hay]. 505 B *wáif*, EM *wé'if*. 507 Ec *wu_omen*. 511 B *wáin*.

O- 519 Ec *sover óer*. 522 B *AAP'n*. O: — N *trú_of* [trough]. 526 B *káf*. 527 N *bá'ut* [coarse rough speaking], *bót* [fine]. 528 N *tháut thót* [as in 527]. 531 N *daater B*, EcNhEM *daater*. 533 B *du_ol*. 536 N *grá'ud B*. 538 N *wád*. — EEc *ás* [horse]. — N *gəth* [girth].

O'- 555 B *sháu*, M *shə'u*. 556 E *tə'u*. 557 B *túu*, M *tə'u*. 558 Ec *lə'uk*. 559 B *mə_odher*, MEc *mədher*. 560 N *skúul*, M *skjə'u skjə'u*, Ec *skjə'ul skjəd skúd*. 562 Nh [between] *mə'un mə'un*, M *muun*, Ec *mə'un* [at Wootton between (*míun mə'un*)]. 567 B *tu_odher*.

O': 569 B *buk*. — N *shuk* [accented], *shək* [unaccented]. — E *bru_ok* [brook]. 570 N *tuk tək* [as in *shook*]. 572 B *blu_od*. 575 B *stəd*. 578 B *pláu*, Ec *pláu*. 579 B *ənuu*. 580 N *tú_of*. — N *piul* [pool]. 584 B *stíul*. 586 B *dúu*, E *də'u*. 587 BM *də_ou*. 588 NhM *nə'un*, EcM *nə'un* [at Wootton between (*níun nə'un*)]. 589 M *spə'un*. 590 N *flúuer*, B *flüer*. 591 B *móer*. — N *gus* [goose emphatic], *guzbriz* [gooseberries]. 595 B *fat*. 597 B *sət*. — N *tu_oth* [tooth].

U- 600 N *bu_ov B*. 603 B *ku_om*, Nh *kamín*, M *ku_omín*, E *kəmz*. 604 E *su_omer*. 605 B *su_on*, MEc *sə_on*. 606 N *dúuer B*, M *dúer də'uer*, Ec *dúer* [formerly often (*də'r*)]. 607 BEEc *bu_oter*.

U: 608 B *u_ogli*. — N *shə'uder shə'udder*. 609 B *fəl*. — N *pəl* [pull]. 610 B *wəl*. 611 B *bələk*. 612 B *su_om*. 615 B *pən*, Ec *páund*. 622 B *u_onder*. 629 B Ec *su_on*. 632 BNhEc *u_op*. 633 BH *ku_op*. 639 B *du_ost*.

U'- 640 EEc *kjáu*. 641 B *ə'u* [marked as received pron., I have given (*ə'u*) as gen. Sh., it might be (*ə'u áu*)], EM *áu*, H *ə'u*. 642 B *dhə'u*. 643 B *nə'u*, Ec *náu*. 652 B *ku_od*. 653 M *bu_ot*.

U': 658 NhEc *dám* [at Wootton (1½ s.Eccleshall) (*dáin*) was heard twice], M *də'un*. 659 E *tám*, M *tə'un*. 663 B *ə'us*, EEc *áus*, Ec *áuz'n*. 667 MEc *áut*.

Y- 673 B *mu_otj*. Y: 697 N *bee_oi*. 700 H *was*. — N *shu_ot* [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B *bəd*. 714 B *bəd*. — MH *riil* [rail]. 722 N *drin driien B*. 723 B *diiri*. 742 B *laazi* [ʔ]. E. 744 B *meez'lz*. 749 NhEc *lift*. I. *and* Y. 757 B *táini*. 761 N *lood*. 766 B [also] *mídhurd*. U. — N *du_ok* [duck]. 794 BEH *dju_og*. 796 N *blu*. 802 B *ru_om*. 803 BH *dju_omp*. 805 B *kradz*. 807 B *pəs*. 808 B *pət*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — M *tüb'l* [table]. 810 B *féus*. 811 Ec *pleez'n*. 813 B *bék'n*. 822 BEc *mii*. 824 Ec *tjír B*, E *tjír*. 829 M *gün*. — Ec *pliin* [plain]. 830 H *triin*. 833 B *pír*. 835 B *reez'n*. 836 B *seez'n*. — N *mæster* [master, refined], *mæster* [usual]. — Ec *dæm* [dame]. 841 BEc *tjəns*. 842 B *pləqk*. 850 B *dans*. 851 B *ant*. 852 *apərn*. — M *slit* [slate]. — M *plüt* [plate]. 862 H *siif*. E.. 867 BM *tee*, EEc *tii*. 869 E *vüel*, Ec *viil*. 874 N *riünz*. — N *fíter*. — Ec *pe'ip'l* [people] 893 M *flə'uer*. I.. *and* Y.. 898 B *náis*, M *na'is*. 901 B *fáin*, M *fa'in*. 904 B *váilet*. O.. 915 B *stu_of*. — Ec *be'if* [beef]. 920 B *páint*. — N *stauri* [story]. 924 B *tjáis*. 926 N *spáil B*. 929 B *kuukember*. 930 B *láin*. 933 Ec *frunt*. 940 B *káunt*. 941 N *fíul B*. 942 B *batpər*. — N *so* [hoe]. 947 B *báil*. 954 B *kashen*. U.. — N *du* [due]. — N *duuk* [duke]. — N *muuzik* [music]. 963 B *kwáit*. 965 B *áil*. 969 Ec *shúer*. — N *kúer* [cure]. — N *kuuríes* [curious]. — N *just'n* [we used, were accustomed]. 970 NE *dju_ost*.

VAR. *ib*. WEST MID STAFFORDSHIRE *cwl*.

B Bradley (:breedli), (4 sw.Stafford), sent in io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vicar.

Hn Houghton (:AAT'n), (4 wsw. Stafford), wn. by TH. in 1882 from T. Powell, native, b. 1798.

C Cannock and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. in 1877.

S Stretton (8 ssw.Stafford), wl. and dt. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Hn *becker*, 4 C *tak*, Hn *tək*. 5 C *meek*. 19 S *tiil*. 21 S *nūm*. 31 C *leat*. A: 51 BS *mən*, C *ma'n*. 55 B *es*. 56 C *wash*, Hn *weshən*. A: *or* O: 60 C *lʊq[ɔ]*. 62 S *strʊq*. A'- 67 Hn *gu'ın*. 74 BHn *tūn*, C *tə'u*, C *tūthri*. 76 C *tood*, S. *tuud*. 86 BS *wats*. 89 C *bōth*. 92 C *noo*. A': 101 S *uk*. 102 C *eks*. 104 S *rund*. 107 S *luuf*, Hn *lōf*. 108 S *dʊf*. 110 C *kəner wʊner shoner* [*can't won't shan't*], *ai eernt* [*I am not*], *shānt* [*shall not*]. 111 C *aat*. 115 B *ōoem*, HnC *wā'm*, S *ōm*. 124 BS *stūen*. 131 S *gunt*.

Æ- 138 CHn *feedher*. 141 S *mīl*. 142 S *smīl*. 143 S *tiil*. 147 B *briin*. 152 B *weter*. Æ: 161 BSC *dii*. 172 B *gtes*. Æ'- 193 C *tliin*. 194 B *ənī*, C *anī*. 197 B *tjéiz*, C *tjiz*. Æ': 209 C *niver*. 210 C *tlii*, [occ.] *tlee*, S *klii*. 214 C *nūdher*. 218 BSHn *ship*. 223 C *dhier*.

E- 241 BSHn *riin*. 243 BS *plii*. 248 B *māier*. — Hn *iit*. E: 260 S *lii*. 261 CSHn *sii*. 262 Hn *wīl*. 270, ii. B *balī*. E'- 290 C *ii*. 291 B *dhéi*. 300 CHn *kiip*. E': 314 C *īerd*.

EA- 318 C *lōft*, *laft* [*refined*]. EA: 322 C *lōf*, Hn *laf*. 326 C *ā'ūd*, *ōūd*. 328 C *kōūd*. 330 C *ōūd*. 333 BS *kaa'f*. 334 C *ēf*. 335 C *aal*. EA'- 347 B *jed*. EA': 350 BS *djed*. 355 S *diif*. 359 CS *nūber*. 353 B *tjip*. 365 C *grit*. 368 S *diith*. — C *dj'ū* [*dew*]. EI- 372 Hn *aa*.

EO- 386 B *jā'u*. 394 C *lōnder*. 402 Hn *lōrn*. EO'- 409 B *béi*. 410 Hn *o'u* [?]. — C *trū* [*tree*]. 414 B *lii*. EO': 424 S *ruf*. 428 C *si*. 435 C *soo* [*youths said you and not thou to each other*]. 437 C *trūth*. EY- 438 CHn *dāi*.

I- 440 C *wik*. 442 S *ivī*. 444 B *stō'il*, C *stā'il*. 448 C *dhiiz dhīiz dhēiz*. I: 452 B *āi*, C *āi*. 458 B *noit*, C *nāit*, S *nūt?* 459 S *riit?* 464 Hn *wīp*. 469 C *wū'l*. 485 BC *fis'l*. I'- 492 S *sāid*. 494 C *tāim*. I': 500 CSHn *lāik*. — C *ii*, [occ.] *ee*, [*hay*]. 508 B *mōil*. 511 S *wāind*. 514 S *āist*. 517 C *jū*.

O- 524 C *wald* [*often*]. O: 526 S *kaf*. 529 Hn *braat*. 531 Hn *daate*. 550 B *wad*. O'- 556 C *tū*. 558 C *lʊk*. 559 BHn *mōdher*, C *mādher*. 560 C *skæ'ul*, S *skūl*. 562 B *mūm*, C *mūūn*. 563 C *mū'ndi*. O': 569 B *biuk*. 586 C *dēu* [*often*]. 587 Hn *dū'n*. 589 B *spūn*. 597 Hn *su't*.

U- 603 C *kam*. 606 C *dōer*, Hn *dūe*. 607 C *bʊ'ter*. U: 612 C *shūm*. 619 C *fa'nd*. 620 S *grū'nd*. 624 B *grānd?* 632 CHn *u'p*. 634 C *thrū* *thrē'u*. U'- 640 Hn *kjā'uz*. 643 C *nāu*, Hn *nāu*. — Hn *brō'u* [*brow*] 648 C *āu'ern*. U': 658 C *dī'āun dā'n*, Hn *dā'm*. 663 C *ā'ūs*, Hn *ā'us*. 667 C *ā'ūt* *ā'ūt*.

Y- 673 C *mʊ'tj*. 679 *tj'atj*. Y: 691 SC *mā'ind*. 692 C *ju'qrist*. 701 C *t'ast* [*often*]. Y'- 705 B *skō'i*. Y': 709 B *tō'er*, Hn *fā'ber*. 712 B *mō'is*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B *bōd*. 722 BS *driin*. E. 744 B *mez'lz*. O. 761 S *lund*. — C *dōg'* [*dog*]. 767 B *nāiz*. 774 *puunī*. U. 804 S *dru'qk'n*. 805 B *kredz*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 813 C *bek'n*. 822 C *mii*. — C *pī* [*pay*]. 824 Hn *tjāier*. 852 S *apren*. 865 B *faat*. E.. 867 C *tii*. 894 C *d'siiv*. O.. — C *bif* [*bee't*]. 925 C *vāis*. 940 C *koot*. 941 B *fiul*. 947 C *hāil*. 950 C *sū'per*. — C *kri'āun* [*crown*]. 955 C *dānt*. U.. 969 C *shā'uer*.

VAR. ic. EAST MID STAFFORDSHIRE CWL.

Bn Barton-under-Needwood, words communicated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

The following were from wn. by TH.

Bt Burton-on-Trent.

Ha Hanbury (6 nw. Burton-on-Trent) in 1880.

Ho Hopwas (:opez) (2 nw. Tamworth) in 1879.

L Lichfield.

Ta Tamworth (:tamuth) in 1879.

T Tutbury (:tãlberj) (4 nw. Burton-on-Trent) in 1874.

Y Yoxall (6 nne. Lichfield), wn. in 1879 by TH. from a native, b. 1805, and then living at Tamworth.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 18 Ha kjæk. 21 Bn niim, HaYTalHo neem, Bt nêim neem. A: 39 Bn kãm. 55 Bt es. 56 Bt wesh, T wash [ɛ:]. A: or O: 58 Bt thrum thrum. 62 BtL struqg. 64 Bt rægg, LBtTa ruqg, TaHo rægg. A'- 67 BtL guu. 69 BtYHo noo, Ha nã'u. 72 Bn ðu. 74 BtY tû. 84 Ta máur. 85 Ta súb. 86 BtHa úts, L úts. A': 105 Ho rood. 106 Y brood. 110 shuðner wu ne wãne shana kãne kãne [shouldn't won't sha'nt can't, these were from several places in this variety]. Ta ai cãnt wõnt shãnt kjãnt [not so often] kãnt. Ho wõnt wa'nt wãne kãnt dõnt duæner [by a few] shãner [by a few]. 113 Bt ml. 115 L wã'm, Bt [between] wã'm wõm, Ha wa'm, YTa òm. 118 L boon. 123 Bt nu.thiøk. 124 Bt stuum, L stoon. — L rólap.

Æ- 138 BtHaHoY fædher. TaL fædher, TaLHo fædher. 152 Bt weete, Ta waater. Æ: 161 BtHaTTaLY dii, Ta dee dèi, Ho dee dii. 164 Bn mi. 172 L gtes. — Bt kjaat, L kaat [cart]. 177 Ta edhat'n [of that kind]. Æ'- 197 Bt tjeéz, Ha tje'iz. 200 BtYTAL wit wíit, Ha wé'it, Ho wíit [a few say (wíut)]. Æ': 218 LY sh'p'. 223 BtYHo dhier, Ho dhéer. 224 BtHoYTã wíer, Ho weer.

E- 231 T thwãsh'ãn dii [the washing day, (th) ?]. 233 BtHaHoTa spiik [Ha p.t. (spæk)]. 241 BtHal rím, Ta rím, [occ.] reem. 243 Bt plii. — Ho eet [eat]. 251 Ta miit. E: 261 BtY sii, Ta see, Ho see [and occ. (sii)], Bt se i. 262 BtHaYL wii, Ta wéi wee wii. 265 Ta stre'it. — L fiid [fiel]. 284 L thresh. E'- 290 BtL e'í, Y éi, Ho éi, L íi. 292 Y me'í. 293 Y wéi. 294 Ta fiid. 299 BnY gréem, BtHa gre'ím, BtHo grèim griim, Ta griim. 300 Bt kje'íp'n, Y kiip'n [both with verbal pl. in -en]. 302 Y me'it. E': 314 B ierd. Ho ierd ə'ird, Y eerd, ə'ird.

EA: 322 BtHal laf, Ta laf, [occ.] laf. 325 Y dhe waakn [they walk-en]. 326 Bt [between] óad ə'ud, Ha ə'ud. 328 Bn k'ud, Ho kóuld, Bt [between] kã'ud kóuld. 334 Ta épmi [halipenny]. 336 Ta taal. EA'- 347 BtHoTa jé'd, Y é'd. EA': — Bt le'ík [a leek]. 350 Ha dre'd. 355 Ho dif def. 366 Bt griit, HaTa greet, Y grit, Ho griit, L gréit. 371 L straa.

EO- 387 Ta na'u [the first element was between (a) and (i), the transitional form to (nau)]. EO: 394 Ta jander. 399 Bt bra'it. 402 BtY laan lãrn, TaHo læn, Ta lærn. — Ta shaat [short]. EO'- 411 Y thre'í, Ta thrii. — Bt tréi [tree], Ta trí [tree]. EO': 425 Bt le'it. 426 Bt fe'it. 437 BtY trã'uth, Ha trã'uth, Ho trã'uth [and nearly] truuth. EY- 438 Bt dáí, HaHo de'í, YHoTa dáí.

I- 444 L [between] stãil sta'íl. 447 BtY ə'r [used for she]. — Bt piiz [pease]. I: 458 Bt nêit ne'it, na'it, Ha ne'it, Ho néit na'it, L na'it na'it. 462 Bn sãt. 469 Bt wãl, Ho wíl [and by a few (wãl)]. 484 Ta udhis'n [of this kind]. I'- 494 BtL ta'am, Hal táim. I': 504 Ta na'it. 508 Ta ma'íl. 509 Bt ma'íl.

O- 519 Ta oover. O: — Bt krøft kraft [croft]. 531 BtHoL daater, Ha da'ute. — Bt krøp krap [crop]. 551 Ta staam. 552 L kaan. — BtL əs [horse]. O'- 555 BtYTãHo shã'u, Bt shã'u shã'u shã'u, [the first element very peculiar, it evidently varied towards shõu) see 562, 588], Ha shã'ù.

557 Bn t_un. 558 Ta læ'uk, L luk. 559 Ho mædher, BtTaHo modher, BnLTa mædher. 560 Bt skæ'ul, Ho skæ'ul, Ta skæ'n skuu. 562 Bt móum, Ha ma'um, TaL muum. 564 Ta sæ'um 568 Bt bræ'dhe. O': 569 Bn búk. 579 TaL mu_of. 586 Y d_un, Bt dæ'u. 587 BtHaHo d_un. 588 Bt næ'um nó'm, Ha na'um, TaHo næ'um. Ho n_un, L [between] n_un næ'um. 595 Bn fat.

U- 603 LHo kām, L ka'mān. 604 L sæ'me. 605 BtTa s_un. 606 Bt d_uer d_ue, HaY d_ue, Ta d_uer, Ho d_uer. U: 611 Bn bæk. 615 Ta [between] pá'nd pá'nd. 632 LBt u p. — Bt [between] kas kos [curse]. U- 640 Bn k_uau. 643 Ta ná'æ. 650 Ha eb_uæt [with elongated lip opening], Y eb_uæt, Ta [between] eb_uæt eb_uæt. U: 654 Ta sr_uad. 658 TaL d_um. 661 Ta shæ'uer. 663 BtYTaHoL áus, Ha á'æs' [with elongated lip opening], Ho [pl.] áuziz áuz'n. 667 Ta [between] á'ut á'ut, á'æt, L á'ut. Y: 701 Ta fæst.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 756 BtTa srimp. 758 Ta [occ.] g_uel [which is (múe pul'a'i'te) more politer than (wensh)]. O. 761 BtL luud. 791 Bt bá'i.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — Bt pii [pay]. — Bn gr_uinz [grains]. — Ta pliin [plain]. 830 Ta tr_um. E.. 857 Bt tii, Ha te'i. — BnL piin [pain]. I.. and Y.. 898 Ta na'is. 901 Ta t_un. O.. 916 L u_n'enz. 940 BtTa kuut. U.. — Bt wit [wait]. — Ta æt [hurt].

VAR. iia. MID EAST AND SOUTH EAST SHROPSHIRE CWL.

All from wn. by TH.

W Wellington (:wel'ten), Sh., in Dec. 1881.

S Shifnal, Sh. (7 sse. Wellington), in Jan. 1882, with verbal pl. in -en (an æ? æ'u b_un æ?).

M Madeley, Sh. (6 sse. Wellington) (:mæ'dli), in Jan. 1882.

I Ironbridge (6 sse. Wellington), Sh. (shane, k_une, w_une) shan't, can't, won't.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 W tak. 21 W næm [(:naam) at Ketley, (1 se. W).], S n_um. A: or O: 60 M bægg. 64 W rægg, S. rogg ræg, I rogg. A'- 67 W gæ'z g_u'in, M gu. 69 WS n_uo. 73 W s_uo. 74 W t_un. 82 W wænst. A': 104 WSI rood, S r_uod [also, a modernism?]. 115 W w_um oom, S ó_um, SI wa'm. 117 WS w_un. 121 WS g_un. 124 S st_uon, I stæ'un? 130 I b_ut.

Æ- 138 W fædher, S faadher, I feedher. Æ: 161 WSI dee. 179 W wad [wad z ær næm?], S wæt. Æ'- 182 WS see. 197 I t_uiz. 200 W wæt, SI wit. Æ': 223 W dh_uer. 224 WSM w_uer.

E- 233 W spēk, S spiik. 235 W wæv. 241 S réin, I reon. E: 261 W see. 262 Wl wee. 265 W stre'it. E'- 290 W i. 297 W fæls. 299 W gr_uin, S gr_uin. 300 I kiip. E': 312 I ier. 314 WS ierd, I ærd.

EA: 322 WSI laf. 326 W æ'ud, S óuld. 328 S [betw.] k_u'æd k_u'ud. 332 W t_u'ud. 335 W aal. 338 W kaa. 346 S g_uret. EA'- 347 WSI j_u'ed, S e'd. EA': 350 WI d_u'ed. 351 I led. 352 W red. 355 I det. 365 S n_uer. 366 W g_uret, S gr_uét. EO: 388 I milk. 395 SMI ju_oq, I joqg. 396 S wark. 402 W lærn, S b_u'rn, I l_u'rn. EO': 428 W s_ui. 437 W tr_uuth, I træ'uth, S tr_uth. EY- 438 W d_u'i.

I: 452 W æ'i á'i. 458 W næ'it, S [betw.] n_uit na'it. 466 W t_u'ild, I [betw.] t_u'ild, t_u'ild. 469 W w_uen [will-en]. 477 W t_u'ind. I'- 492 W s_u'id. 494 W t_u'im, S t_u'im, I t_u'im. I: 500 W l_uik l_u'ikli.

O: — W s_u beri [shrubby]. 531 WSI daater. — S a's [horse]. O'- 555 WSI shæ'uz. 559 W mædher mu'dher, S mædher. 562 SI muum. 564 W sæ'un. 566 M u_odher. 568 WM bræ'dher. O': 569 S búk. 571 W g_u'd. 572 W bl_ud. 579 W mu_of. 586 W d_u'n d_un. 587 WS d_un. 588 W næ'un, SI muum.

U- 599 M eb_u'y. 603 WS kām. 604 I s_umer. 605 WS s_un. 606 WSI

dóer. 607 *W ba'ter*. — *SI nu't* [nut]. *U*: — *W pu'l* [pull]. 622 *W u'nder*. 632 *WSM u'p*. 633 *WS k'u'p*. 634 *W thra'u*. 636 *M fá'r*. *U'*: 640 *W ká'u*, *S kjá'u*. 641 *W áu*, *SI á'u*. 643 *W ná'u*. 650 *I ebo'ut*. *U'*: 654 *W srá'ud*. 658 *W dá'am*. 659 *I tá'am*. 663 *W á'u'z'n*, *S á'us*. 667 *M á'ut*. *Y*- 673 *I mu'g't*. *Y*: 701 *W fást*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *W baqk*, [at Ketley (baqk), bank]. 737 *W m'ets*. *E*. 749 *W láft*. *I*. and *Y*. 756 *W sramps*. *O*. — *S dog* [dog]. *U*. — *S dá'ak* [to duck]. 794 *WS d'u'g*. 803 *WSMI d'u'mp*. 804 *W dru'qk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 830 *W t'reen*. 841 *W t'rans*. 866 *W p'úr*. *E.*. 867 *WSI t'ee*, *I tii*. 885 *W ver'i*. *I.*. and *Y.*. 901 *S fáin*. *O.*. 915 *W stu'f*. 920 *W po'int*. 947 *W báil*. *U.*. 969 *W shóer*.

VAR. *ii*b. SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE *cwl*.

This is the Black Country proper.

Cs Codsall (5 nw. Wolverhampton), per E. Viles, Esq.
D Darlaston (:dàrlis'n) (3 wsw. Walsall), per TH., 1879, chiefly from Henry Blackhouse, b. 1833, foreman ironroller, and his wife, both natives.
Wa Walsall (:waas'l), per TH., 1877 and 1879.
Wb West Bromwich (5 s. Walsall), per TH., 1877, with verbal pl. in *-en* seldom used.
We Wednesbury (:wɛdɪberi) (3 sw. Walsall), per TH., 1879.
Wi Willenhall (3 c. Wolverhampton), per TH., 1879, from G. Dyke, keystamper, b. 1825, and his family.
Wo Wolverhampton, by TH., 1879.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 4 *CsD tak*, *Wi t'èik*. 5 *Wo mek*, *Cs mak*. 8 *Wo av jɛ*, *an jɛ* [have you? have-n you?]. 21 *D n'èem*, *WaWe n'èim*, *Wi n'èim* [old], *n'èim* [new]. 23 *Wo s'èim*. *A*: 39 *D k'òm*, *Wb k'œm*. 43 *Wb and and*, *Wi and* [obs.]. 51 *WbWi ma'n*. 56 *Wa wesh*, *Wb wesh wash*. *A*: *or O*: 60 *Wa loqg*. 64 *D roq ru'q ru'qg*, *Wi ru'qg*.

A'- 67 *D gò*, *Wo g'òu*, *Wi gu*. 69 *Wa n'ón*, *We n'ón*. 73 *D sù*. 74 *Wa t'ú*. 76 *Wb t'ood*. 86 *DWa úts*, *Cs u'ts*. 87 *Wb th'uus*. 92 *Wo n'ón*. *A'*: 102 *Wi aks* [old], *ask* [new]. 104 *DWi rôud*. 106 *Cs brood*. *s*— *Wi léidi* [lady]. 108 *Cs d'æf*. 110 [negative, see p. 461], *D ái èt* [have not], *w'òu* [won't], *shee sheet* [shan't], *koo koot* [can't], *bit* [be not], *ái du't n'ou* [I don't know], *it it* [isn't it], *èi* [isn't], *Wa ái sh'ant*, *shAA*, *kánt*, *kaa*, *w'òant*, *w'oo*, *We w'ou kaa shèt* [won't can't shan't], *Wb shee* [shan't], *Wi ént* [is not], *Wi b'ènt*, *Wo ái ènt* [am not], *kaa* [can't], *d'òunt* [don't]. 115 *DWb w'óm*, *We óam*, *CsWb w'ám*. 117 *Wo w'a'n*. 118 *WbCs buun*. 122 *Wa n'ou*, *Cs n'ón*. 123 *DWb nu'th'èik*. 124 *Cs stunn*.

Æ- 138 *D faadhur féadhur*, *We faadhur*, *Wb féadhur*, *Wi féadhur* [old]. *Æ*: 161 *DWaWeWbWo d'èi*. 164 *Wa mee*. 172 *Wi gras*. — *D k'ært* [cart]. *Æ'*- 183 *Wa tit't*, *Cs t'èit't*. 190 *Wo kj'èi*. 193 *Wo th'ím*. 194 *Wo en'i*. 200 *WaWeWi w'it*, *WiCs w'it* [occ.]. 201 *Cs eadh'n*. *Æ'*: 209 *Wo n'iver*. 216 *Cs deél* [?: déél], *Wi d'j'èl*. 217 *Cs éit't*. 223 *D dh'ier*. 224 *D w'ier*. 227 *Wa w'et*.

E- 232 *Cs brek* [?: éi]. 233 *DWeWi sp'èik*, *We sp'èik* [first form occ. *We*]. 236 *Cs f'evv* [?: éi]. 241 *Wi r'èin*. 243 *We pl'èi*. — *We èt* [eat]. 251 *D mèit*. *E*: 260 *Wo l'e'i*. 261 *DWaWeWiWo s'èi*. 262 *DWaWi w'èi*, *WiWo gw'èi*. 265 *Wa stre'it*. 270 *Cs bal'i*. 278 *DWe w'ensh*. *E'*- 290 *D i. ii*. 293 *Wb wi*. 299 *DWe gr'ím*, *Wa gr'ím*. 300 *WaWb kiip*. *E'*: 306 *Cs áith*. 314 *DWe íerd*.

EA: 322 D ləf. 326 DWa ôud, Wi ôud, Cs ood. 328 D kôud, Cs kool.
 331 Cs sood. 333 Cs kaaif. 334 Wo êipeth [halfpenny worth], Cs aaf. 345
 Wi dâr [obs.], DEER [new]. 346 Wa gġêit, Wi gġêit [obs.], gġêit [new].
 EA': 347 DWē e'd, DWa jē'd. 348 Wo a''i. EA': 350 Wb dēd [coarse
 form /dɛ'd/], WoCs dġē'd [occ.]. 355 Wa dif un duəm [deaf and dumb], Cs diit.
 — WbWi krēm [cream]. 360 Wi tēm. 366 DWēWi grêit. 369 Wo slōu.
 EO- 387 Wi nœ'u. EO: 394 DWiWo jander. 402 D l'arn, We [between]
 lēen lœn. 404 Wo stâr. — DWa shôt [short]. EO'- 419 D jâ'avn
 [yourn = yours]. 420 Wa fôxer [approaching] fâ'xer. EO': 425 We la''it.
 435 Wa jâ'u. 437 WeWi trûth. EY- 438 D dâi, WeWo da''i.
 I- 442 Cs ïvi. 444 Wa stâ''il. 447 WiWo ar [=she, frequent]. I: 458
 We [between] na''t nâit, Wi nâit. 459 WaWo ra''it. 466 D tġa''ld. 469 Wo
 wġl. 487 DWa jisterdġ. I'- 492 Wo [between] sa''id, sâid. 494 DWi tġim
 [at D approaching (tâ''im)], Wi tġim. I': 502 WaWo ia''iv. 504 Wo na''i.
 O- 519 Wo ôaxer. 522 DWa ôap'n. O: — Wb kġuk [cook]. 527 D bôut,
 Wb ba't. 528 Wb tha't. 531 D daater dooter. 532 Wa kôul kôal, Wi
 kôul, Wb kôul kô'ul. 552 D kôrn [with a pursed rounding]. O'- — Wo
 ôv [name of letter O]. 555 D sha'u. WaWe shuu, Wi [old] sha'u. [new]
 shuu. 556 DWo tġu. 558 WoCs luuk. 559 DWo mædher, Wb mu dher.
 562 Wb mġan. 564 DWi sġm. O': 569 Wo bæ'uk, Cs buuk. 570 Cs
 tuuk. 582 D kûl. 586 DWbWi dġu. Wo dœ'u. 587 DWo dġu. 588 D
 nâun, WaWi nuun, Wi [old] nœ'un. 594 Wi biut [by a tew].
 U- 603 D kām kôm, Wi kām. 605 DWē sġn. 606 We dôv, Cs dûv.
 U: — Wo sha'zlderz. 615 Wo pá'and. 625 Cs taqg. 632 Cs u_p. U'-
 640 Wa kjâ'bz. Wo kjâ'ô [see 663]. 641 Wo âu. 643 DWo ná'ô [see
 663], We ná'ô, Wb nġau. 648 D âvern [ourn = ours, similarly /ðhœrn, iz'n
 a'rn/ theirn hissen hern]. 650 WaWiWo ubâ'at [see 663], Wb ubâ'at. U':
 654 D srâ'ôd. 658 Wo dâ'ôn. 659 Wa tâ'un tâ un. 663 DWaWo â'ôs
 [with elongated lip opening], Wi â'vz'n [houses, by many], Wo â'us. 667 Wa
 â'ut dġâ'ut [do-out = put out], â'at [see 663], Wb â'at, Wġ â'at.
 Y- 673 D muġtj. Y: 697 Cs berġ. 700 Cs was. 701 Cs fæst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 Wa mêit. E. 749 Wo lift. I. and Y. 756 DWb srimp.
 O. 766 Wi mæidherd, dœnt mæidher, i/z mæidherin imself. U. — Wb
 tġœ'un [old form], tġun [new, for tune]. 806 Wa fuġs.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 Wi ðab'l éib'l. 811 Wb pleez'n [places]. 822 Wb méi. — Wo
 pêi [pay]. 830 Wo trêin. — D tġeinz [chains]. — Wo mester master.
 841 D tġaa'ns. E.. 867 D tġei, We tġi. O.. — WbWo biġ. — D
 râ'and [round, see 663], Wa rêand [and approaching /rġeand/, see 663]. 940
 Wa kôat. U.. 969 Wo sha'xer. 970 Wa dġuġt.

VAR. iic. NORTH WORCESTERSHIRE cwl.

Near Black Country proper.

C Cradley (:kreedli), (3 e.Stourbridge), per TH. in 1880.

H Hagley (6 ene.Kidderminster), per TH. in 1880, and especially in 1882 from
 G. Noek, workman, b. 1815, and his wife, b. 1814, both natives. TH. notes
 "speech quite Mid., (u) common, verbal pl. in -en, (e) in rec. sp. /éi/, no
 reverted (r): medial and final r more strongly trilled than usual Midland r,"
 which to A.JE.'s ears is not really *trilled* at all.

St Stourbridge (:stærbrɪd), per TH., "no reverted (r), speech quite Mid."

S Selly Oak (9 e.Stourbridge), pal. by A.JE. from diet. of Miss Sadler, native,
 then student at Whitelands, who knew not (r).

So Selly Oak, wn. by TH., 1885.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 17 S laa. 20 S léem. 21 S néem. 22 S tġem. 23 S séem. 24 S
 shéem. 31 C léit. 36 S thaa, thaarin [cuphonic (r)]. A: 43 S a'nd.

54 S wənt. A: or O: 58 S frəm. 60 H lu_oq, S ləq. 61 S mənq. 62 S strəq. 64 So ru_oq. A': 67 C gōu, HS guu. 69 S noo [ʔ nōu]. 70 S too. 73 S soo [ʔ sōu]. 74 S tuu. 76 S tōud. 79 S ōon. 84 S mūr. 86 S ōorts. 87 S tlooz. 91 S mōu. 94 S krōu. A': 101 S ōouk. 102 S a'ks. 108 S dəf. 110 [negatives] C ka't [can't, said to be different 2 miles distant, but not stated in what direction], H ka'nt [can't]. 111 S aat. 115 C wā_om. 123 So nu_othūn. 125 S ōonī. 130 S boot. 131 S goot.

Æ- 138 CHS feodher, H faadher, S féodher. 140 S éil. 141 S náil. 142 S snáil. 152 S weotm wéuter. 153 S sēdardi. Æ: 155 S thatj. 161 CHS dēi. 166 S [little used, (gēl) not so common, (la's) somewhat used, (wenty) common]. — St glas' [glass]. Æ'- 183 S tectj. 185 S reed. 190 S kee. 192 S meen. 194 S enī. 197 H tjiiz, S tjeez. 199 S blect. 200 HS weet. Æ': 207 S need'l. 213 S iudher. 217 S etj. 223 HS dhier. 224 HS wūr.

E- 233 S speek. 234 S niid. 235 S weev. 236 S feever. 241 S réun. 243 S plēu. 251 HS meet. 252 S kīt'l. E: 261 HC sēi, S see. 262 S wái. E'- 294 S teed. 296 S bīceev. 299 S green, H grīm. E': 308 S need. 314 HS ierd. 315 S fot [same as singular].

EA: 324 S éet. 326 H ōud, S ood. 330 ood. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 346 S gēnt. EA'- 347 H je'd, S id. 349 S fiú. EA': 350 C djeð, S diid. 353 S bried. 354 S sheef. 355 S dāi. 356 S leef. 371 S straa.

EI- 373 C dhēi. EO- 386 S soo. 387 S mun. EO: 395 H ju_oq. 399 S bráit. EO'- 409 S bee. 411 C flūi, S thrce. 413 S dīv'l. 414 S flii [(flee)=flea]. EO: 435 S jūn. EY- 438 H dāi, S dā'i.

I- 440 S wik. 442 S ivi. 446 S náiem. 449 S git. 450 S tuuzdi. I: 452 S ái, So ai. 458 S náit. 459 S ráiet. 462 S sáiet. 465 S sítj. 466 S tjàild. 468 S tjidren. 472 S srīqk [always (sr-) for (shr-) initial]. I'- 494 H tām, S tām. I: 504 S náif. 506 C u_omen. — S ái [hay]. 513 C wáur. 515 S wáiz.

O- 521 S fōel. 522 S oop'n. O: 527 S bā'ut. 528 S thāut. 529 S brā'ut. 531 H daater, S daatur. 532 S kōul. 533 S du_ol. 536 S guuld. 550 S wod. O'- 558 S lu_ok. 559 H madher, S mu_odher. 562 S mó_on. 564 S su_on. O': 569 S hu_ok. 570 S tu_ok. 571 S gu_od. 572 S blu_od. 573 S flu_od. 574 S brūd. 579 So mu_of, S [enow not known]. 586 S duu. 587 H dū_on. 588 HC mun, S nūm. 589 S spūm. 595 S fot [see 315, where (fot) is the form used]. 597 S sat.

U- — C ū_od [wood]. 600 S lu_ov. 606 S dāur. 607 St bu_oter. U: 609 S fol. 610 S u_ol. 611 S bole_ok. 612 StSo su_om. 614 S u_ond. 615 S pu_ond. 618 S waund. 622 S u_onder. 625 S tu_oq. 626 S u_oqgar. 628 S nu_on. 629 S su_on. 631 S thāzdi. 632 HStS u_op. 633 HS ka_op. 635 S wath. 637 S tu_osk. 639 S du_ost. U'- 640 S ke'u. 641 S e'u. 642 S dhe'u [not used]. 643 So nāu. 644 S du_ov. 645 S ubu_ov. 648 S e'ur. 653 S hu_ot. U': 655 S fe'ul. 658 StH dāum, S de'am. 659 St tām, S te'am. 663 H áus áuz'n, S e'us. 666 C u_ozbund, S [old man' common]. 671 S me'uth. 672 S se'uth. Y: 700 S was. 701 S fast. Y': 711 S láis. 712 S máis.

II. ENGLISH.

I. Y. 753 S kīt'l. 756 S srīmp [see 472]. O. 761 S lōud. 772 S buunfāur. 773 S du_oqki. 778 S efūurd. U. 794 H dju_og. 795 S sru_og. 799 S sku_ol. 801 S rā_om. — C tūn [nearly, tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A: 810 S fēus. 811 S plēus. 813 S béuk'n. — C pēi [pay]. 824 S tjiur. 827 S ceger. 835 S rezz'n. 836 S sezz'n. 840 S tjaamber. 852 S apen. — S maav'lz [marbles]. 865 S faat. 866 S pōur. E.. 867 S tii. 869 S veel. 871 S egrī. 878 S saleri. 879 S feemeel. 887 S tlaadī. 888 S saatīn. 890 S beest [regular pl.]. 894 S dīseev. 895 S rīseev. I.. and Y.. 899 S nees. 904 S vā'let. O.. 913 S kōrtj. 915 S stu_of. 916 S áinren. 918 S fib'l feb'l. 920 S páint [=pint measure]. 924 S tjàis. 925 S váis. 926 S spād. 928 S u_ons. 930 S lāin. — StSo mu_oni [money]. 935 SoS ka_ontri. 942 S batper. 943 S tu_otj. 947 S bād. 948 S bāul. 953 S ka_oz'n. 955 S dāu. U.. 965 S áil. 970 S djest.

VAR. *iii*a. EAST WARWICKSHIRE *ewl*.

- A Atherstone (8 se.Tamworth), wn. in 1886 by TH. chiefly from J. Holland, hatter, about 40, native.
 Ag Allesley Gate (4 w.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH.
 B Bedworth (:be-deth), (5 me.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from W. Jaques, b. 1808, living in an almshouse.
 Br Brandon (5 ese.Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH.
 Bu Bulkington (6 ne.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from H. Smith, a platelayer, b. 1850, native, and his mother; also (marked †), two servants there, natives, who spoke rather refined; verbal pl. in *-en* nearly extinct, (a_ue du_u), used, no h.
 Co Coventry, a town refined speech, heard from Mrs. Cole, a tailor's widow, by TH., having a few dialectal forms, as (v-) before present participle, trilled (r) after *draw*, *law*, etc.
 N Nuneaton (9 me.Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH., chiefly from a native labourer of 18; (:nu_uni't'n) general local pron.
 P Polesworth (4 ese.Tamworth, St.), wn. by TH., 1879.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 Bu *teek*. — Bu† *wèk* [a wake, feast]. 8 AP *e'v*, P an *jo* [have, have-n you?]. 12 Co *saaf*. 14 Co *draaf*. 17 Co *laaf*. 20 Bu *léem*. 21 APN *neem*, B *n'ém*, ABu† *n'ém*. 22 Bu† *tém*. 23 B *séem*. — BBu *ómur* [hammer]. 33 P *rèdher*, Bu† *reedhur*. A: 39 Bu *kam*. 49 A *iqin*. 56 AN *wesh*. A: or O: 58 P *threm*. 60 BuN *lu q*. 64 APN *ru_oq*, Br *ròq*. A'- 67 N *gu*, Bu *goo*. 69 A *noo*, P *nòu*. 72 A *nu*. 84 Bu *múur*. 86 N *òts*, Br *òuts*. 87 A *klúz*. 92 AN *noo*. A': 104 N *rood*, B *ròud*. 110 N [negative] *it ènt* [it is not], A *shànt kànt wònt* [shan't can't won't], Bu *kaa'nt shaa'nt wònt dònt* [can't shan't won't don't], Co *ènt* [is not]. 115 PBu *óm*, AN *wòm*, B *wa'm*. 122 A *nò*, Bu *na'u*. 123 A *nú_othi_ok*. 124 N *stoon*, B *stúen*, A *stuum*.

Æ- 138 A *feedher*, P *granteedher* [grandfather], N *faadher* *feedher*, B *fúdhur*, Bu *faadher* [new], *teedher* [old], Br *feedher*. — Bu† *ladher* [ladder]. 152 N *wíuter*. Æ: 158 N *átenuum* [afternoon, generally] *atenuum* [rare], A *atenu'un*. 160 P *eg* 161 APNBu *dii*, N *dee*, BuBr *dèe* [new form]. 177 B *edhart'n* [in that way]. Æ'- 200 B *wíut*, Bu *wíit*. Æ': 208 P *íver*. 209 BP *nívar*. 211 Bu *gríi* [most speakers] *græ* [some speakers]. 216 Bu *dál*. 223 A *dhée*, N *dhír*, B *dhíer-íe* [there-here, with euphonic (r)]. 224 AN *wíe*.

E- 233 ANB *spük*. 241 A *riin*, Bu† *reen*. 243 NBu *plee*. — Bu *it'* [cat]. E: 260 Bu *líi*. 261 N *see*. NB *see*. 262 APN *wíi*, Bu *wíi* [old], *wéi wee* [new]. 263 Bu *ewee*. — P *fèld* [field]. 278 A *wentí*, B *wensh*. 285 Co *kris*. E'- 290 A *íi*, Bu *íi*. 292 Bu *míi*. 293 P *wéi n* [we have-n]. 297 Co *íelur*. 299 NBu *gríin*, A *grín*. 300 Bu† *kiip*. E': 314 A *íed* [occ.] *æed*, N *íurd*, Br *íurd*.

EA: 322 A *laf*, N *la'f*. Bu *laf' laaf*. 326 ANBu *óald*. EA'- 347 BrP *e'd*, ANB *je'd*, Bu *jed* [a few], *e'd* [most], Co *eed*. 348 AN *a'í*. EA': — NBu *kriim*, B *kr'e'm* [cream]. 360 N *tíim*. 361 Bu† *bíen*. 366 A *grét* [occ.] *grét*, N *græt*, Bu *gríit*. 368 AN *deth*. EI- 372 AB *aa*. EO: 394 PN *íander*, N *íander*. 395 ABu *ju_oq*. 402 P *lár'n*, N *læan læn*. EO'- 411 Bu *thrii*. — Bu *tríi* [tree]. 412 Bu *shí*. EO': 427 N *ju noo wat dhæ* *bii* [ye know what they be], Br *ái bí gu'ín* [I be going]. 428 Bu *sí síi*. 436 Bu *tró'u*. 437 NB *trúth*, ABu *tró'uth*. EY- 438 AB *da'í*, Bu *í mu_ost dáí* *tedíi* [he must die to-day (tedíi) old form].

I- 447 P *ar* [=she]. — Bu *íes* [yes]. I: 452 Bu *ái*. 458 A *núit nóit*, N *na'ít*, B *náit*. 459 N *ra'ít*. 462 N *sa'ít*. 465 ABu *sítí*. 469 P *wácl* [will]. — P *wínder* [window]. 477 B *táind*. I'- 494 NBu *ta'am*. I: 500 Bu *láik*. 507 B *wa_umen*. 509 Bu *wa'íl*.

O: 531 BBr *daater*. 532 Co *kòul*. 552 N *kaan*. — N *ó's'iz* [horses]. — Bu *naath* [north]. O'- 555 N *shuu*. 558 P *la'uk*, N *lúk*. 559 N *mu_udher*. 562 A *ma'un*. — N *mu_unth* [month], Ag *mu_uns* [months]. 561 P *sa'un*. 566 Co *mu_udher*. O': 569 Bu *báik*. 587 B *dú_un* [in (ái)n dú_un] probably (ái)n I have done, see notes, p. 471, col. 1, par. 3]. 594 A *ba'uts*.

U- 603 N kəm, B kə_om̄in. 605 ABN s̄ə n. 606 PN d̄uēr, B d̄uēr [except before vowel, then 'd̄uēr'], Bu d̄uēr [old], d̄oūr [new]. U: 612 N sa.m. 616 gr̄aund. 632 AP a_up. 633 BBr kə_up. U- 641 N āu. 643 N naa^l. ABu† n̄āu. 650 A [between] ub̄ā'ət ub̄ā'ət. 651 P wiðh̄āut. U': 658 N d̄aen, ABu† d̄āen. 659 N t̄aen, Bu t̄āen. 663 N āus āuz'n [horses], AB āus.
Y- 673 N m̄u_ot̄. 682 AB Bu lit'l.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — B bəŋk [bank]. 737 Bu m̄eīt [a fellow-workman on railway, (bu,ti) in collieries]. I. and Y. 758 ABBu ḡjel [used at Bu]. O. — N d̄og [dog]. 767 N na^liz. 789 N r̄āe. — Ćo dr̄aund̄ed. 791 Bu † b̄āi.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 P plez'n [places]. 824 A t̄r̄ier. 851 N aa^lnt. 862 A s̄if. E.. 867 BrBu t̄i. — Bu piip^l [people]. I.. and Y.. 901 PNB f̄a^lin. O.. — B [between] r̄ā'und r̄āund [round, with elongated lip opening]. 947 Bu† ba^lil. U.. 963 P k̄a'ā'iet. 965 Bu† a^lil. 970 B d̄ju_s.

VAR. iii_b. WEST WARWICKSHIRE CWL.

- C Curdworth (7 ne. Birmingham), wl. and dt. in io. by J. Montague Dormer, Esq., almost all the words in the old wl. besides those here cited were asserted to be rec. pron.
Bi Birmingham. The wl. sent by Samuel Timmins, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., indicated simply rec. pron., which he stated was "probably often modified by s.St. and e.Wo." It probably gave town pron. and hence is not here cited. Called (:br̄u_omidp̄m) at Leamington.
E Elmdon (7 ese. Birmingham), wl. in io. by F. J. Mylins, Esq., apparently son or brother of the Rector, who had then been 14 years there.
K Knowle (10 n.w. Warwick), wl. in io. by Rev. J. Howe, M.A., Vicar since 1855.
L Leamington, a very few wn. in 1880 by TH. from a mason, native, who observed with respect to the dialect, "we find it different all the while." The general sound of the speech was quite Mid.
W Warwick, wn. by TH. in 1880, but no reverted (r), and sound quite Midland. *I be* used.

I. WESSEX AND NORSÉ.

A- 3 E b̄eek. 4 E t̄eek. 5 E m̄eek, K m̄iek. 8 L EV. 10 C AA. 12 C SAAR. 14 C d̄raar. 17 C laar. 18 E k̄eek. 20 C léem, K k̄em. 21 CE néem, K n̄iem. 23 CE s̄éem, K s̄iem. 24 E sh̄éem. 25 CE m̄éem. 26 C w̄éem. 31 K liet. 33 K r̄iðd̄her. A: 39 K k̄éem. 43 K ɔnd. 44 K l̄nd. 50 K t̄e_oqz. 51 K m̄on. A: *or* O: 60 W [between] loq l̄_oq. 61 K em̄_oq. 62 K str̄_oq. 66 K th̄_oq. A'- 67 C guu, LW ḡu in. 69 C n̄óv. 76 K t̄únd. 81 C léen. 86 C w̄ats, K w̄óuts. 87 C klooz. 98 C nood. 99 C throd. 100 C sood. A': 104 C r̄órd, K r̄árd. 106 L braad. 107 E l̄órf. 108 C d̄af [occ.]. 113 C w̄al. 115 K w̄óem, L ɔm, i'z ḡa'n oom [he's gone home]. 118 C b̄óen. 124 CK st̄óen. 125 W ðnli. 134 C óeth. Æ- 138 E f̄eðd̄her, K f̄iðd̄her. 141 C n̄éel, K n̄iél. 142 C sn̄éel, K sn̄iél. 143 C t̄éel, K t̄iél. 144 C egeñ. 152 E waater. Æ: 155 C thak. Æ'- 183 K t̄eet̄. 190 E kee [ʔ éi]. 193 K kleen. 195 E m̄ani. 197 E t̄eez. 201 K eðd̄h'n. Æ': 218 C'W sh̄ip. 223 LW dh̄iur. 224 C w̄ier. E- 232 C briik. 236 C f̄eever. 251 EK meēt [ʔ éi]. E: 262 C w̄éi [ʔ]. 280 K leb'n. 284 E thresh. 287 K bizem. EA- 319 C géep. EA: 322 L l̄áf. 323 K fa^lut. 325 E waak. 326 E a^ldd. 333 C kaaf, CK kaaf. 346 C gr̄ét, K gr̄iét. EA'- 347 K jed. EA': 359 K nieber. 363 EK t̄iep. 368 E dieth, W d̄jeth. EI: 377 C stiik. 378 C week. 382 C dh̄iur. EO- 386 K joo. 387 C num. EO: 394 C jander. 399 C br̄ait. 402 C laan. 403 W f̄ar. EO'- 414 K fl̄o'i. EO': 423 K th̄o'i. 428 W si.

I- 440 E *wik*. 442 C *ivi*. 446 E *nó'in*. 447 L *ǽ'r* [=she]. 450 C *toozdi*. I: 452 C *ái* [*inclined to 'ai*), but not quite equal to it'). EK *ó'i* [no modifying statement], W *á'i*. 455 C *lee*. 458 C *nát*, E *nó'it*, W [between] *na''it ná't*. 462 E *só'it*. 465 C *sá't*. 466 C *tí'ld*. 467 C *wá'ld*. 477 CL *tá'nd*. I'- 496 C *á'ern*. I' [From E all I' words are written with *o*, which may be (*ó'i*, *ái*)]. 500 EK *l'ók*, L *lák*. 503 C *lái*, E *l'ó'i* [possibly the same sound]. 505 E *wó'it*. 506 E *u'men*. 509 L *wá'ld*. 510 W *má'i*. 514 E *ó'is*. O- 521 C *foold*. O: 526 K *ka'f*. O'- 556 C *tín*. 559 E *mu dhur*. 560 C *skú'l*, W *skuul*. 562 K *m'nen*. O': 587 L *dá'n*. 589 K *sp'uen*. 590 E *flúer*. U- 603 L *ku'min*, W *kam'in*. 606 K *dáur*. U: 618 C *wá'nd*. 622 W *u'nder*. 625 C *tóq*. 632 W *u'p*. 633 L *ku'p'*. 636 E *tá'rdur*. U'- 641 W *á'u*. 643 W *ná'u*. U': 658 W *dá'vn*. 663 W *á'us*. 667 L *ó'at*. Y- 676 E *l'ó'i*. 677 E *dró'i*. Y: 690 E *ko'and*. 691 E *mó'ind*. 700 C *was*. 701 E *fást*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 C *méet*, K *míet*. E. 744 E *meez'lz*. 749 C *lft*, W *left*. I and Y. 753 C *tíg'l*. 757 E *tíim*. 758 E *garl*. O. 761 EK *lóed*. 763 C *raam*. 772 C *barn'tá'ur*. U. — L *tu'ɔb* [tub].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 E *téés*. 811 W *pleezez*. 813 CEK *béek'n*. 817 C *red'ish*, K *rod'ish*. 824 *tí'ur*. 837 C *lís*. 852 K *apen*. E.. 887 E *klaad'i*. I.. and Y.. 904 C *vá'iet*. 911 C *sestern*. O.. 919 C *á'ntmunt*. 920 C *pá'nt*. 925 C *vá'is*. 926 C *spá'l*. 929 CE *kuukumbur*. 930 C *lám*. 933 L *fru'nt*. 947 C *bá'ld*. — W *krə'ʌn* [crown]. U.. 965 C *á'ld*.

VAR. iv. LEICESTER *ewl*.

- L Loughborough (*lu'ɔfɔrbɔ*) (10 n.w. Leicester), wn. by TH. 1878-9. Verbal pl. in *-en* recently extinct.
- Lr Leicester, wn. in 1884 by TH., see p. 464.
- S Syston (*:sóistən*) (5 n.e. Leicester), wl. written by Miss M. A. Adcock, native, teacher at Whitelands Training College, and read by her to A.J.E., who palaeotyped it. Even before a vowel *r* is very weakly trilled or buzzed (*ɹ*, [r, r̥]).
- B Birstall (*:bɛstəl*) (3 n.e. Leicester), Miss Allen, of St. Mark's Girls' School, a friend of the above Miss Adcock, who had known the dialect all her life, gave a few words in *io*.
- E Miss C. Ellis (no connection of the author), residing in Belgrave, (2 n.e. Leicester), and purposing to give the pron. at Leicester and 8 miles round, wrote me a numbered wl. For brevity, only the vowel of the word when it differs from S and B is assigned.
- G Glenfield (3 w.w. Leicester), wn. by TH., 1884, from Orme, the carrier, a trustworthy informant.
- C Cottesbach (*:kɔtɛsbatɔ*) (14 s.w. Leicester), a wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rector, native. Only such words as differ from the above four are given, and then generally only the vowel is written in.
- M Market Harbro' (14 s.e. Leicester), wn. in 1882 by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 S *bakju's* [bakehouse]. 4 SE *tek*. 5 LSE *mek*. 6 S *méed*. 8 L *ee*, G E, S EV. 9 S *bi'eev*. 10 S AA. 12 SE *saa+r*. 13 E BAA. 14 SE *draabr*. 15 S AA. 17 SE *laa* [+r before a vowel]. SE *k'cik*. 19 LS *teel*. 20 SE *leem*. 21 LG *nœm*, LrM *nê'm*. 22 SE *teem*. 23 S *seem*. 24 S *shœm*. 25 S *mœn*, E *ii*. 26 S *wœn*. 27 S *nœv*. 28 S *ee'r* [slightly trilled]. 31 S *leet*. 32 S *beedh*. 33 S *reedher*, E E, C *ɛ*, *ɔ*. 34 SE *last*. 36 S *thaa*.

A: 39 S *kə*.md. 40 S *kəm*. 41 S *thaaqk*. 43 L *and*, E *ə*. 44 S *land*, E *ə*. 46 S *kand'l*. 48 S *səq*.ed. 50 S *təqz*, E *ɛ*. — L *kjan* [can]. 51 L *màn*, S *man*. 54 LE *want*, S *waant*. 56 LSE *wəsh*. 57 SE *as*.

A: *or* O: [C (q), never qg:]. 58 M *irəm*. 59 S *lam*. 60 LGLr *lu*.q, S *lɔq*, Lr *loq*. 61 SE *əm*.q. 62 S *strəq*, E *u*. 64 LLr *roq*, MS *rəq*. 65 S *soq*, Lr *soq*.

A' - 67 L *gu*.in, N *gou*.in, SEG *guu*, Lr *gù*, C [goes, becomes occ. (*graz*)]. 69 SL *noo*, M *nôu*. 70 SE *too*. 71 S *woo*. 72 SE *tu* [or very like (*ty*)]. 73 LSE *soo*, E *v*. 74 SEG *tū*, G *tə'u*, M *tuu*. 75 SE *strook*. 76 SC *tōovd*. 77 SE *lɔd*. 78 SE *oo*. 79 SE *oon*. 80 S *shudii*. 81 SG *leen*. 83 S *moon*. 84 S *múr* ner *jəu* [more than you]. G *múr*, E *moor*. 85 S *soor*. 86 S *oots*. 87 SE *thooz*. 89 S *booth*. 90 SE *bloo*. 91 S *moo*. 92 L *nə'u*, LE *noo*. 93 SE *-noo*. 94 S *kroo*. 95 S [(*al*), hurl, used]. 96 S *soo*. 97 SE *sool*. 98 S *nood*. 99 S [see 95]. 100 S *sood*.

A': 101 SE *ook*. 102 SE *aks*. 104 S *rood*, C *rōovd* *rúovd*, MLr *rôod*. 106 S *brood*. 107 S *lɔt*, E *oo*. 108 SE *doo*. 109 SE *loo*. 110 S *not*. 111 S *aat*. 113 SE *əl* [gen.] *wel*, [occ.], G *ool*. 115 L *ə'm* *oom* *òm*, SG *òm*, E *ə'*, *ɛ*, Lr *òam*, M *òam*. 117 LE *wə'n*. 118 S *booon*. 121 S *gən*. 122 S *nə'n*, E *nən*, M *nôu*, *na'n*. 123 LG *nə*.*thiəqk*, S *noot* [nought], E *nothiəqk*. 124 S *stə*.n. 125 S *ooni*. 126 S *oor*. 127 S *óovs*, E *óost*. 128 S [(*dhəm*), used]. 129 SE *goost*. 130 E *boot*, Lr *bóat*. 131 E *goot*. 133 S *róited* [used], E *root*. 134 SE *ooth*. 135 SE *kləth*.

LE- 138 LSG *faedher*, E *a'*, M *faadhə*. 139 SE *drii*. 140 LS *il*. 141 SELr *niil*. 142 SE *sniil*. 143 LSE *tiil*. 144 SE *ugen*, C *egrin* [adv.] *ugen* [prep.]. 146 E *miin*. 147 S *brim*. 148 S *feer*. 149 S *bléciz*. 150 S *leest*. 152 SE *weter*, Lr *wete*. 153 LS *seterde*, L *setde*.

LE: 155 SBE *thak*. 158 S *aatur*, E *after*. 160 SE *eg*. 161 LSE *dii*, G *dii* [old], Lr *de'i*, M *dèi*. 163 SE *liid*. 164 SGE *me*. [emphatic] *mii*, Lr *mee*. 165 S *-szid*, E *sed*. 166 S *mæed*. 168 SE *talə*. 169 SE *wen*. 170 S *əv*.st. E *a*, *i*. 171 SE *bæ*.*rli*. 172 SG *grəs*, E *a*. 173 SE *wəz*, SB *waa'v*. 174 S *aash*. 175 SE *fast*. 178 S *nat*. 179 S *wor* [but *d* assimilated]. 180 E *báth*. 181 S *pad*, E *á*.

LE- 182 S *šéi*, E *šii*. 183 LE *tútr*, S *tóotr*. 184 S *léid*. 185 S *réid*, E *nid*, Lr *ríd*. 187 S *kéiv*. 188 S *nii*. 189 S *wii*. 190 S *kéi*. 191 S *éid*, E *il*. 192 S *mécin*. 193 S *técin*, EM *tliin*. 194 S *oni*, E *e*, C *a*. 195 S *mən*. BC *man*. E *e*. 197 L *tr*.*ʔz*, S *tr*.*ʔiz*, E *ii*. 199 S *blécit*. 200 LSEGM *wiit*, G *wiut* [old]. 201 S *óidh'n*. 202 SE *it*.

LE: 203 S *spéich*. 204 S *déid*. 205 S *thrid*. 206 SE *red*. 207 E *niid'l*. 208 G *ive*. 209 G *nəv*. 210 SE *tlii*. 211 S *grii*, E *ee*. 212 S *wii*, E *wə*. 213 SC *odher*, E *ii*. 215 S *tectit*. 216 S *déid*, E *diil*. 217 S *léit*. 218 S *-shéip*, E *shép*. 219 S *shéip*. 221 E *fiir*. 223 S *dhúe*, M *dhéu*, E *dheer*. 224 LSLr *wie*, M *wéu*. 225 SE *hesh*. 226 E *moost*. 227 SE *wet*. 228 S *swéit*, E *e*. 229 S *brəth*, E *e*. 230 S *fat*.

E- 231 L *dhu* [rarely by assimilation (*t*)]. 232 S *breck*. 233 LGMLr *spiik*, S *speck*. 234 S *need*. 235 S *weev*. 236 S *feever*, E *ii*. 237 S *bliin*. 238 E *edj*. 239 S *sch*. 240 E *liin*. 241 SEG *rün*, Lr *rēn*. 243 LSE *plii*, Lr *plé'i*. 246 SE *kécéin*. 247 SE *wéen*. 248 S *meer*. 249 SE *weer*. 250 SE *sweer*. 251 SE *meet*. 252 SE *ket'l*. 253 SE *net'l*. 254 SE *ledher*. 255 S *wedher*.

E: 257 S *edj*. 259 S *wedj*. 260 SEG *lii*. 261 LM *sèi*, L *see*, S *séi*. 262 L *wéi* *wé'i* *wii*, SE *wii*, Lr *wéi*, M *wéi*. 263 M *bwe'i*. 264 S *il*, E *cel*. 265 LLr *stré'it*, S *stré'it*. 267 S *soold*. — L *féld* [field] *féld*, G *fédz* *fáiz*. 268 S *oldst* [used], E *held* st. 270 S *belus*, SE *beli*. 272 SE *elm*. 273 SE *men*. 276 SE *thəqk*. 277 S *sook* [used]. 278 LSE *wəsh*. 280 S *lev'n*. 281 S *leqkth*, E *lenth*. 282 S *streqkth*, E *strenth*. 283 SE *meri*. 284 SE *thresh*, B *thrish*. 285 S *kres*. 286 S *arb*. 287 S *bəz'm*, E *e*, C *ii*. 288 E *let*.

E- 290 L *é'i*, S *éi*, E *ii*. 291 S *dhéi*, E *dhii*. 292 L *méi* *me'i*, S *méi*, E *mee*. 293 S *wéi*, E *wee*. 294 L *féid*, SE *féid*. 296 S *biléciv*. 297 L *felé* [tiap not so common]. 298 SE *féid*. 299 L *gréin*, SE *gréin*, G *gréin* *griin* *grün*, M *grün*. 300 S *kéip*, E *keep*, G *kjéip*, M *kiip*. 301 S *úr*. 302 S *mécit*.

E: 305 S *óí*. 306 E *a'it*. 307 SE *nóí*. 308 L *ne'id*, S *nécid*. 309 S

spéid. 310 S évil. 311 E ten. 312 S îer, G îe. 314 LGLr îed, M æd
æd. 315 S féit. 316 E nekst.

EA- 317 S [(te skîn) used]. 319 S geep. 320 SE keer.

EA: 321 S [(SEED) used]. 322 LGM lâf, B laaf. 323 SE [(fît) used].
324 LG e'f't, S âit, E iit. 325 S waak, E aa. 326 LG æ'ud, S ood, E oold,
M ould. 327 SE boold. 328 L kæ'ud, LrSE koold. 329 SE foold. 330 S
ood, [sb] tak ood on't [take hold of it], C oot [noun]. 331 SE soold. 332 L
tæ'ud. 333 SB KAAF [both spelled it *corf*, shewing that they did not feel the *r*].
334 S eef. 335 S æl on em [all of them]. 336 SE faal. 337 SE waal. 338
L kaal. 340 SE head. 342 S eerm, E aa'. 343 S waam, E aa', æe. 345
L deefr, S dæ'snt [dare not]. 346 L gjeet, S geejet.

EA'- 347 LSEG e'd, M èd. 348 SE ói, E ái. 349 S fûu, [fine, E (fîu)].

EA': 350 SEG de'd. 351 SE led. 352 LSG fêd. 353 SE bred. 354
S sheef. 355 L def, S deev. 356 S leef, E ii. 357 S [(fer æl dhat for all that,
used), E dhoo. 359 SE niibur, B neeber. 360 S teem, E ii, C iie, G tiem
[old], tiim [new]. 361 S becn. 362 S shii. 363 S tjeep, E e. — G îer
[year]. 365 S neer, E ii. 366 L gret, SE gret, M grét. 367 SE thrit.
368 SE deth. 369 SE sloo. 370 S faa'er, E faa. 371 S straa'er, E straa.

EI- 372 S [unused]. 374 S nee. 375 S riiz. 376 S bëit.

EI: 377 C stiink. 378 S week. 380 S dhem. 382 S dher, E ii.

EO- 383 E sev'n. 384 S ev'n. 385 S beneath. 386 E joo. 387 S niu
[modern], nuu [gen.], E nuu.

EO: 388 SE mîk. 389 S jook. 390 SE shu'd. 393 S bæjnd. 394 L
jander. 396 SE wak. 397 S sooverd, C swærd. 398 SE stæery. 399 L
bræit, S brôit. 400 S arnest. 402 LE læn, S laarn, GM læn. 403 SE far.
404 SE steers [also for *stæirs*]. 405 S aarth, E ee. 406 SE arth. 407 S
fadr [used]. E fardh'n. 408 E niu.

EO'- 409 S b'eei, E bee. 411 S thræi, E three, G thrèi. 412 L [between]
she'i shéi, S shéi, E ee. 413 S divil devul, E devil. 414 S thái. — L we'id
[weed]. 415 S lói. 416 SE dier. 417 SE tjû. 418 S briu. 420 S fôov.
421 S fôouti.

EO': 423 SE thói. 424 SEC ru.f. 425 L lâit, SE lôit. 426 LG fe'it,
S fect [no (i) after (ee)], G fâit. 427 L be'i, S b'eei, G bëi. 428 S s'eei,
E see, G s'ei. 430 E frend. 431 SE bier. 433 SE brest, Lr bresizs [breasts].
434 LrS beet. 435 SE joo. 436 L trû, SE trû. 437 L træ'uth, SE triuth.

EY- 438 GLS dâi, E dâ'i. EY: 439 SE tru'st.

I- 440 S wek [used for a feast, *wake*]. 441 S s'iv. 442 S divi, B ôivi.
443 E trôidi. 444 SE stôil. 446 SE nôin. 448 S dhæz, E ii. 449 S gar
[certainly before vowels, ? before consonants, E gît] 450 SBE tuuzdee.

I: 452 SE ói. 454 S witj. 455 S ló daan [written *auru*]. — S bæd
[bird]. — Lr thæd [third]. 457 S móit. 458 LM nât, SE nôit, G nâit.
459 LM rait ra'it [almost impossible to decide between them], SB róit. 460
L we'it, S wéit, E wiit. 461 S elóit. 462 SE sóit. 464 E wæp. 465 SEG
sitj. 466 L tjoild. SE tjóild. 467 S wóid. 468 SE tjilden [commonly
called (kälz)]. 471 S timber. 472 S shriqk, E sriqk. 473 S blónd. 474
S pâl [used]. 475 S wínd, E a'i. 476 S bóind. 477 L faun', SE róind. 478
S gróind. 479 S wóind. 481 SE figger. 484 E dhis. 485 LB thís'l. 486
S baam [harm, used]. 487 SE jistardii. 488 SE jít. — Lr [betw.] dat,
dot [dirt].

I'- [(ói) was the nearest approach I could make to Miss Adcock's diphthong,
which she identified with my (ó'i). Miss Ellis writes (A'i), but I use (ói) for both.
TH once heard (ó'i) Lr]. 490 SE bói. 491 SE sói. 492 L sâid. 493 S
dóiv. 494 LM tîim, SBE tóim. 496 SE ôien. 498 SE róit.

I: 500 SBE lóik. 501 SE wóid. 502 SBE fôiv. 503 SBE lóif. 504
SE nóif. 505 SE wóit. 506 S wa:men, E wamen. 507 SE wamèn. — L
ii [hay]. 508 G mâid, SE móil. 509 SE wóil. 511 L wâin, SB wóin. 512
SE spôier. 513 S wóier. 514 S óis. 515 S wóis. — G wâit [white].
517 L jû, E jû.

O- 519 G ove. 521 SE fool. 522 S ap'n, Lr op'n. 523 S ap, ói ap je
mi gar at [I hope you may get it, (r) for t, as frequently]. 524 S wald.

O: — M sru'ob [shrub]. — L kâk' [cook]. — L [between] fagi togi [foggy].

526 SE káf, C káf, Lr kof'. 527 SE baat. 528 S thiçkt [used], E thaat. 529 S briçqd [used], E braat. 531 S daater, MEG daater. 532 SE kool. 533 SE duçl. 534 S ool [pitch rises at end], E ool. 536 SE goold [not (used)]. 538 SE wuçd. 539 SE bool. 540 S ol. 542 SE boolt. — G krap' [crop]. 547 SE bóourd. 549 S óovd. 550 S wad, EC ar. 551 S stórbm, E staam. 552 LE kaan, S kóren. 553 S óren, E aan. 554 SE kras, C aa.

O'- 555 L sho'e'u, SE sh'u, M shum. 556 SE t'u, S [omitted before the name of a place, *I'm going church*]. 557 SE tiu. 558 L l'uk l'w'uk, SE luuk l'uk. 559 L madher, S mædher, E maçdher, GM madhb. 560 L sk'ul, M skuul. 561 S blósem [used]. 562 LG maç'm, SBE m'um, Enderby m'um. 563 SBE maçdi. 564 LSE s'um. 565 SE noz, E nooz. 566 LSEG uçdher. 568 GLr braçdher.

O': 569 LSE búk, E buuk. 570 SE tuuk t'uk. 571 SE guçd, E gad? 572 SE bluçd. 573 SE fluçd. 574 S br'nt. 575 SE stuçd. 576 S wençdi. 577 S bæ'u, E bæ'u. 578 S plæn, E æ'u. 579 LSE maçt, S en'u. 580 SE tuçf. 581 S seçtj, E saat, l'ukt. 582 SE k'ul. 583 S t'ul. 584 SE st'ul. 585 S br'um. 586 L d'æ'u d'æ'u, SE d'æ. 587 SE duçn, GM d'æn. 588 L n'æ'm n'um n'æ'um, S n'um. 589 SE sp'um. 590 S iloovr. 591 C múr. 593 S maçn [used], E maçst. 594 SE búut. 595 SE f'ut, C fat. 596 SE r'ut. 597 SE saçt.

U- 599 SE æbaçv. 600 SBE l'æv. 601 S f'ul, E e'u. 602 ES se'u. 603 LM kam kaçm. 605 SE suçn, LGM s'æn, Lr sun. 606 LGM d'ov, S daa'v, E d'ov. 607 S baçtur, G baçtukap.

U: 608 SE uçgli. 609 S f'æl, EC fæl. 610 SE wuçl. 611 S buçlek, EC ar. 612 LSE suçm. 613 SE draçqk. 614 S æ'um. 615 S pæund, E e'u. 616 L græ'und, E græ'und. 617 E se'und. 618 S wuçnd, E e'u. 619 S f'uçnd, E e'u. 620 S græundæd. 621 S wuçn. 622 SEG uçnder. 625 SE tæq. 626 L uçqgr, SE uçqgr. 627 G suçndi. 628 S nuçn. 629 SEG suçn, Lr sun [no difference between *son*, *sun*]. 630 S wuçn. 631 S thæzdì, E ar. 632 SEGLr uçp. 633 SEMLr kaçp, Lr kop. 634 L thræ'u, S thriu. 635 SE wath. 636 SE fææde. 637 S tuçsk. 638 S buçsk. 639 SE duçst.

U'- 640 S kæ'u, E ke'u, C iáu. 641 S æ'u, E e'u, C iáu. 642 S dhæ'u, C iáu. 643 S næ'u, E ne'u, G náu, C iáu. 645 S duçv. 646 [S (kriuk) used], E bæ'u. 647 S æ'ul, E e'u. 648 L àr, S aarn [ours], C wer [unemphatic]. 652 SE kæçd [used thus, 'I used to couldn't']. 653 SE buçt.

U': [Miss Adcock said (æ'u) throughout, Miss Ellis gives the numbers for (e'u) throughout, but very possibly she meant (æu), which was accidentally omitted from the numbered lists, and it is most likely that the actual sounds used by both ladies were identical. In her dt., E gives *naðð*, 'a in *pat*, ðð' which should be (æ'u), but may be (æu). The actual diphthong meant is therefore uncertain: see 663 L. The C wl. gives the triphthong (iáu, jáu, jæu); see D 26, p. 426, l. 9.] 654 E sræ'ud. 655 E fæ'ud. 656 S r'um. 657 S bræ'm E e'u. 658 LGMLr dæm [(jæu) not used at L], C iáu, S dæ'm [see 659], E de'm. 659 LM tæm, S tæ'm [with raised voice at end], E e'm, C iáu. 661 S [rarely used, generally a (pæ'ur), meaning a pouring down of rain], E sha'ar. 662 SE uçz. 663 L âus, [between] âas, âus; âas, S æ'us æ'uz'n, E e'us, G âus âuz'n, M âus. 665 E me'us, C miâus. 666 SE uçzben, man, Lr uçzben. 667 S æ'ut, E e'ut, MLr âut. 668 S præ'ud, E e'u. 670 S búdh. 671 S mæ'uth, E e'u. 672 S sæ'uth, E e'u.

Y- 673 S maçtj. 674 S ded, E ð. 676 SBE lóí. 677 SE dróí. 678 S dæn. 679 L tçatj, Lr [betw.] tçatj, tçotj, SE tçartj. 680 SE bizi. 682 SE h'itl.

Y: 684 S brig. 685 S radj [common], rig, G ridjæz. 686 S bóí [a slight difference from 490], E bóí. 687 S flóit. 688 C sitj setj sætj. 689 SE b'ld. 690 SE kóind. 691 SE móind. 693 SE sîn. 694 L wæk, Lr wok. 695 S ærk. 696 E barth [ʔ æ]. 697 E berì. 699 S róit. 700 LSE was, Lr [between] wæs, wos. 701 CSE fæst. — L shuçt. 703 SE p'it.

Y'- 705 SE skóí. 706 SE wóí. 707 SE thærtæm, G thærtæm. 708 SE óiv. Y': 709 SE fóiv. 711 S lóis [usually (dks)]. 712 S móis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 E bad. 714 E la'd. 716 E ad'l. 717 S djéid. 718 S triid.

722 S driin. 723 E düuri. 725 S *séil*, Lr *sèil* [country] *seel* [with depressed intonation]. 729 E friim. 733 S *ói wór amos skéeerd tú deth* [I was almost scared to death]. 734 S daen, E ee. 737 S meet. — G *tect* [potato]. 740 S *wéiv*. 742 S *lizí*.

E. 743 E skriim. 744 S *meez'lz*, E e. 745 S *tjéit*. 746 S *breeidh*, E ii. 747 S *indiver*. 748 S *iligd*. 749 L *left*. 750 E *beg*.

I. and Y. 753 S *tat'l* [more usual], E *tk'l*. 754 E *píg*. 756 LSEM *srámp*. 757 S *tíni*. 758 SE *grel*. 759 E *fit*.

O. 761 SE *lood*, C *oon*. — L *dog*, Lr *dog dóg* [dog]. — L *tlogz* [clogs]. 767 S *nóiz*, EC *ái*. 768 S *kóek*. 771 SE *fínd*. 773 S *drúqkí*, E a. 774 E *pooní*. 775 S *bíubi*, E uu. 777 SE *shóp*. 779 E *orts*. 781 S *bodhar*. 782 SE *pu_odhe mu_ck* [¿ a powder of muck, very dusty]. 783 S *póultri*. 784 S *ba'uns*, *be'uns*. 789 E *re'u*. 790 S *ga'um*. 791 GLR *bóí*.

U. 792 S *skwob'l*. 793 SE *u_cg*. 794 LrM *du_ug*. 795 S *su_ug*. 796 L *blu'u*. 799 SE *skú_ol*. 801 SE *ru_om*. 803 SELr *du_ump*. — GLR *gu_un* [gun]. 804 LS *drúqk'n* [S 'very broad']. 805 SE *kárdz*, *kádz*. 806 SE *fu_os*. 807 SE *pu_os*. 808 LS *pu_ot* [S fine, E (pat)].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E *léib'l*. 810 SE *fééis* [rising pitch], [country about Lr] *fees*. 811 SE *plééis* [rising pitch], M *pléis'*, E [pl. *pléez'n*]. 812 S *lééis*. 813 L *beck'n*, S *béek'n*, E ii. 814 SE *mocs'n* [usually (bri_k-li_{er})]. 816 S *féid*. 817 SE *redsh*. 818 E *hóedí* [outen]. 819 SE *réidí*. 821 S *dilii*. 822 SE *mii*. — LG *pú* [pay]. 824 SE *tjüer*. 827 S *ogur*. 828 SE *ogv*. 830 L *trém*, SE *triin*. 832 S *müer*, E ee. 833 S *péeer*. 835 S *réziz'n*, E ii. 836 S *séiz'n*, E ii. 838 S *tréit*, E ii. 839 S *béil*. 840 S *tp'óimber*, E a. 841 S *tjæns*, E E? 842 S *plaqk*. 845 S *eenshen*, E h-. 846 C *tjaandler*. 847 E *dænder*. 848 SE *tjændí*. 849 SE *streendrer*. 850 S *dæns*, E aa. 851 SE *aant*, E e. 852 SE *epun*. 853 S *baargin*, E ar. 854 SE *barul*. 855 SE *karuts*. 856 S *pa'rt*, E a. 857 S *kéis*. 858 S *brcéis*. 859 E *tp'os*. 860 SE *péist*. 861 S *téist*. 863 S *tjæf*. 864 SE *bekoz*. 865 S *faat*. 866 L *pü*.

E.. 867 S *teci*, E tii. 868 E *djii*. 869 S *véil* [but veil and veil (veel)]. 870 S *büti* *buuti*. 871 S *egréi*. 872 S *tp'áif*, E ii. 874 S *riin*. 875 S *fiint*. 877 S *éeer*, E h-. 878 SE *salari*. 879 [S never used by dialect-speakers, only (wentí)], E *teemel*. 880 S *egzæempl*. 881 SE *sens*. 882 S *panzi*. 884 S *uprentis*. 887 S *tlaardí*. 888 S *saartin*, E æ. 890 S *best* *bests*, E ii. 891 E *fiist*. 892 S *nefe* *neve*, E *nevi*. 893 S *fle'ur*. 894 S *dis'éiv*. 895 S *ris'éiv*.

I.. and Y.. 897 SE *delóit*. 898 SE *nóis*. 899 S *néis*, E ii. 900 S *pree*. 901 SE *fóin*, Lr *tóin*. 902 S *móin*. 903 S [uses only (te ev jer dîner) to have your dinner], E *dón*. 904 SE *vólet*. 908 SE *bdvóis*. 909 S *brcéiz*. 910 E *dje'ist*. 911 SE *sestern*. 912 SE *róis*.

O.. 913 SE *kootí*. 914 E *brooty*. — L *be'if* [¿ (béif) beef]. 915 S *stu_of*. 916 S *u_onpun*, E a. 917 SE *roog*. 918 S *feeb'l*. 919 E *a'intment*. 920 E *pa'nt*. 921 E *ekónt*. 922 S *ba's'l*, E *ba's'l*. 923 EC *ma'ist*. 924 EC *tja'is*. 925 S *vóis*, E a'i. 926 SG *spóil*, EC a'i. 927 S *tra_uqk*. 928 SE *næuns*, E *e'uns*. 929 S *ka'uku_uumber*, E *ke'u-*. 930 SE *lón*. 931 S *du_ugler*. 932 C *emiávent*. 933 SE *frúnt*. 934 S *ba'untí*. 935 SE *ku_ontri*. 937 E *kók*. 938 S *kaarner*. 939 *flæs bí*, SE *flæs*, S [close the door ('pa'rdhu dóer tú) put the door to]. 940 SE *koot*. 941 SE *túl*. 942 S *ba'tjer*, E *batjer*. 943 SE *tu'tj*. 947 S *ból*, E a'i. 948 S *ba'ól* [this is also used for a hoop, to trundle a hoop, is to (ba'ól v ba'ól)]. — GM *ku_ule* [colour]. 950 E *su_upar*. 951 E *ku_up'l*. — L *kréáun* [crown]. — Lr *næs* [nurse]. 952 S *kuz'n*. 954 E *kash'n*. 955 E *de'ut*. 956 S *kíver it u_op* [cover it up, as frequent as (ku_uver)]. 957 E *empla'i*.

U.. 961 SE *gráuuil*. — L *wéitín* [waiting]. 963 SE *ku_oóut*. 964 S *súnt* *súnt*. 965 S *ól*, EC a'il. 966 SE *irút*. 967 S *súnt*, E *súnt*. 968 S *óister*, E a'i. 969 L *shó'un*, SE *shíuur* [never used alone, but always after (saatin)]. 970 S *djíst* *ná'u* [but] v *du_ust* *man*, E *u_o*. 971 SE *flút*.

V.

NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 30, 31 and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18), and on the n. by the L. line 10 (p. 21); and on e. and w. by the sea.

Area. The entire North and East Ridings with some of the West Riding of Yo.; n.La., most of Cu. and Nb., all We. and Du.

Districts. Only three districts have been formed, with rather numerous varieties, which, however, do not show any very important differences.

Characters. In the greater part of the division U' is represented by (uu), which in n.La. and Craven becomes (óu, áu). But through Cu. and We. at least if not in Du. and Nb., U' becomes (ú₁u) leading on to (óu). In the whole s. part, up to the n. *tee* line 7, p. 20, the def. art. is simple suspended (t'), but beyond that line (dhe). *I is* or (a)z is the regular form in the s. part and even in the n. part is more frequent than *I am* (a)m, which however is there heard. The verbal pl. in *-en* is quite unknown. The pron. in Cu. and We. seems to retain more of its original form than on the e. coast, although the use of English in those counties is certainly more recent than on the e. This is partly due no doubt to the mountainous formation of the w. regions.

Phonetically (ú₁u), which forms the transition from (uu) to (a'u), is most important, and is highly developed on the w. and in the n. It consists essentially in beginning the (uu) with a sound much more closely resembling (oo) than (uu), and gradually sinking to (uu), which is sustained. Thus JGG. observes that *soap* in Cu. and We. sounds to a southerner almost like *soap*. Of course this is an exaggeration. The native hears (suup), and hence writes *soap*, the fact being that he associates the conception of oo with (ú₁u) and not (uu). But (ú₁u, ú₁i) are strictly analogous, and are the means, or one of the means, by which (uu, ii) become (a'u, a'i), see p. 293. Although my information on the e. side gives me (uu, ii), it is very possible that (ú₁u, ú₁i) are said in many places. In the M. div. (ú₁i) occurs freely, especially in the milder form (ú₁i), but (ú₁u) only occurs in the milder form (ú₁u), and that unfrequently. The variation of the (uu) sound we find there is chiefly (æ'u), arising from beginning the sound of (uu) with the mouth open, producing (æ), which resembles (ə). In reality however the sound may be and is generally produced with the lips considerably closed through an effort of will (see p. 292). But in (ú₁u) the sound of (uu) begins, as has been said, with a sound closely approaching (oo). There is therefore an essential difference

of origin between ($\text{æ}'u$, ú_1u), though both are varieties of (uu). The first ($\text{æ}'u$) arises from O' , which is quite differently treated in the N. div. The second (ú_1u) arises directly from $\text{Ú}'$. It is quite true that ($\text{æ}'u$) extends to a few words which do not contain O' , and that in all cases O' must have sunk to (uu) before the change ($\text{æ}'u$) occurred. It is also true that ($\text{æ}'u$) as well as (ú_1u) generates ($\text{á}'u$), but that is by direct confusion of (æ) with (ǽ , ǣ); whereas (ú_1u) passes through ($\text{ó}u$). The treatment of O' in the N. div. is not at all ($\text{æ}'u$), but rather (iu , iv), which may have had a different origin.

The letter r occasions considerable difficulty. On the e. as far as the two Shields Nb. and Du. it practically disappears when not preceding a vowel. Even on the w. its power is very small. The difficulty of ascertaining the fact is very great, because the speaker, feeling the effect of the written r in modifying the preceding vowel, insists on its presence. In the same way in London people will assert that they pronounce r in *part*, *sort*, which they call (*paat*, *saat*), because had there been no r written, they would have said (*pæt*, *sæt*). (See pp. 189, 234 and 247.) But they will admit that they do not "rattle the r " as in Scotland. In the n. part of Nb. and adjacent to Scotland, the peculiar uvular (r) prevails, and it will be specially discussed hereafter; but it seems to be rather a defective utterance than a distinctive dialectal pronunciation.

The guttural (kh), which was sporadically heard even in the M. div., has practically vanished from the N., though on passing the L. line 10, (kh) as well as (r) is strong.

The fact that a small portion of n.Cu. and n.Nb. belongs to the L. division must be particularly noted. The whole of the n. part of the N. div. was for long renowned for its "Border" warfare, but this portion has now quietly settled into possession of L. speech, and mostly L. people, although politically a part of England.

D 30 = EN. = East Northern.

Boundary. Beginning at Middlesborough, Yo., at the mouth of the Tees, proceed along the border of Yo. and Du. as far as Croft (14 sw. Middlesborough). Then go sw. from Croft to Middleham (8 s-by-w. Richmond), passing e. of Richmond and Leyburn. Turn s. and enter the West Riding just e. of Middlesmoor (13 w-by-n. Ripon), when turn slightly se. and go direct to Burley (7 n. Bradford), about where strike the s. *hoose line* 6 (p. 19). Follow this line, passing along the Wharfe by Otley, to about Arthington (17 s-by-w. Ripon), when quit the Wharfe, but pursue the s. *hoose line* to the s. of Tadcaster (9 sw. York), w. of Selby and Snaith, (passing 8 w. Goole) across Hatfield Chase, se. to the n. part of Nt., and then by the b. of Li. to the Humber, at the mouth of the Trent, and crossing the Ouse opposite Blacktott (6 e. Goole), go by the Humber and coast round to the Tees mouth and Middlesborough again.

It must be understood that this line from Croft to Burley, separating EN. = D 30 from WN. = D 31, is merely approximative. The upper part of Swaledale, Wensleydale, and Nidderdale belong certainly to D 31, which, as we shall see, differs distinctly in character from D 30, but whether the boundary lies slightly e. or w. of that assigned has not been ascertained. Probably no definite line could be drawn. The one proposed is very nearly the w. b. of the great plain of

Yo., and while it satisfies JGG., my authority for the adjacent part of D 31, does not interfere with any of CCR.'s indications.

Area. This district comprises the greater part of the North Riding, omitting the nw. horn of Yo., all the East Riding and a small portion of the West Riding, a very large extent of country, which has not been completely explored, although there can be but little doubt of the general character of the parts from which no information has been received.

This large area I have found it convenient to divide into four main varieties, which are themselves divided into subvarieties as follows:

VAR. i. *The Great Plain of York.*

(a) Mid Yo., (b) York Ainsty, (c) North Mid Yo., (d) New Malton, (e) Pateley Bridge and Lower Nidderdale, (f) Washburn River.

VAR. ii. *The North East Moors.*

(a) South Cleveland, North Cleveland being spoiled for dialect by the iron works, (b) North East Coast and Whitby.

VAR. iii. *The Wolds and South East Coast.*

(a) Market Weighton, (b) Holderness.

VAR. iv. *The Marshes.*

Goole, and Marshland.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists for Yo. under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., || in so., principally CCR.'s Glossie, ° in io.

Var. i. (a) || Mid Yo., ° Ripon to Thirsk. (b) || York Ainsty, || York city. (c) || North Mid Yo., ° Thirsk. (d) || New Malton. (e) || Pateley Bridge. (f) || Washburn River.

Var. ii. (a) || Stokesley for South Cleveland, ° Skelton, ° Danby-in-Cleveland. (b) || North East Coast, ° Hackness, ° Whitby.

Var. iii. (a) * Market Weighton, ° Pocklington. (b) *† Holderness, † Burton Constable, † Hornsea, † Hull, † Leven, ° Sketling, || Sutton, † Swine, ° Waghen.

Var. iv. ° Drax, ° East Haddlesley, * Goole, ° Hatfield, ° Selby, ° Snaith.

Character. Throughout this large extent of country, it is surprising what small varieties exist. Although following principally the lead of CCR., who was my first and has been my chief authority for the central parts of this region, I have laid down 11 forms, it is very difficult if not impossible to say with even moderate certainty (so far as the information I have obtained extends) what are the characteristics of each, and to discover any but a geographical test to distinguish them.

The great uncertainty commences with the chief characteristic, the peculiar mode of fracturing the vowels in the A-, A', Æ, E-, EA', O' words by prefixing an accented *ee*, or *ii* and reducing the vowel itself to indistinct (*e*): thus A- (*néem*) (*níim*) name, A' (*twéeb*, *twíie*) two, Æ (*déeb*, *díie*) day, and so on. All we can say is, that (*éeb*) is more affected in the s, and (*íie*) in the n., but both occur everywhere. In case of A', O', this is further confused with (*úuv*). Numerous instances will be seen in the subjoined cwl. for Vars. i, ii, iii.

The next great peculiarity is the treatment of I' as (aa). This also pervades all the varieties, although it is certainly modified in Var. iii, especially in form *b*. In this form (aa) occurs principally before voiced consonants, as (*waad*) wide, but even in this case frequently becomes (*ái*) as (*wáid*) wide. Before voiceless consonants, and even in other cases, the sound is (*éi*) or possibly (*E'i*) as (*néi* *náivz*) knife knives. CCR. cannot prevail on himself to believe in these (*éi*) forms, but the testimony of so many observers is overwhelming in their favour.

The treatment of the vowel in the U' words as (uu) is by no means peculiar

to D 30; we have already met with it in the n. of D 20, but it is characteristic in conjunction with the other marks. In D 31 we shall find it somewhat modified. Here, however, it forms a strong contrast to the (aa) treatment of the same U' in the adjoining D 24, and the whole course of the s. *hoose* line 6 should be carefully observed. The vowel in the U words is (u) apparently, and not (u_o). But my vv. authority for Market Weighton, Rev. Jackson Wray, seemed to incline to an (u₁) sound, and (u₁) certainly occurs in D 31. See introd. to M. div. p. 291.

The *r* before a vowel seems to be gently trilled, and when not before a vowel, either to be entirely vocalised or reduced to a species of faint unflapped (r) of some kind, but the special kind has not been determined, and hence (r) simply is sometimes written, the value of which must be thus determined.

The definite article is generally reduced to the suspended (t'), and in Holderness is, according to its glossarists, reduced to nothing at all. Mr. Stead, however, one of the glossarists, admits the occasional use of (t'). Much more remarkable is its transformation into (th), which CCR. finds in the Washburn River form *f* of Var. i, and which he has traced sporadically as far as Harrogate. If this is confirmed by other observers, the n. *theeth* line (5) would have to be modified at the point where it at present unites with the s. *hoose* line (6), say at Burley (26 w-by-s. York), and would proceed n. for about 6 miles to Blubberhouses, go round by Harrogate, and join line 6 again about Arthington (20 w-by-s. York). But at present it seems best to preserve the line 5 with this provisional statement.

A further characteristic which separates D 30 from D 24, and from the n. of D 20, is the universal use of *I is* (aa)z for *I am*. But this is common also to D 31, and may even be heard occasionally in Dumfries.

Var. i and ii I cannot separate at all, so far as pronunciation is concerned. But there may be many differences in idiom and vocabulary, with which I am not concerned, and as we have for Var. i CCR.'s Mid Yo. Glossary, for Var. ii Rev. J. C. Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary for form *a*, and Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary for form *b*, all highly elaborated, I have been induced to make the distinction, which, so far as pron. is concerned, seems to me to consist principally in the preference of (iiv) to (éev), compare the cwl. below.

Var. iii is characterised by the threefold treatment of I' (taam, néif, náivz) time, knife, knives, the absence of the def. art. and the use of (thr-, dhr-) for (t_r-, d_r-), although TH. found only the latter form, and Mr. Stead admits that on his last visit to Holderness, he found those dentals coming into use among the younger people.

Var. iv is still less easy to separate than the others. It gives me the impression of an immigrant form from m. Yo. In the cwl. for Var. iii form *b*, I have marked all those words which were given me at H [Holderness] in a full wl., differently from those at S [Snaith]. They are certainly very few. In A-, made cake tale lame same mane wane, S used (éev) for H.'s (iiv). In A: S (kéem), H (kom). In A' S (gaa naa tun klúvəs) for H (gúvə níie twíiv tlúvəs) go no two clothes, and bone none stone oar had also (AA), and so on. The principal variants were: Æ'- S (meni), H (moni) many. E: S (seg), H (sedj) sedge; EA'- S (feev), H (fiu) few; EA': S (shíief), H (shaf) sheaf, S (néevber), H (néiber) neighbour. EO S (bréit), H (bríit) bright, I- S (stii), H (stáil) stile. I: S (néit éléit), H (niit liit) night alight, S (grúnd), H (gráund); the last was the most considerable difference observed. For I', S has (aa) in place of (éi), and for O', S (spúuin báuit), H (spúivn bíivt) spoon boot, are decidedly singular, and approach D 24.

MARKET WEIGHTON AND MARSHLAND.

The following contrast of W [Market Weighton] and M [Marshland] was given me by Mr. Kirkpatrick (see Introd. to es. No. 9, p. 501), in his own orthography, which I interpret to the best of my ability. W is said to be "gruff and hard," M "soft, whining, and slightly sing-song." I write it interlinearly with R [received speech].

No. 1.

R Good night, Tom, I'll go home at once, and get into bed and
 W gud niit, :tom, aa)l gan jam et jans, en git inti bed en
 M gud niit, :tom*i*, aa)il gúuv úuəm et wons, en get ti bed, en

R rest my old bones, for I am vastly afraid I shall never get
 W rist mi AAD búvENZ, fer aa)z weent en flead aa sal niver get
 M rest mai ood búvENZ, fer aa)z friit'nd aa shel niver get

R to Londesborough Park to-morrow.
 W te :londesbro :peek ti MAAN.
 M ti :usflit :pasthur ti more.

Notes to No. 1.

Vastly afraid, the (weent en) used for (weentli); and *when* in Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary is explained as 'vast'; (flead) flayed, is

commonly used for frightened.—*Londesborough's Park* is 2 n. Market Weighton.—*Ousefleet Pasture*, Ousefleet is 6 e. Goole, on the Ouse, the places are varied to suit the speakers.

No. 2.

R Dr. Patrick, you've got upon a bonny-ish horse there.
 W :dokte :pathrik, juu geten pon e bo'ni)ish os dhéev.
 M oo :dokte :patherik dhat's e náist əs júu)er upen.

R What's he gotten with? How old will he be? I don't know
 W wat)s i geten wiv? uu AAD wil)v)bi? ái dívnt NAA
 M uu óud wil)v)bi?

R that I've [or, I haven't] seen such a pretty horse [of a very long while].
 W et a)v siin sáik e prati os.
 M ái eent siin sitj ne prati əs ev)v)vari loq wáil.

Notes to No. 2.

W. *Dr. Patrick*, he was a general practitioner of course, but in Yo. they style these *doctors*, and speak of the physicians as *Mr.*, which is supposed to imply a higher rank. He never had his full name of *Kirkpatrick* given him. *What's he gotten with?* what were his sire and dam?—*seen* should probably be *seed*.

M. *nice horse*, the pron. (əs), written *hirse* for horse, is Li., Marshland rather affects the adjoining Isle of Axholme in Li.

Mr. K. said that the dialect of Howden (of which he is a native) and Blacktoit, both just opposite Marshland on the other (or north) side of the Ouse, is rather that of Marshland. The speech of Goole and Snaith are illustrated below.

Illustrations. (1) CCR. and other informants have kindly furnished me with 10 cs. illustrating 10 out of the 11 forms previously mentioned. These I have arranged interlinearly, by which means their relations and differences are readily seen. The form not here contained is Var. iv, Goole. As I had been so much dependent on CCR. for Yo., it seemed advisable to check his pron. by other information; hence I give (2) a set of 4 dt. interlinearly for Var. ii, and (3) a set of 3 dt. interlinearly, two for Var. iii,

and one for Var. iv, written by different hands. I conclude my illustrations by 4 very full word-lists, illustrating (4) Mid Yo. Var. i, (5) n.e.Yo. Var. ii, (6) Market Weighton, Var. iii, (7) Holderness, Var. iii. To the last the differences from Var. iv have been added. These taken together give the completest accounts of the pron. of this district which I have been able to procure. For transliteration of CCR.'s Glossic see p. 394, l. 6 from bottom.

(1) TEN INTERLINEAR CS.

illustrating D 30, Var. i, ii, iii, to shew the small extent of their differences.

1. *Mid Yo.* Var. 1a. The typical form with which the others have to be contrasted; embracing the area defined by lines joining the towns of Ripon, Ripley (7 s-by-w.Ripon), Wetherby (15 sse.Ripon), York, Easingwold (12 mw.York) and Ripon again, and extending slightly beyond this limit in every direction. This is the district to which CCR.'s *Mid Yorkshire Glossary* refers. The es. was pal. by AJE. from CCR.'s glossic, after a full discussion. See also the cwl. which follows, and which is likewise due to him. CCR.'s familiarity with this speech was principally with the neighbourhood of Wetherby. He considered that York Ainsty was also involved, but probably only the nw.Ainsty was meant, and it and York City should be omitted, see No. 2.

2. *South Ainsty*, Var. ib. The Ainsty of York is an irregular quadrilateral, of which York City, the junction of the Wharfe and Ouse (8 s-by-w.York), Wetherby (12 w-by-s.York), and the junction of the Nidd and the Ouse, are the angular points. A line from Wetherby to Easingwold would therefore just avoid the Ainsty, and Mr. Stead, headmaster of Folkestone Grammar School, a native of the Ainsty and for 20 years there resident, thinks that CCR.'s Var. ia, es. No. 1, must have just avoided the Ainsty. The following es. written by Mr. Stead in gl. and pal. by AJE. refers to the undernamed villages in the Ainsty, all less than 6 m. from York: to the s., Bishophthorpe, Naburn, Acaster, and Appleton; to the sw., Dringhouses, both Askhams, Copmanthorpe, and Billbrough; to the w., Acomb, and to the nw., Poppleton. The differences between this version and CCR.'s No. 1, which will be seen at a glance from the inter-linear arrangement, formed the subject of an inquiry by me, the results of which are given in notes to this version No. 2. Mr. Stead says that the forms in the s. and e. part of the Ainsty differ in many points from those in the n. and w. villages of the same district, as Nun Monkton (7 nw.York), Tollerton (10 nw.York), Alne (4 sw.Easingwold, 11 nw.York), which lie beyond the Ainsty. After the full exposition in the notes to this version, I do not reproduce the complete wl. for s.Ainsty with which Mr. Stead kindly furnished me. The whole district is influenced by the refined speech of York City on one side, and the ordinary speech of the East Riding, as at Market Weighton, es. No. 9, on the other. Both CCR. and Mr. Stead gave me a cs. for the refined petty tradesman's speech of York City, differing in minute particulars, and CCR. gave me a es. for the refined peasant speech of the whole country from Wetherby to Northallerton and Stokesley, ranging therefore over es. Nos. 1, 3, and 7; but although these are interesting, they are such manifestly modern interferences with hereditary dialect through education and received speech, that I considered they lay beyond the scope of these inquiries.

3. *North Mid Yo.* Var. ic. This represents CCR.'s "Near North," that is, the district lying immediately north of his Mid Yo. Draw lines connecting Northallerton, Kirkby Moorside (20 ese.Northallerton), Thirsk, Middleham (19 w-by-n.Thirsk), and thence to Northallerton. This gives a flat quadrilateral, beyond which the region is supposed to extend in all directions. To the n. of this region up to Du. I have almost no information. Nor have I any means of checking the present. But as it lay beyond CCR.'s immediate observation, and depends upon memories many years back, some errors are unavoidable. The notes are almost entirely due to CCR.

4. *New Malton*, Var. id. This version for New Malton was written to shew

how (aa) prevailed in many words in this part of Yo. The dialect, so far as I know, was not very familiar to CCR., but he endeavoured to convey the impression he had received. It cannot be considered to be a particular study of purely local Malton speech, but merely an exemplification of the use of (aa). In other respects it agrees closely with es. Nos. 1 or 3. The following is a list of all the words in which (aa) occurs either in es. No. 1 or No. 4, with the corresponding sound in the other, arranged in the order of the cwl. The figures 1 and 4 refer to these versions.

A-	1 léee 4 laa <i>law</i> , 1 féee 4 faa <i>fire</i> .	I-	1 and 4 naan <i>nine</i> .
A:	1 géeeeth 4 gaath <i>garth</i> .	I:	1 saak'n 4 saik'n <i>such</i> .
A'-	1 noo 4 naa <i>know</i> , 1 kréeek 4 kraa <i>to crow</i> .	I'-	1 biv 4 baa <i>by</i> , 1 and 4 taam <i>time</i> , 1 and 4 waan <i>to whine</i> .
A':	1 téeeu 4 taan <i>the one</i> .	I:	1 and 4 laak <i>like</i> , 1 and 4 waal <i>while</i> , 1 maan 4 maín <i>mine</i> .
Æ:	1, 4 wáaa, wor <i>was</i> .	O-	1 and 4 waald <i>world</i> .
Æ':	1 dhíie 4 dháaa <i>there</i> , 1 wíier 4 wáau <i>where</i> .	Y-	1 draa 4 drái <i>to dry</i> , 1 and 4 laal <i>little</i> .
EA-	1 kéeez 4 kaaz <i>cares</i> .	A.	1 tóoek 4 taak <i>talk</i> .
EA:	1 soo 4 saa <i>saw</i> , 1 óóed 4 aad <i>old</i> , 1 éeal 4 aal <i>all</i> , 1 kóoel 4 kaal <i>call</i> , 1 and 4 shaap <i>sharp</i> .	I..	1 and 4 faan <i>fine</i> .
		O..	1 níiek 4 kaane <i>corner</i> .
		U..	1 wíist 4 kwaan <i>quiet</i> .

There is certainly a singular preponderance of (aa) if all has been correctly remembered, but there is no evident reason for it, and possibly the change is modern.

5. *Lower Nidderdale*, Var. *ie*. The lower portion of the valley of the Nidd, including Pateley Bridge and Greenhow Hill, both 11 nw. Harrogate. The pron. here, and in es. No. 6, is transitional to D 31, Var. *iii*. The district of Lower Nidderdale is not uniform. Lofthouses at the n., Ramsgill a little s. of it, but still n. of Pateley Bridge, and Dacre 4, se. of it, have apparently slight differences in the pronunciation of the long O' words, soon noon done enough plough, and the Fr. U.. word *sure*, which have (iu) in the first, (iig) in the second, and (iu) in the last, supposing Dacre and Pateley Bridge to have the same diphthong.

6. *Washburn River district*, Var. *if*. This extends from Blubberhouses and Fewston (6 wsw. Harrogate), to Otley (9 nw. Leeds), just on the border of D 24. This dialect approaches to that of Skipton, D 31, Var. *iii*, and is the extreme w. term of D 30, Var. *i*. It is peculiar as having (th) for the def. art. *the*, although lying in the midst of a (t') speaking population, and n. of the n. *theeth* line 5. See p. 497. Otley, too, which is here included, seems geographically to belong to D 24. The exact position of the line 5 and part of line 6 along this part has not been perfectly traced for want of such a precise phonetic survey as TH. has made for lines 1 and 2. CCR. considers the northern district about Fewston, Thruscross, and Blubberhouses, on the e. bank of Washburn River, and the southern by Otley, to form two subvarieties, but he has not given me the points of difference.

7. *South Cleveland*, Var. *ii*a. This may be taken as slightly exceeding the triangular area of which Stokesley (8 s. Middlesborough), Egton (20 se. Middlesborough), and Pickering (20 w-by-n. Filey), are the points. North of Stokesley the dialect has been corrupted by the development of the ironworks, of which Middlesborough is the head. The line of railway from Stokesley to Egton may be considered to form the n. base of this triangle. The east coast, giving form *b*, is closely connected with this, which includes the Moors of Yorkshire, and has been especially illustrated in the Rev. J. C. Atkinson's 'Cleveland Glossary,' 1868, where he endeavours to trace a connection between these forms and the Scandinavian. The difference as regards pron. between es. Nos. 1 to 6, and es. Nos. 7 and 8, is very slight indeed. This es. is also by CCR.

8. *North-East Coast*, Var. *ii*b. This extends "from Guisborough (8 se. Middlesborough) eastwards and from Tees mouth southwards to s. of Filey," as defined by CCR. This is especially the district illustrated by Mr. F. K. Robinson's *Whitby Glossary*. What facilities CCR. had for investigating this

dialect I do not know, but there is a great peculiarity in this version, of which I find no indication in the Cleveland or Whitby glossaries, namely, the use of (éi) for the vowel in *ye, here, there, we, themselves, himself, great, sickan = such, herself, eyes, me, did, she, well, beast, will, washing, tea, week, deed.* This affects only *es.* No. 8. In other respects this *v.* agrees well with the preceding. See *ne.Yo. owl. and dt. below, Illustrations (5) and (2).*

9. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n), *Var. iiii.* This *es.* was written in *io.* by Mr. J. W. Kirkpatrick, of Market Weighton, a native of Howden (16 *sse.* York and 11 *sw.* Market Weighton, which is 10 *w-by-n.* Beverley), and may be considered to represent the triangular area of which Pocklington (12 *e-by-s.* York), Beverley, and Howden are the vertices, or the *w.* side of the East Riding. It was then revised by Mr. H. Dove, of Market Weighton, and translated into glossic by CCR., and finally, in 1877, it was gone over with the Rev. Jackson Wray (author of an admirable Methodist dialect tale called *Nestleton Maqua.*, and *pal.* by AJE. CCR. considered it to be "a presentation of dialect in a refined form, which is the general mode of speech in *e.Yo.*," and that it is "faithful and characteristic." Mr. K. also gave me a number of notes respecting this dialect, especially as contrasted with that of Marshland, *Var. iv* (see p. 497).

10. *Holderness*, *Var. iiib.* This is the district on the *se.* coast of *Yo.* from *say* Bridlington southwards to Spurnhead, the extreme *se.* point of *Yo.*, and eastwards through Driffield, Beverley, and Hull, the *b.* following the line of railway from Hull to Bridlington (:bor'liten). The authors of the Holderness Glossary divide this region roughly into three, termed *n., w. and e. Ho.,* by straight lines connecting Hornsea with Driffield (12 *nw.* Hornsea) on the one hand and Hull on the other. The following *es.* specimen was *pal.* by AJE. in Dec. 1873 from the dictation of the Rev. Henry Ward, who had then been well acquainted with the country for thirty years or more. His information referred especially to *n.Holderness,* but Mr. Stead, who is responsible for the *e.Holderness* part of the Glossary, gave me the variants for that region. This version was also submitted to CCR., who considered it in many respects refined, some of his observations are given in the notes. To examine the peculiar use of (thr- dhr-) TH. visited Hornsea, Burton Constable (7 *ssw.* Hornsea), Leven (7 *ws.* Hornsea), Swine (5 *nne.* Hull), and Hull. From the last, being thoroughly refined, he obtained (tr-, dr-), and from the other places he got (t,r-, d,r-), which Mr. Stead on a subsequent visit found that it was the tendency of younger people to use in place of (thr-, dhr-), the form he found to prevail among the peasantry. As in Market Weighton (thr-) is constantly written when (t,r-) is said, it is the most natural substitute. But Mr. Stead is quite familiar with both (t,r-, thr-), and knows the difference in their character, and can pronounce both, as I know by a personal interview. He has also visited every village in *e.Holderness.* Hence I have no hesitation in accepting his conclusion, written to TH. on 20 Feb. 1878, namely, "Amongst persons of somewhat superior education or position there is a modification or sliding towards (t, d), and the same is almost invariably the case where the rustics address strangers of presumably superior position and education; but where a free and unembarrassed utterance by a genuine native can be obtained, we get decided (th, dh). And yet after all it is only in this latter case that we get the true Holderness sounds at all."

Another point is the regular and total omission of the *def. art. the,* which is queried by CCR. In the Holderness Glossary it is much insisted on for *n.* and *e.Holderness,* but *the* admittedly occurs (1) as (t') before vowels, as (t' egz), and (2) as (d) added to prepositions, as (i)d us, up(d) grund) in the house, upon the ground. In the Glossary Mr. Stead says, "The peculiar effect on the pronunciation of the omission of the definite article can scarcely be conceived by one who has not heard the dialect spoken." And it must be recollected that Mr. Stead is from birth familiar with suspended (t') for the *def. art.*

CCR. is also sceptical as to the separation of (éi) before voiceless consonants from (ái) before vowels and voiced consonants, the latter of which, and not the former, has a tendency to fall into (aa), and he thinks it must be a refinement; but it seems to be generally admitted by natives of *se.Yo.*

Much information respecting *pron.* is given in the Introduction to the Holderness Glossary.

Arrangement. In order to make evident the coincidences and differences of these ten versions in the clearest possible manner, they have been arranged interlinearly, and when a word in one line is *exactly* repeated in the *next* following line, it is not rewritten, but its place is supplied by (,). It must be remembered that (,) means "the same word exactly as in the *next preceding* line." When a word in one line has *no* corresponding word in one or more of the next following, (—) is inserted when it seemed advisable for clearness; otherwise the space has been left blank. Hence (—) means "No word corresponding to that in *any* preceding line." Thus in par. 1. (*tugiðe*) occurs only in es. No. 6, and blanks are left in the other numbers. But nothing answering to (*o jø*) occurs in es. Nos. 2, 9 and 10. Hence (*o jø*) have to be rewritten in es. No. 3, but they are replaced by (, ,) being two words in es. No. 4, then (*on*) supersedes (*o*) in es. No. 5, but (*jø*) remaining is represented by (,). In es. No. 6 (*o*) recurs, and (*o jø*) remain through Nos. 7 and 8, as shewn by (, ,). On the other hand, there is nothing corresponding to them in es. Nos. 9 and 10. See also the 8 interlinear es. in D 26, p. 427*.*.

Very minute differences are thus pointed out, much more minute than perhaps the versions were intended to imply. It would be incorrect, especially in the seven es. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, which are all due to CCR., to suppose that any slightly different form was *always* heard in the places named, to the exclusion of that in a neighbouring district. But they were certainly his impressions, and he carefully corrected his versions, after many written questions from me.

0.	1	<i>Mid Yorkshire.</i>	wat	fe	:dʒuən	ez	néev	duuts.
	2	<i>South Ainsty.</i>	wái	—	:dʒon	,,	ne	,,
	3	<i>North Mid Yo.</i>	wat	fe	:dʒuən	ez	níiv	,,
	4	<i>New Malton.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒən	ez	néev	duts.
	5	<i>Lower Nidderdale.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒuəni	,,	níiv	duuts.
	6	<i>Washburn River.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒuən	,,	,,	,,
	7	<i>South Cleveland.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	néev	,,
	8	<i>North-East Coast.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	<i>Market Weighton.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒon	,,	níiv	duts.
	10	<i>Holderness.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	ne	duuts.

1.	1	wiil,	néebe,	jii	en	im		me	béevth	o	jø
	2	wel,	néibe,	juu	,,	ii		,,	búvth	—	—
	3	wiil,	níebe,	jii	,,	im		,,	bíivth	o	jø
	4	,,	néebe,	,,	,,	,,		,,	béevth	o	,,
	5	,,	nibe,	Jéi	,,	,,		,,	bíivth	on	,,
	6	,,	níebe,	jii	,,	,,	<i>tugiðe</i>	,,	béevth	o	,,
	7	,,	níebe,	,,	,,	,,		,,	bíivth	,,	,,
	8	,,	níeber,	Jéi	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	,,	néibe,	juu	,,	,,		,,	,,	—	—
	10	,,	néebe,	juu	,,	,,		,,	bévth	—	—

	1	laf	léik	et	dhis	níez	v	maan,	wév)	s)	t	kéev?
	2	,,	,,	,,	,,	níuz	,,	,,	waa	—	—	kéeuz?
	3	,,	laak	,,	,,	níiez	,,	,,	wív	—	—	kíiez?
	4	,,	,,	,,	,,	níuz	,,	,,	wíiv	—	—	kaaz?
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	níiez	,,	,,	,,	—	—	,,
	6	,,	lók	,,	,,	,,	,,	móen,	,,	—	—	kéeuz?
	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	níuz	,,	maan,	,,	—	—	,,
	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	níiez	,,	,,	wéiv	—	—	,,
	9	,,	,,	,,	maa	níuz	—	—	wat	div	a	kaau?
	10	,,	,,	,,	dhis	,,	v	maan,	wíiv	—	—	kéeuz?

1	dhat)s	néevdher	íiv	ne	dhíiv.
2	" "	" "	" "	" "	dhéev.
3	" "	nóu _v der	" "	" "	dhíiv.
4	" "	néevdher	" "	" "	dháav.
5	" "	" "	" "	" "	dhaa.
6	" "	néev _v de _r	" "	" "	dhíiv.
7	" "	nóu _v de _r	" "	" "	" "
8	" "	nóudher	" "	" "	dhéiv.
9	it) s	níevdher	" "	" "	dhíiv.
10	dhat)s	nóudher	" "	" "	dhéev.

2. 1	jan	kenz	it) s	nubud	v	féev	v	min	ut
2						fiu		fúvaks	—
3	jan	nóoaz	it) s	néevbud	v	"	v	men	ut
4	"	naaz	" "	nobut	"	"	"	"	"
5	"	nooz	et " "	"	"	fiu	"	"	"
6	"	nóoaz	" "	nobud	"	fiu	"	"	"
7	"	"	" "	nobut	"	"	"	"	"
8	"	"	" "	"	"	"	"	"	"
9	—	—	it iz'nt			moni			"
10	—	—	—	vari		fiu		fooks	—

1	gaqz	en	diiz	eko's	dhe)r	flóutid	at		di)net
2	—	—	"	koz	"	laft	"	wii naa	daant
3	gaqz	en	díez	eko's	dhí)v	flíevd	"		du)net
4	—	—	diiz	"	dhe	laft	"		di)net
5	ganz	en	déiz	biko's	dhéi)r	"	"		du)net
6	gaqz	en	diiz	koz	dhe)r	gənd	"		díient
7	—	—	"	kos	dhí)v	laft	"		du)net
8	gaqz	en	"	eko's	"	"	"		du)net
9	—	—	"	kos	dhée)v	"	"	wi nóov	díunt
10	—	—	"	—	v bi)in	"	et	wi noo	díunt

1	ez?	préi	wat	sed	mak	em?		it)s	nat
2	we?	—	"	shed	"	"		" "	"
3	ez?	préiv	"	sed	"	"		it bí)	unt
4	ez nu?	—	—	—	—	—		it)s	nat
5	wéi?	pree)re	wat	sed	"	"	nuu?	" "	"
6	es?	préi)v	"	"	"	"	nuu?	" "	"
7	we?	—	"	"	"	"		" "	"
8	wéi?	—	"	"	"	"	nuu?	" "	néevn
9	wi?	—	"	sud	"	"		" iz	'nt
10	we?	—	"	"	"	"		")s	not

1	vare	laaklínz	iz	it	nuu?
2	vari	léikli	"	"	—
3	vare	laaklínz	bíez	"	nuu?
4	"	laakli	iz	"	nu?
5	"	laakliz	"	"	nuu?
6	"	láiklínz	"	"	—
7	vari	laakli	"	"	nuu?
8	vare	"	"	"	—
9	vari	léikli	is)	t	—
10	"	l'ikli	"	"	—

3.	1	usemí'va	dhíez)íe	)z	tilánz	v)t'	t'réeth	v)t'
	2	ə'u)í've	dhíez —	iz)t'	fakts	" "	—	—
	3	uusemí've	" —	" —	tilánz	" "	t'ríeth	v)t'
	4	" "	" —	" —	" "	" "	" "	" "
	5	uusamí've	" dher	" t'	matez	— —	—	" "
	6	usemí've	" íie	)z —	tilánz	" —	t'ríeth	)th
	7	" "	" —	iz t'	matez	" "	t'ríuth	v)t'
	8	" "	" —	" —	telánz	" "	t'ríeth	" "
	9	uu)í've	" —	is)t'	faks	— —	—	" "
	10	u)í've	" —	iz —	"	o)t'	—	—

	1	kíes,	séev	djíst	ganz	te	en	óoed	dhe	dhuu	dhi	dín,
	2	kées,	síue	djust				od	je		—	nóiz,
	3	kíes,	síe	"				óoedz	te	dhuu	dha	dín,
	4	kíes,	séev	"	—	dhu	—	óoed	—		"	"
	5	"	síie	"				ood	—	dhuu	dhéi	"
	6	"	"	"				od	—	jii	je	"
	7	"	séev	djíst				od	—	dhuu	dhi	"
	8	"	"	djust				óoed	—	dhu	"	"
	9	kíes,	síie	"				od	—	—	jer	tuq,
	10	kées,	soo	"				ood	—	je	—	nóiz,

	1	frínd,	en	bí	—	wisht	—	nu	wael	aa)z	díen.	
	2	frend,	"	bí	—	kwéiet	—	—	tíl	aa)v	"	
	3	"	"	—	—	wisht	dhe	nuu	waal	a)v	díen.	
	4	frínd,	"	bí	—	kwaat	—	nu	"	a	díen.	
	5	frend,	"	—	—	wish	te	nuu	wal	a)v	díen.	
	6	frínd,	"	tak	ood	en	wisht	—	"	waal	a	díen.
	7	"	"	—	—	wish	te	—	"	aa)v	"	
	8	frend,	"	bí	—	kwaat	—	—	wal	a	"	
	9	"	"	"	—	stíl	—	—	"	a)v	"	
	10	"	"	"	—	kwáijet	—	—	tíl	ái)v	d'én.	

1 ək tɛ bʌdz nu!

2 lisen!

3 nuu dhen, aaks tɛ?

4

5 léis)tɛ dhen!

6 nuu den, aaken!

7 aaken nuu!

8 aak nu!

9 aa¹k je dhée nuu!

10 aak, nu!

4.	1	aa) z	síier	et a	íied	em	séev,	sum	v	dhím	fóoek	et
	2	" "	saaten	—	ái	"	see,	" "	" "	dhem	fúueks	"
	3	" "	síier	et a	Jíied	"	síie,	" "	" "	"	fúuek	"
	4	" "	"	—	a	íied	"	séev,	" "	" "	fóoeks	"
	5	" "	síur	et a	éíied	"	"	" "	" "	"	"	"
	6	" "	síier	" "	íied	"	"	" "	" "	"	"	"
	7	" "	saaten	" "	Jíied	"	"	" "	" "	"	"	"
	8	" "	síier	et a	íied	"	síie,	" "	" "	"	fúuek	"
	9	a) z	"	—	a	"	séev,	" "	" "	"	fúueks	"
	10	aa) z	saaten	—	ái	"	"	" "	" "	dhoz	fooks	"

1	wint	(tʁuf)	tʰ	jal	thiq	fre)	tʰ	fost	dhese'lz,	·dhat	
2	went	(thraf)	,,	wol	,,	fre)	,,	,,	dhese'nz,	,,	
3	,,	(tʁuf)	,,	jal	,,	fre)	,,	,,	dhese'lvz,	,,	
4	wint	,,	,,	éel	,,	fre)	,,	,,	dhese'lz,	,,	
5	went	(throu)	,,	ííel	,,	fre'e)	,,	,,	,,	,,	
6	,,	(thraf)	,,	jal	,,	fr'e)	th	,,	,,	,,	
7	géed	(tʁuf)	tʰ	,,	,,	fre)	tʰ	,,	,,	,,	
8	went	,,	,,	wáuel	,,	fre)	tʰ	,,	dhese'lz,	,,	
9	,,	(thraf)	,,	wol	,,	frée)	d	,,	dhese'nz,	—	
10	,,	,,	,,	ííel	,,	fr'e	,,	,,	,,	dhat	
<hr/>											
1	a	did,	séef	en'íief.							
2	,,	,,	séef	,,							
3	,,	,,	síief	,,							
4	,,	,,	séef	,,							
5	,,	,,	síief	en'í.f.							
6	,,	,,	,,	en'íief.							
7	did)	a,	,,	,,							
8	,,	,,	,,	,,							
9	a	did,	síief	,,							
10	a	did,	,,	,,							
<hr/>											
5.	1	et	tʰ	juqis	san	izse'l,	e	gríiet	lad e	naan	
	2	,,	,,	juqist	,,	izse'n,	,,	,,	,,	náin	
	3	,,	,,	juqis	,,	izse'l,	,,	,,	gaqin	nin	
	4	,,	,,	,,	,,	ise'l,	,,	,,	,,	naan	
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	izse'l,	,,	goot	,,	,,	
	6	,,)	th	,,	,,	,,	,,	gríiet	,,	nin	
	7	et	tʰ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	
	8	et	—	juqis	,,	izsé'l,	,,	gríiet	,,	naan	
	9	dhet	—	juqis	,,	izse'n,	,,	big	,,	nain	
	10	et	—	juqist	,,	,,	,,	goot	,,	naan	
<hr/>											
	1	íier	óed,	kend	iz	fíiede	víies	et	jans,	dhaf	ít
	2		nú	,,	,,	fadhé	vóis	,,	,,	dhaa	,,
	3		,,	,,	,,	fade	víies	,,	,,	dhíief	,,
	4	íier	aad,	nú	,,	fíiedhé	vóis	,,	,,	dhaf	,,
	5		,,	,,	,,	fadhé	,,	,,	,,	dhóef	,,
	6		,,	,,	,,	fade	vóois	,,	,,	dhaf	,,
	7		,,	,,	,,	féede	,,	,,	,,	dhof	,,
	8		,,	,,	,,	fíede	vóis	,,	,,	dhíief	,,
	9	íier	óed,	nood	,,	féedha	,,	,,	,,	dhof	,,
	10		,,	,,	,,	féedhé	,,	,,	,,	fer ool	,,
<hr/>											
	1	·wáae	sáiken	e	kwíie	skwéekín	Jan	laak,	en		
	2	·was	se		kwíier	en skwíiekín	—	—	,,		
	3	·waa	saaken	e	kwéie	,,	Jan	—	,,		
	4	·wáae	sáiken	,,	kwíie	,,	,,	—	,,		
	5	·waa	sáiken	,,	kwéie	skwéekín	,,	—	,,		
	6	·wáae	,,	,,	kwíie	,,	,,	—	,,		
	7	,,	saaken	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	,,		
	8	,,	sáiken	,,	,,	skwéekín	,,	—	,,		
	9	·waz	si	—	kwíier	en skwíiekín	,,	—	,,		
	10	wéz	,,	e	,,	skwíiekín	—	—	,,		

1	a)d	t _r ust	im	tu	sp _i ek		t _r éeth	ev	oni
2	a wad	"	"	"	"	— t'	truuth	—	"
3	aa)d	"	"	"	"	— —	t _r iéeth		"
4	" "	t _r ist	"	"	"	tiv —	"		"
5	" "	t _r ust	"	"	"	— t'	t _r iúth		"
6	" "	"	"	"	"	tel)th	"		óoeni
7	" "	t _r ist	"	"	"	— —	"		"
8	" "	"	"	"	"	ti) t'	"		oni
9	" "	t _r ust	"	ti	"	— —	t _r yy ₁ th		"
10	a wad	thrust	"	"	sp _i ek	— —	thruuth		"

1	dee,	ái	mari	a	wad.
2	déev,	éi	—	"	"
3	dúv,	ái	mari	"	"
4	déev,	éi	—	"	"
5	"	ái	—	"	"
6	"	"	mari	"	"
7	"	éi	—	aa	wad, aa sív.
8	dúv,	ái	nu	a	wad, wad)i.
9	déev,	E'i	—	"	"
10	dee,	éi	—	"	"

6.	1	en,t'	óood	wamen	use'l	el	tíl	oni	jan	o	je	et	lafs
	2	" "	AAd	"	use'n	"	tel	"	—	"	"	"	"
	3	" "	óood	wíen	use'l	"	"	"	jan	"	"	"	—
	4	" "	aad	wamen	"	"	tíl	"	"	"	"	"	lafs
	5	" "	óood	"	"	"	téil	"	—	"	"	"	"
	6	")th	óod	"	"	"	tel	"	jan	"	"	"	lafs
	7	")t'	óood	wíen	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	8	" "	"	"	use'l	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	9	" "	ood	wamen	use'n	"	"	"	—	on	"	"	"
	10	" —	"	"	use'n	"	"	"	—	o	"	"	"

1	en	flóuts—nuu,	en	tíl	o	je	stríet	of		en	índ,
2	—	—	"	tel	"	"	stréit	of,		"	Aal,
3	—	flíez—	"	"	"	"	stríet	uut,		—	—
4	—	—	"	tíl	"	"	"	of,		—	—
5	—	—	"	téil	"	"	stréit	ofdz		—	—
6	en	ganz on	"	tel	"	"	stríet	of,		—	—
7		"	"	"	"	"	stréit	ewéev		—	—
8		"	"	"	"	"	stríet	of,		—	—
9		"	"	"	"	"	stréit	of,		en	óool,
10		"	"	"	"	"	sthreet	of,		"	ool,

1	tív,	eduur't	mítj	boder,	en	ji)l	bi) t	aksín
2	—	widuur't	"	bodher,	if	je)l	onli	aks
3	tív,	edur't	"	boder,	"	ji)l	nébed	"
4	"	edhuur't	"	bodher,	"	je)l	nobet	as
5	tíu,	"	"	"	"	ji)l	"	"
6	tív,	eduur't	"	boder,	"	"	nobet	aks
7	"	edhuur't	"	"	"	")d	nobet	"
8	"	edhut	"	bode,	gín	")l	"	"
9	—	bíduur't	"	bodher,	if	ji)l	"	"
10	—	wívuur't	"	"	"	"	"	"

- 1 iv er, oo! wi)net she?
- 2 — „ AA! wii)ent „
- 3 — „ óoo! wi)net „
- 4 — „ „ „ „
- 5 — „ „ „ „
- 6 — „ óoo! wii)ent „
- 7 — „ oo! wi)net „
- 8 — „ wu)ne „
- 9 — „ wii)ent „
- 10 — „ oo! „ „ „

- 7. 1 liéstinz she)ð tɛlɪn o)it te 'méi win aa akst ɛr ɛ
- 2 oni wéev she told — — 'mii it, wen ái aakst ɛ
- 3 liést liz shíe „ it te „ wen a akst ɛ
- 4 oni wíiez she tɪld — — 'méi it, „ aa ast ɛ
- 5 „ gíants „ tɛld — — 'méi it „ a „ „
- 6 „ réevd „ told it te 'mii „ aa akst „
- 7 „ wíiez „ „ „ „ „ a ast ɛr ɛ
- 8 „ „ „ „ — — 'méi it „ aa akst ɛr „
- 9 uu)ivv „ „ — — 'mii „ a akst ɛr —
- 10 liést wéev „ „ it — „ „ ái aksth ɛ —

- 1 téevtri taamz óu)er, ed)shu — en a konséevts ɛt
- 2 tuu ɛ thrii „ „ — „ did „
- 3 twíivtri „ óu)v, did „ — „ aa konséevts
- 4 téevtri „ „ — „ did „
- 5 tíivtréi „ „ — shéi „ „
- 6 twíivtri táimz „ did she — „
- 7 „ taamz „ — „ did „
- 8 „ „ „ — „ déid „
- 9 twíiv ɛr thrii „ „ — „ did „
- 10 twíivthri „ „ did „ — „

- 1 shu óud'nt te bí raq ɛ saakun ɛ míiet ma)ɛr ɛz
- 2 'shii óut nut „ „ „ óu)v satɪ „ póint „
- 3 'shíiv óud'nt „ „ „ ɛ sá'ken „ „ „
- 4 'shéi óut nut „ „ „ „ sá'ken „ „ „
- 5 'shei „ „ „ béi „ „ „ „ „
- 6 'shu óud)nt „ bí „ „ sá'ken „ „ „
- 7 'shíiv óut)nt „ „ „ „ saakun „ „ „
- 8 'shéi „ nut „ „ „ „ sá'ken „ „ póint „
- 9 shu éd)nt óut ti „ „ „ upɛ sá'k „ „ póint —
- 10 „ óut nut „ „ „ „ upɛ síɪ „ „ d)ob ɛz

- 1 dhís, uu)s)t ɛ thi)k? —
- 2 „ wat di „ „ —
- 3 „ uu sud „ „ —
- 4 „ wat de „ théi)k nu?
- 5 „ „ „ jéi thi)k? —
- 6 „ uu)d ɛ „ „ —
- 7 „ „ di „ „ —
- 8 „ uu)s)t „ „ —
- 9 — wat d) „ „ —
- 10 dhís „ d) juu „ „ —

8.	1	wiil, ez	aa	wɛ	see)in,	'shii'd	tɪl	ɟɛ	
	2	wɛl, ,,	a	wɛz	,,	'shii wad	tel	,,	
	3	wiil, ,,	,,	wɛ	si)in,	'shii'd	,,	,,	jal ebiut it
	4	,, ,,	aa	wa	see)in,	'shii'd	tɪl	,,	aal ebut ,,
	5	wéil	,,	wɛ	,,	,,	téil	,,	iil ebiut ,,
	6	wiil	,,	,,	sée)in,	'shæ'd	tel	,,	bíæth
	7	,,	,,	,,	se)in,	'shii'd	,,	,,	tjal ma(ter)ɛt
	8	wéil	,,	,,	,,	'shéi	,,	,,	
	9	wiil	,,	wɛz	see)in,	'shii wad	,,	,,	
	10	,,	,,	,,	,,	she wad	,,	,,	

	1	béeth	uugets	en	wíæ	en	wín	it	wáær	et	she	fan)t
	2	—	uu	,,	,,	,,	wen				,,	,,
	3	bíæth	,,	,,	wuur	,,	,,	it	waar	et	,,	,,
	4	ez)t	,,	,,	wáær	,,	wín	,,	waz	,,	,,	,,
	5	ez tev	,,	,,	waar	,,	wen	,,	waar	,,	shéi	,,
	6	ez)te	,,	,,	wíæ	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	she	fand)t
	7	bíæth	,,	,,	úær	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	fan)t
	8	,,	,,	,,	wíæ	,,	,,	—	—	,,	,,	,,
	9	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	—	—	,,	,,
	10	—	,,	—	,,	,,	,,	—	—	—	,,	fand dhat

	1	druk'n	bíæ	et	she)z	te	kóol	er	uzben	on	en)t
	2	,,	bíæst	,,	she	—	kaalz	,,	,,		
	3	,,	bíæ	,,	,,	,,	kóolz	,,	uzbend	en)t	
	4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	kaalz	e	uzben	on	
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	kóolz	er	uzben	en)t	
	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	en	
	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	uzbend		
	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	en)t	
	9	druk'n	bíæst	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	uzben		
	10	druk'n	bíæst	,,	,,	,,	koolz	,,	,,		

	1	jal	padi	aal	bi	buund	she	wil.
	2							
	3	jal	padinodi	aa	bi	buun	—	,, wil.
	4			aa	l	bi	buund	on)t
	5	iil	padinodi	,,	,,	,,	buun	—
	6	jal	ebuut en)t	,,	,,	,,	bun	—
	7			,,	,,	,,	bun	fe)t
	8	wáel	naréeshen	,,	,,	,,	bun	,,
	9							,, wéil.
	10							

9.	1	she	tríæpt	et	she	soo	in	wiv	er	éæn	iin
	2	,,	swaar	—	,,	saa	,,	wídh	,,	aan	iiz
	3	,,	tríæpt	et	,,	siid	,,	wiv	,,	óæn	iæn
	4	,,	trépt	,,	,,	saa	,,	,,	,,	éæn	iin
	5	shéi	swaar	,,	,,	soo	,,	wéi	,,	óæn	,,
	6	she	thríæpt	,,	,,	o	,,	wí	,,	iæn	,,
	7	,,	tríæpt	,,	,,	siid	,,	,,	,,	óæn	,,
	8	,,	trípt	,,	,,	soo	,,	,,	,,	éæn	éin
	9	,,	swéær	—	,,	,,	,,	wiv	,,	,,	iin
	10	,,	,,	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	oon	,,

1	lġin	st,rġtjt	et	laq	lenth	etop	v)t'	gründ	
2	„	st,rġtjt	„	ful	lenth	on	t'	„	
3	„	—	„	laq	st,rġtjt	etop	v)t'	„	
4	„	st,rġtjt	„	ééul	lenth	upe	t'	„	
5	„	—	„	laq	strġekt	„	„	„	doud
6	„	st,rġtjt	„	„	leqth	etop	v)th	„	
7	„	st,rġtjt	„	„	„	et	t'	„	
8	„	st,rġtjt	„	„	„	v	)t'	„	
9	„	„	„	ful	lenth	upe	)d	„	
10	„	sthrġtjt	ool iz	„	„	upo	„	„	

1	iv	iz	gġied	sunde	káuet,	tléees	biv)t'		us
2	„	„	gud	„	„	tlúuus	te „		uus
3	in	„	gġied	„	„	tlúus	bi „		us
4	iv	„	„	„	„	tléees	baa „		uus
5	i	„	gud	„	„	tlúus	béi „		„
6	iv	„	„	„	„	tlúus	bi)th		„
7	„	„	gġied	„	„	„	bi)t'		„
8	„	„	„	„	káuet,	„	„ „		„
9	„	„	gud	„	„	tlúus	bi)d	díier v)t'	uus
10	„	„	gud	„	kóut,	kloos	biv		uus

1	dġie,	—	duun	et t'	nġiek	v	jon	lon.	
2	dġier,	—	„	„ „	KAANER	„	„	léecn.	
3	dġie,	—	dġien	„ —	nġiek	„	Júuen	lúuen.	
4	„	—	duun	v) „	kaaner	„	Jon	„	
5	dġur,	—	dġun	et —	nġuk	„	Jondhe	lúuen	
6	dġer,	ewġiez	duun	v) th	nġiek	„	Jon	„	
7	dġier,	—	„	et —	„	„	„	„	
8	dġie,	—	„	v) t'	„	„	„	lúuen.	
9	—	—	„	et —	kóouner	„	„	lúuen.	
10	dġie,	—	„	et —	KAANER	„	„	lúuen.	

10.	1	i	wer	egġiet	v	waanġn	—	sez	she	fer
	2	„	wex	„	„	wáinġn	ewéev	„	shii	„
	3	„	waar	egġiet	„	wġienġn	—	„	she	fe
	4	„	wer	„	„	waanġn	—	„	„ sez	fer
	5	„	waar	„	„	wġienġn	—	sez	shéi	„
	6	„	wer	„	„	wáinġn	—	„	she	fe
	7	ii	„	„	„	waanġn	—	„	„	„
	8	„	„	egéest	„	„	—	„	„	fer
	9	i,	wex	—	„	plúenġn	ewéev	—	—	„
	10	„	„	—	„	gréunġn	—	—	she sez	„

1	ééul	t'	waald	laak	tev v	sġiek	béecn	er	v
2	aal	„	wold	léik	„	badli	„	„	„
3	jal	„	waald	laak	„	sġiek	bġuen	„	„
4	aal	„	„	„	„	„	béecn	„	„
5	óuel	„	wold	léik	„	„	baan	„	„
6	jal	th	waald	sġiem	vz	„	béecn	„	„
7	„	t'	„	laak	„	siik	béecn	„	„
8	AA'el	„	„	„	„	sġiek	béecn	„	„
9	óuel	„	wold	léik	„	badli	„	„	els „
10	ool	„	woold	l'íik	„	„	„	„	„

	1	laal	las	iv	v	tivi.							
	2	li'tl	"	"	"	frívet.							
	3	laal	"	"	"	tivi.							
	4	"	"	vt)	s	píevish.							
	5	lál	"	i	v	tjóefin.							
	6	laal	"	"	"	Júme.							
	7	lál	"	"	"	puuk.							
	8	lível	"	"	"	múndj.							
	9	laat'l	"	—	—	wimprín.							
	10	"	gjel	—	—	fretín.							
11.	1	en	dhat	ap'nd	uz	shí	en	t'	dóu _u ter	i	léev	kam	dhu
	2	"	"	"	"	shii	"	v	dóu _u ter	"	laa	kom	
	3	"	"	"	"	shəə	"	t'	dóu _u ter	"	líiv	kam	
	4	"	"	"	"	shéi	"	"	"	"	laa	"	
	5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	lóov	kom	
	6	"	"	"	"	shəə	"	th	"	"	lób	"	
	7	"	"	"	"	"	"	t'	"	"	lóov	kam	
	8	"	"	"	"	shéi	"	"	"	"	léev	"	
	9	"	"	"	"	óer	"	v	"	"	lóov	kom	
	10	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	dóu _u ther	"	loo	"	
	1	wíiez	(truf)	t'	bak	géevth	frev	aqín—t'	wit	tléevz			
	2		thru _f	"	"	jaad	"	iqín—"	wet	tláuevz			
	3		truf	"	"	géevth	"	aqín—"	wít	tlíevz			
	4		"	"	"	gaath	"	"	wit	tléevz			
	5		thróu	"	"	gíevth	frev	"	wet	tláuevz			
	6		truf	"	"	géevth	frev	—th	—	tlíevz			
	7		"	"	"	gaath	frev	iqín—t'	wet	"			
	8		"	"	"	jed	"	aqín—"	"	"			
	9		thru _f	—	"	jaad	frev	iqín uut t'	"	"			
	10		"	—	"	"	frev	aqín	"	—	"	"	
	1	uut	te	d _r aa	ev	v	wéishín	díiv.					
	2	—	"	d _r ái	on	"	weshín	déev.					
	3	"	"	d _r aa	ev	"	"	díiv.					
	4	ut	"	d _r ái	—	—	—	—					
	5	uut	"	"	ev	v	wéishín	déev.					
	6	"	"	"	jaa	weshín	"	"					
	7	"	"	d _r aa	ev	v	"	díiv.					
	8	"	"	d _r áai	"	"	wéishín	"					
	9	—	"	d _r ái	"	"	weshín	déev.					
	10	—	ti	d _r ái	"	"	wéishín	dee.					
12.	1	waal)t'	ki'tl	wu	bóovlín	fe)t'	tíiv	v	jan				
	2	"	ket'l	wuz	bóvlín	"	"	—	"				
	3	"	ki'tl	wa	bóovlín	"	"	—	jaa				
	4	"	"	"	bóvlín	"	"	—	jan				
	5	wal	ket'l	"	"	"	téev	—	jaa				
	6	"	th	"	bóovlín	"	d _r íqkín	v	jan				
	7	"	t'	wu	boovlín	fo	tíiv	—	"				
	8	waal)t'	"	"	bóvlín	fe	téev	—	"				
	9	"	"	wuz	"	—	tíiv	—	jaa				
	10	wal	—	ket'l	"	—	tíiv	—	"				

1	faan	briit		ifteníien	i	same,	nábet	e	wiik
2	fáin	bréit	samer	ef'teníien	—	—	nobet	,,	,,
3	faan	briet		,,	i	same,	,,	,,	,,
4	,,	briit		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
5	féin	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6	fáin	,,		,,	,,	,,	nobel	,,	,,
7	faan	,,		,,	,,	,,	nobet	,,	,,
8	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	wéik
9	féin	,,	samer	,,	—	—	,,	,,	wiik
10	fáin	,,	,,	eftheníien	—	—	,,	,,	,,

1	sin	kam	)t'	nekst	thozde.
2	,,	,,		,,	,,
3	,,	,,		núest	,,
4	,,	,,	)t'	nekst	,,
5	,,	,,	,,	né'kst	,,
6	,,	,,	)th	nekst	thúwezde.
7	,,	,,	)t'	,,	thozde.
8	sen	,,	,,	niist	thúwezde.
9	sin	,,		nekst	thozde.
10	sen	,,		,,	,,

13.	1	en	—	—	noo	je,	—	béeen?	et	a	níie	líient
	2	,,	di	je	naa?	—	—	—	,,	,,	níie	laant
	3	,,	díie	je	nóov,	—	—	bíien?	et	,,	níie	líient
	4	,,	di	je	naa?	—	—	—	,,	,,	níie	laant
	5	,,	—	—	noo	dhu,	—	mán?	,,	,,	,,	líient
	6	,,	—	—	noo	je	nobet,	béeen?	et	,,	,,	líied
	7	,,	di	je	nóov,	—	—	,,	et	,,	,,	líient
	8	,,	di	je	na'e?	—	—	—	—	,,	,,	,,
	9	,,	d)	je	nóv?	—	—	—	,,	,,	,,	léerent
	10	,,	diz	dhu	noo?	—	—	—	,,	,,	,,	laant

1	nóut	ne	méeur	en	dhís	e	dhat	—	diid	ap
2	—	,,	múuer	,,	,,	ebuut	,,	—	biznis	,,
3	nóut	,,	míier	,,	,,	e	,,	—	diid	,,
4	oní	—	méeur	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	biznis	,,
5	oní	—	maar	,,	,,	,,	,,	dhaa	bizenes	,,
6	nóut	ne	míier	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	diid	,,
7	,,	,,	,,	dhen	,,	,,	,,	—	biznis	,,
8	,,	,,	méeur	en	,,	,,	,,	—	déid	,,
9	—	ni	,,	ne	,,	,,	,,	—	biznis	—
10	—	,,	,,	en	,,	ebuut	,,	—	mat)ther	,,

1	tiv	tel	tedéer,	a	síier,	ez	síier	ez	mí	níiem)	z	:djúuen
2	te	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	maa	néem	,,	:djak
3	—	tíl	tedíie	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ma	níiem	,,	:djúuen
4	tiv	—	tedéer	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	mí	néem	,,	:djón
5	,,	—	tedéie	,,	súuer	,,	méi	níiem	,,	,,	,,	:djúueni
6	—	tel	tedéer	,,	síier	,,	mí	,,	,,	,,	,,	:djúuen
7	tiv	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
8	,,	—	tedíie	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	:djúuen
9	—	waal	tedéer	,,	,,	,,	ma	,,	,,	,,	,,	:djón
10	tí	—	,,	,,	séuf	,,	mái	néem	,,	,,	,,	:djak

1	:shìped,	en	aa	dis)nt	want	te	díiv,	—	—	dhíiv
2	:shèped	,,	a	daa)nt	,,	—	—	néevdhe	—	dhéev
3	:sháped	,,	,,	du)net	,,	te	díiv	néevdhe	—	dhíiv
4	:shìped	,,	,,	diz)nt	,,	,,	,,	néevdhe,	sév	dhaa
5	:shèped	,,	,,	du)nt	,,	,,	díiv	éidhe,	—	dhaa
6	:shìped	,,	aa	dúu)ent	,,	,,	díiv	néevdhe	—	dhíiv
7	:sháped	,,	a	di)net	,,	,,	,,	óudher	—	—
8	,,	,,	,,	du)net	,,	,,	,,	néevdhe	—	—
9	:shìped	,,	,,	díi)ent	,,	—	—	núvdhe	—	dhéev!
10	,,	,,	ái	díi)ent	,,	te	noo	nóvdhe	—	dhéev

1 nuu dhenz!

2 nuu!

3 nuuz te dhenz!

4 nu!

5 nuu dhen!

6 nuuz!

7 nuu dhen!

8 nuu dhen!

9 — —

10 nuu!

14.	1	en	see	aa)	z	ganin	jam	te	—	mi	supe.	gívd	niit,
	2	,,	síiv	a	,,	of	,,	,,	—	—	,,	gud	,,
	3	,,	si	,,	,,	gaayin	,,	,,	—	mi	,,	gívd	,,
	4	,,	séev	aa	,,	,,	Jéem	,,	—	,,	,,	gívd	,,
	5	,,	síiv	ái	,,	geeyin	íivem	tel	—	,,	,,	gud	,,
	6	,,	,,	a	,,	gaqin	jam	te	—	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	,,	see	aa	,,	gaa in	Jíivem	,,	—	,,	,,	gívd	,,
	8	,,	séev	,,	,,	gaqin	íivem	,,	git	,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	—	síiv	à	,,	ganin	jam	,,	ee	,,	,,	gud	,,
	10	,,	sév	,,	,,	,,	éem	,,	—	—	,,	,,	,,

	1	en	—	—	di)net	bi	su	shaap	te	kréevk	óuvr
	2	,,	—	—	daa)nt	,,	,,	,,	,,	kraa	,,
	3	,,	—	—	du)net	bi	,,	,,	,,	kri	,,
	4	,,	—	—	,,	béi	,,	,,	,,	kraa	,,
	5	,,	—	—	du)net	,,	,,	,,	,,	kroo	,,
	6	,,	—	—	díiv)nt	bi	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	,,	—	—	du)net	bi	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	8	,,	—	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	,,	enudher	taam	díi)ent	ju	,,	si	,,	,,	,,
	10	,,	—	—	díi)ent	,,	si	,,	ti	,,	óuvr

	1	v	bodi	—	egéev,	win	i	tóooks	v	téev	en
	2	,,	,,	—	egíiv,	wen	v	taaks	vuut	dhis	—
	3	,,	,,	—	,,	,,	i	tóooks	v	tíiv	en
	4	,,	,,	—	egéev,	,,	,,	taaks	,,	taan	,,
	5	,,	,,	—	egíiv,	,,	éi	tóooks	,,	tíiv	,,
	6	,,	,,	—	,,	,,	i	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	,,	,,	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	téev	,,
	8	,,	,,	—	egéev,	,,	,,	,,	,,	tíiv	,,
	9	oní	,,	oní	méev,	,,	,,	,,	,,	dhis	—
	10	,,	,,	—	egíiv,	,,	i	tooks	vuut	,,	—

1	tídhə	—	thíq.						
2	dhat	v	tudher.						
3	tude	—	thíq.						
4	tídhə	—	„						
5	tudhə	—	„						
6	tude	—	„						
7	tídhə	—	„						
8	tudhə	—	„						
9	dhat	en	tudhə.						
10	„	v	„						
<hr/>									
15.	1	ít)s	v	wéec	fíel	et	—	pratez	edhuut oní
	2	„	„	„	„	„	—	préets	wídhhuut —
	3	„	„	„	„	„	—	príets	edhuut —
	4	„	„	„	„	„	ganz	préet'in	edhuut oní
	5	„	„	wíek	fíul	„	—	préets	edhuut —
	6	„	„	wéec	fíel	„	—	príets	edhuut —
	7	„	„	„	„	„	—	préets	edhuut —
	8	„	„	wíek	„	„	—	„	„ —
	9	„	„	wéec	fíel	„	—	„	wídhhuut —
	10	„	„	fond	„	„	—	tjat thez	wívuut —
<hr/>									
	1	ríuz'n	—	séev	nuu	dhen,	dhat)s	ma	last —
	2	„	en	—	—	—	„	mi	„ —
	3	„	—	séev	nuu	dhenz,	„	ma	„ —
	4	„	en	„	„	dhen	„	mi	„ —
	5	„	—	síiv	„	„	„	méi	„ —
	6	„	—	„	nuu	—	„	mi	„ —
	7	„	—	séev	nuu	dhen	„	„	„ —
	8	„	en	„	—	—	„	mi	last —
	9	„	„	—	—	—	„	óovl	dhat a
	10	„	„	—	—	—	„	mi	last —
<hr/>									
	1	—	—	wod,	féev	ju	wil,	gafe.	
	2	—	—	„	gud	bái.			
	3	—	—	„	fíies	tu	wil.		
	4	—	—	„	faa	dhu	wíil.		
	5	—	—	„	„	„	„		
	6	—	—	wónd,	féev	je	„		
	7	—	—	wod,	„	tu	„		
	8	—	—	„	„	dhu	wéil.		
	9	ce	tu	séev,	gud	niit.			
	10	—	—	wod,	„	„			

Notes to No. 1, *Mid Yo.* es. p. 502.

0. *what for*; the word *why* is not used in asking questions.

1. *laugh like*, so to speak laugh, this *like* is a common qualification: observe (*léik*), but (*maan*) mine. Mr. Stead says *léik* is universal in m.Yo., but CCR. has *laak* elsewhere.—*who is to care?* apparently.

2. *nought-but*, i.e. only.—*don't us*, Mr. Stead considers (*dí nut uz*) "quite impossible anywhere in m.Yo."—*likely*, the form in the text (*laaklínz*) is not common.

3. meaning: "howsoever, these-*here's* tellings of the truth of the case, so just goest thou, and hold thee [*i.e.* for thyself] thou thy din, friend, and

be whisht now, while [*i.e.* until] I is [*i.e.* am, *i.e.* have] done." "hark thou, but now." CCR. says the addition of *s* to *but* is "very common elsewhere, as at Leeds." I suppose it means, "hark only now."

4. Meaning "Some of them (=those) folk (=folks) that went through the whole thing from the first their(=them) selves."

5. *youngest*, CCR. says that *young* has four sounds (juŋ juŋq, juŋ juŋq, the last two being uncommon, but gives no law regulating their use.—"a great lad of nine year old."—*father*, the dental (t, d) are preserved before any place where (r) stood, even after the (r) has been lost, as in the present case.—*voice*, the common form.—*marry!* this asseveration is said to be still common.

6. *woman*, (dīvm) dame, is also common.—*and tell all of you straight of an end, too, without much bother, an ye'll be-at asking of her*, here (óv) is *all*, (v̄duut) is one of the numerous forms for *without* given by CCR. in his glossary, of which he says "the dental d̄ (d) forms (v̄duut w̄duut) are especially employed by those who speak the dialect broadly." Obs. that this (d) is a descendant of (dh), and is not superinduced by a following (r).—*much*, (mikelz) is also used over a great portion of the north, but here (mitj) would be used.

7. *leastly*, at least; this genitive form of adverb is said by CCR. to be common in -lins, -wards, compare (jalri'diz, tedi'uz, síenudz, u'nz, méestlínz méestlíz, síuelíz, aadlíz éudlíz, wilínz, bilaa'ks) etc., already, to-day, soonward, often, mostly, surely, hardly, willingly, belike, etc.—*she had (the) telling of it to me.—a two (or) three times over had she.—moot matter*, if this is the dialectal use of moot, it is hardly correct.—*how(is)it you think!*

8. *how-gates*, in what manner.—*that she has to call her husband of, and the whole story*. CCR. says: "*paddy* was a name given to the almanacks, and hence note books, as (aa)l set dhat duun i ma padi I'll make a note of it, and hence came to mean the note made or any story. The word is very common, always on the tongue." The full word is (pa'dno'di), see cs. Nos. 3 and 5. In this form it is given in the Cleveland, Craven, Whitby, and Holderness Glossaries. Hence it is

widely distributed. Mr. Atkinson (Cl. Gl.) suggests its derivation from *pallinode*, or saying back, but this is not a common word, and I would rather suppose *pater-noster* to be the origin, alluding to long mumbling of prayers. This would agree with CCR.'s (*marri*), Nos. 1, 3, 6, par. 5, also found in the Cleveland and Whitby Glossaries.

9. *she strongly asserted*, this is, however, hardly the general use of *threap*, which is not in CCR.'s Glossary, though Mr. F. K. Robinson in his Whitby Glossary has "*threap*, to assert positively, 'he threap'd me wi' liquor,' protested that I was drunk." Halliwell has "obstinately to maintain or insist upon a thing in contradiction to another, *e.g.* 'he threaped me down it was so,' Li. 'I threpe a matter upon one, I bear one in hand that he hath doone or said a thing amysse.'—Palsgrave." The Ws. *fréapian* is usually explained as 'reprobare, corripere,' and Stratmann gives 'arguere,' citing Orrmin and several old works. Coleridge translates 'convict, refute.' In Li. Mr. Peacock has: "to argue, to asseverate, to insist upon, 'he's alus threapin' about summats.' 'She threap'd me down Sam was dead, but I seed him last setterda.' 'I wen't be threp by a bairn like thoo.'"—*house door*, the short (u) is often used in this word.

10. That is, "he was agate, [going on], a whining, says she, for all the world like to [or use (*síem vz*)] same as] a sick bairn, or a lile [little] lass of [in] a tiff."

11. *daughter-in-law, came their ways through the back garth, from hanging the wet clothes out*.

13. meaning "and know you, bairn? that I ne'er learned nought no more than this of that deed up till to-day, I swear, as sure as my name's John Shepherd, and I doesn't want to do, there, now thens."

15. *gaffer*, properly grandfather, a common word of familiar address, like 'old fellow,' or 'governor'; gaffer is used for the master also.

Notes to No. 2, *South Ainsty* cs. p. 502.

In these notes to No. 2, for brevity S. means Mr. Stead, R. Mr. C. C. Robinson, and G. the latter's *Mid Yorkshire Glossary*. Unsigned pas-

sages in inverted commas refer to S.'s statements.

1. *neighbour*, S. (néi-), R. (néev-), G. (nív-). 'The sound varies considerably, but (néi-) is correct for the villages named in p. 499, No. 2; (nív-) is very uncommon even in R.'s district.'—*both*, '(báueþ) is universal in this district.'—*wes*, 'R.'s (wíz) almost unknown.' R. has certainly frequently used uncommon forms and phrases, "to register their existence," which rather defeats my object, but I believe he gave no pronunciation, however rare, which he did not remember to have heard, but of course his memory may have been occasionally at fault.

2. *few*, 'R.'s (íevé) almost unknown.'—*don't ve*, 'R.'s (dauþ) unknown in s. Ainsty, but right for Boroughbridge (9 ne. Harrogate); R.'s (vz) 'unknown in m. Yo.'—*likely*, R. (laaklins), S. 'thinks R. must have been thinking of villages more to the w. as Wetherby; and that (léik) is universal in m. Yo.' G. (laaks, láhik, léik), the last refined. See notes to p. 513, pars. 1, 2.

3. *just*, 'R.'s (dʒst) never heard in the district.'—*friend*, 'R.'s (frínd) heard more to the n. and e.'—*tall* or (waal) S.

4. *folks*, 'We always say (fáueks), and (fáuek) without the (s) is decidedly refined.' R. had written (fáuek) first, and corrected it to (fóuek).—*whole*, R.'s (jal) 'is known, but is extremely rare in the district.'—*themselves*, '(-sen) is the only form known to us, (-sel) or (-sil) would create roars of laughter.' G. p. xxv gives both (-sel, -sen) but not (-sil).

5. *knew*, '(naad) is used occ.'—*voice*, 'R.'s (víes) astonished me, I never heard it in my life.' R. says it's common.—*trust*, 'occ. (tʒrust).'
truth, 'R.'s (tréuþ) I never heard in my life; (tʒruuþ) is said and occ. (tʒruuþ), which is used over a very large area in m., e., and se. Yo. In some of R.'s villages (Num Monkton (7 nw. York) and Easingwold), as I can attest having stayed there, (tʒruuþ) is all but universal.'

6. *straight*, G. (stʒréit, stʒriit), and occ. (stʒréit). 'I never heard the last even in R.'s district.'—*bother*, in such words as *bother father*, (d) would be very uncommon indeed.'

7. *me*, 'with us (méi) is never used, our emphatic forms are invariably (mii dhii shii).'
—*two or three*, 'our numerals are (jan, tuu, thrii, fóuʒr, fáiv, síks,

sev'n, éit, naín, ten, elev'n, twely), etc.'

8. *found* or (fan).—*beast*, 'with us (bií'st) is singular and (bíius) plural.'

9. *swore*. 'Of course we have *threaped* here also, but it means more like *maintained persistently, said again and again, than said emphatically and solemnly*.' See note on es. No. 1, par. 9, p. 514.—*eyes*, 'we have no other form but (íiz), but (éeen íien) are right for R.'s district.'—*good*, 'R.'s (gíud) unknown, (gud) general.' but S. wrote (gud).—*lane* 'or (lúunn),' which is more regular.

10. *whining*, 'R.'s (waanín) is right for R.'s district, and similarly in s. Ainsty and e. or s. Holderness we have (fáun, náin, wáin, láin, káind), but in n. Ainsty and n. and w. Holderness (faan, naan, waan, laan, kaand).'
—*world*, R.'s (waald), 'we use (waak) subs., and (work) vb.'—*little*, 's. Ainsty hardly ever uses (laat'l), I never heard it till I went to Easingwold when young.'

11. *through*, or (thruu), S.—*hanging*, 'R.'s (aqin) is quite York city.'—*clothes*, G. (tlíevz, tléevz, tlíuevz, tlóevz), second most used, 'with us (tlíuevz) is the only form.'—*day*, 'R.'s (diú) for the e. and s. Ainsty (déev) is the proper form for his district.'

12. *one*, or (jaa), S.—*only*, G. (nobet, nábət), nought but. The second was unknown to S., who, however, uses (nət) for *not*.

13. *more*, 'we in s. Ainsty have almost dropped R.'s (méeur).'
—*sure*, or (shúver), S.—*name* ' (nééem) is more common than R.'s (níium) s. of York.'

14. *I'm going*, (aaʒ gɔʒin) also used, S.—*home* or (úuvm), S.

Notes to No. 3, North Mid Yo. es., p. 502.

2. *that*, CCR. at first wrote (wat) at full, considering (vɛ) to represent *what*, which he says is commonly employed for *that* in Yo., but usually contracted to (vɛ).—*us*, 'never (uz) in the pause, it here means we,' R.—*is not* (biíevt, bíevz, biíiz) is not, is, 'common, also at Whitby.'

3. *these* (dhóur, dhó'v) occ. used.—*hold thee thou thy din*, 'not frequently employed, but curious enough to record, I thought,' R.

5. *walking lad*, 'one that can stride

his way anywhere,' R.—*knew*, casually pronounced (n̄).

6. *quean*, woman, without disrespect by old people, with the initial (k) omitted, like Yo. (wik) quick. See also *wecan* in Whitby Glossary.—*fleers*.—*without*, the vowel is often taken short.

7. *how should you think?* 'This is the manner the emphatic clause would be rendered, with the weight on *think*.

8. *where*, this (w̄aar) is a singular form for (w̄iur), but both it and (w̄iur) are given in CCR.'s Glossary.—*wus* (waar) or (war) either might be used.—*husband* with short (u) not (ū), also used in Mid Yo. and Malton way.—*paddynoddy*, long and tedious narration, see notes on cs. No. 1, par. 8, p. 514.

9. *house door*, (us) with a short vowel.—*lune* or (l̄unin).

10. *little*, 'both forms (laal, laaf'l) are common all over Yo.,' CCR.

13. *nous thou thens* or (nuuz te nobet) nouns thou only. CCR. says 'not *knows* thou thenz, for (n̄ou) for *know* is not heard in peasant speech anywhere; it is a purely idiomatic phrase;' but his translation conveys no meaning. The (te) might stand for *to*, and perhaps *nous to thens*, *nous to only* might be strained to have a meaning. He says the second phrase is common.

Notes to No. 4, *New Malton* es., p. 502.

5. *youngist*, CCR. says: 'there are four pronunciations of *young* in the rural varieties, and I distinguish each readily, with (u uu, u uu) where the last two forms are not much heard. Thus (u) is looked upon as an old-fashioned pron., and when a youthful dialect speaker imitates the speech of any person accustomed to speak the vernacular at its broadest, you fail not to hear this (uu) drawled and lengthened in an exaggerated manner. In *house* the vowel is either (u) or (uu). I have the greatest hesitation in deciding on the quantity,—the long and short are so common in interchange.'

Notes to No. 5, *Lower Nidderdale* es., p. 502.

4. *I is* or *I am* (:aa)m).—*whole thing*, both *whole* and *all* appear as (īel) in par. 8, but *all* is given as (óuel) in par. 10.

6. *off-wards*.—*will not*, the *n* of *not* omitted, CCR. says 'singularly at all times.'

10. *chafing*, a heat, passion.

13. *to-day*, here (d̄éiv), but (d̄éev) in par. 5.

Notes to No. 6, *Washburn River* es., p. 502.

1. *together*, CCR. marks (d) not (̄d), but in *neither* he has marked (̄d).—*like*, *mine*, are heard with both (ái) and (óv), see (láikl̄inz), par. 2.

2. *because* (koz), not (k̄oz). CCR. says: "I use (o) in this district, but both in this and the n. Yo. es. No. 1, (o) finds place in as sharply short a character as possible, as (ma w̄od, a)l̄ev ad o dh̄u!) my word, I'll have hold of thee! In post, word, hold, first, burst, hurt, host, stir, her, (p̄ost, w̄od, ad, f̄ost, b̄ost, ot, ost, st̄or, or) [the last two I suppose before vowels], and in other words there is an undoubted and a most frequent interchange of (o, o).—*grinned*, laughed, jeered.—*don't*, it seems as if (d̄áunt, d̄áunt du)net) were used rather promiscuously, see par. 13.

3. *of the case*, throughout this district (th, t') interchange for the def. art.—*And take hold and whisht now until I [have] done*, "a colloquial phrase, but not of any account."—CCR.

8. *and all about on it*, the *on* seems superfluous.

10. *in [a] humour*, "*fret* is only used as a verb; as a noun, it is here and elsewhere unknown," CCR.

11. *dry*, or (̄dr̄aft) drought, 'a term I might also have used in es. Nos. 1 and 3, and, using (dr) for (̄dr), in the Leeds es.' D 24, var. v. p. 374.

13. *don't* or (du)net).

Notes to No. 7, *South Cleveland* es., p. 502.

4. *I is*, or *I am* (aa)m).—*from*, CCR. says '(f̄ree) is correct. There is a wide difference between (ee, EE) which are nearest allied. The (EE) seems to be associated with few words—*from*, *to*, *no*, etc.—and but casually.'

5. *I swear* (aa siur); if it were *I'm sure*, it would be (a)zīv).

8. *beast*, CCR. says: "I see that Mr. Atkinson in his 'Cleveland Glossary' has a note on this word, saying that (b̄īs) is the form the plural takes. This must be merely a local usage. In South Cleveland (b̄īvs) is exceedingly common as the emphatic form. It has seemed to me sometimes that

people everywhere had a habit of saying (*bîes*) on occasions, when the singular number was intended, and (*biies*) when more than one was meant. Anyhow (*bîies*) is the commoner pronunciation, both as a singular and plural form." Out of Yo., except in sw. England, (*bîies*), or some form without the (t), is commonly used for the plural, the (t) being added for the singular. See p. 515, par. 8.

9. *by the* or (ba't').

10. 'pook and (pa'ek) in town dialect, but they can't be rendered by one spelling. I should write (1) *pook*, and (2) *park*. They are both used as verbs —to *fret*, CCR.

15. *my* or (ma).

Notes to No. 8, North-East Coast es.

10. *maunge* is explained in CCR.'s Glossary as 'untoward, confused, accident,' perhaps 'mishap' would be best here.

Notes to No. 9, Market Weighton es.

For abbreviation I use D. Dove, K. Kirkpatrick, R. Robinson, W. Wray.

0. *for*. W. insisted on trilling the (r), but this is contrary to the general habit of e.Yo., and although the final (r) was always clearly pronounced by Mr. Wray, I retain the vocal forms usually heard.—*has no doubts*, or (diz'nt dut). W. used (*u*₁) rather than (*u*), but he also used (*i*₁) rather than (*i*). Hence I consider these to be individualities. The (e) may be (ɛ) throughout, but I retain R.'s vowel, and he distinguished (e, ɛ).

1. *well* or (wái).—*you*, R. signals this as a refinement for (dhum).—*care*, K. wrote (kiiv), which W. asserted could never have been heard.—*there*, old people say (dhiiv), younger (dhiiev).

2. *know*, K. wrote (nûv), which both R. and W. corrected to (nôov).—*likely*, R. considers it should be (laakli), saying that if one long *i* becomes (aa), all must, and we have (taam). Nevertheless, W. says he has not heard (laakli) half a dozen times, and K. writes *leikly*, D. *likely*.

3. *however*, W. seemed to say (á'ui'ver), almost but not quite (áu), but in the wl. he said (au), hence I retain (uu), which is most natural.—*tongue*, is what K. substituted for noise, but W. said (nóiz) is right.—*friend*, W. never heard the (d) omitted, both (frind) and (trend) are used.—

while for *till*, but (til) is also used.—*hark*, K. wrote *hack*, shewing the shortness of the vowel.

4. *I'm sure*, K. wrote a *sear*, which should be *I swore*, but probably the (z) was omitted by accident, the correction is W.'s.—*through*, W. says (thruu) is also used by the broadest speakers.—*through the whole from the first*, the first *the* is (t'), the second (d), but also, I think, suspended (d'). W. endeavoured to find a reason for the difference, and thought (t') was initial and (d') final. But in looking through Mr. Wray's tale of *Nestleton Magna*, I find plenty of (t'), but no (d'). R. says, however, that the (d) is "nicely correct," but that it is "far more of an habitual than a customary sound."

5. *nine*, (naan) has been heard from older people. K. wrote *nane*, which R. interpreted (néen), and D. wrote *nine*; W. read nám.—*knew*, so K. wrote, and R. interpreted (nú); I owe (nood) to W.—*father*, or (fadh'ær) says K., but W. did not allow it; the 's of the possessive is never omitted according to W., but Mrs. Wray said it was never inserted, thus (:dʒon wéit) has been often heard.—*though*, W. said (dhof) was not much used, and (dhoo) more common.—*was* (waz) expresses emphatic certainty.—*so queer*, K. gives also (sív).—*trust*, K. writes *thrust*, W. gave (t.r-); K. gave the variant (a)l up'od' im) I'll uphold him.—*truth*, K. wrote *t'trewth*, W. pron. what seemed to me as some variation of (t.r'yth), but the mouth was open for the vowel, and there was no projection of the lips.—*aye*, the pron. (ɛ'i) is due to W.—*enough*, W. observed that the verb to plough was (plú), the subs. (plú) or (pliev), and observed that *enow* is not known.

7. *however*. See note, par. 3.

8. *how and where and when*, K. says the expression would not be used in this neighbourhood.—*drunken*, K. wrote (dhr-), R. corrected and W. confirmed (d.r-).—*beast*, W. stated that (*bîies*) was pl.—*husband*, W. says (ma ma'n) is common for 'my husband.'

9. *eyes*, both (iim iiz), equally common, and (it iin, it iiz) would be used for (its iin, iiz), W.—*length*, similarly (st'renth) W.—*ground*, K. omitted (d), W. restored it; K. says that in Marshland, Var. iv, they would say (upe dh gruund).—*by the*, K.

omitted *the*, W. restored it as (d).—*lane*, K. also gives (léem), W. says (liën) is used, R. prefers (läven). This word is never treated as having A', but as having O-, A-.

10. *plaining*, i.e. complaining, suffering, suggested by W., K. said (waanin) would not be used, and suggested (grüenin).—*whimpering*, suggested by W. as *fretting*, was not dialectal.

11. *her*, the pron. (óur) was given by W., who constantly uses *hor* in *Nestleton Magna*.—*through back yard*, R. says "there is no real omission of (t) here. The tongue moves for it, however it may be lost to the ear. In nearly every variety of Yo. dialect it is lost when in this position followed by (b)." It would probably be the same before any mute or sonant. But the tongue being first put in the t position and dwelt on, the effect on the ear is different from that of an entire absence of any (t).—*clothes*, W. had (klúes) in par. 9, R. says that the present is the refined and general form.

12. *one*, K. (wim), D. and W. (jaa).—*fine*, W. has heard (faan), but gave (féin).—*since*, D. and K. (sen), W. (san).

13. *do you know*, K. says this phrase would not be used, R. thinks he would not have objected to (en noo je, béem).—*learned*, K. had (laand), D. (lent), W. says (léem) is the common form.—*until*, D. and K. had *awkahh*, (waal) is W.'s correction.

15. *wake fool*, K. *wake fool*, which R. says is very refined. I adopt R.'s (wéek) and W.'s (fiel).—*prates*, W. said "not (priets)."—*without*, K. wrote *wid-doot* or *bid-doot* (wi duut bi duut), observing that they seem old, but are still heard; W. said (*widhuut* *bidhuut*) were more common among the peasantry.—*good-night*, R. says good bye (bái) is seldom heard, W. gives (garnit, tataar) as common forms, the last being used even among men.

Notes to No. 10, *Holderness* es., p. 502.

1. Variants by Mr. Stead for e. Holderness. These are placed first for facility of reference, the others follow.

1. *well*, wel, *argumentative*.—*neighbour*, neeber.—*both*, biirth.—*neither*, niidher.

2. *folks*, fíwéks.—*of being*, et biin.—*not, not*—*likely*, le'ikli.

3. *these*, dhiiz.—*of the case*, v kééz

no article.—*quiet*, kwe'iet.—*I have done*, a'j dín.

4. *folks*, fíwéks.—*through the whole*, thrat wol.

5. *great*, grút, n.H. griüt.—*nine*, náin.—*squeaking*, skwíekín n.H.—*trust* and *truth*. Mr. Ward insists on (thr-), but here and in other cases I seemed to hear (tr-).

6. *straight*, sthreet.—*without*, widhuut. wívuut *not heard*.

7. *I ái* is e.H., (a) would be n.H.—*times*, táimz.—*you*, je.

8. *well*, wel.—*found*, fand n.H., fón e.H.

9. *sware*, swóov.—*with her own eyes*, wíth er a'an iiz, iin *also used but not so frequently*.—*upon the ground*, upu gránd.—*coat*, káut.—*close*, tliús.—*corner*, kaane.—*lane*, liën.

10. *grooming*, grívenín.—*world*, wold.—*like*, léik.—*girl*, las.—*fretting*, ráuerín.

11. *clothes*, tliéiz.—*washing day*, weshín déev.

12. *white*, ewal *peculiar to e.H.*—*tea*, tíiv n.H., tíi e.H.—*fine*, faan n.H.—*afternoon* eftuníen *was written*.—*since*, sín.

13. *matter*, mather.—*my*, mai e.H., maa n.H.—*name*, níim.—*neither*, niidher, *both e. and n.H.*

14. *so, six*.—*going home to supper*, gáí in. buun wom tí ee mi sápu.

15. *found fool*, wéek bréend fiel.—*chatters*, trathéz.—*without*, widhuut.—*reason*, ríev'n n.H., riiz'n e.H.

2. Notes other than variants.

1. *you*, refined, vulgar form (jii), CCR.—*that's neither here nor there*, a common phrase, but (nóndher) belongs rather to Mid Yo., Var. i, also (dhíev) is refined form of (dhíev), CCR.

2. *likely*, CCR, again thinks it ought to be (laakli). This is not the case in the East Riding, see p. 517, par. 2.

3. *of the case*, the insertion of the article here was probably a slip. *I've done*, (aa) always in n.H., (ái) before a vowel in e.H.

4. *those* very refined, (dhem) is the characteristic word, CCR.

8. *found* has (d) in n. but not in e.H.—*beast*, S. made (bíes) pl. only, which surprises CCR.

9. *upon the ground*, CCR, says that this (-d) for the definite article is heard as a casual form in all the other varieties, and in D 24.—*coat*, CCR, says (kóvt) is thoroughly refined, and

(*kúuət*) the peasant form.—*close* (*kloos*), CCR. says is also refined, but very much used; and “the refined phase is really the dominant one over that section of the East Riding nearest the coast, with its important market towns.”

10. *was*, CCR. finds the constant use of *was* a sure mark of the refined form; and that the characteristic rural types are (*war wa wər wo*) long or short according to circumstances.—*fretting*, CCR. considers to be quite non-dialectal.

11. *yard*, CCR. says this is refined: “when a rural liver uses *yard* alone of an enclosure, his thoughts run on the flagged and walled courts he sees in town. There are no *yards* in the country according to his idea, and even

in such compounds as stable-yard, church-yard, his tongue is far more ready to say (*stáb'l-géerth*, *kork-géerth*).”

13. *Jark*, CCR. says that he did not use this in his es. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, because even among the humblest classes it savours of vulgarity, except when used for children only.

14. *to supper*, CCR. objects to the omission of the personal pronoun *my* as being refined. In his own versions es. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, he has always inserted *my*; in es. No. 2, York Ainsty, Mr. Stead has also omitted it.

15. *foad*, CCR. thinks this common word would convey a wrong notion, and prefers *weak*; which he would write (*wé'ik*).

(2) FOUR INTERLINEAR dt. FOR NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE.

As the es. for Var. ii were both written by CCR., and I have been fortunate enough to get four dt. from other writers, although in io., which I have been obliged to pal. from indications, or conjecturally, or by the aid of CCR.'s es., and in one instance by the reading of another native, it seems advisable to give them also in an interlinear arrangement, as a contrast.

1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* 12 wsw. Whitby, written by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, with many notes and indications.

2. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* 10 e-by-s. Middlesborough, by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of Lingdale, Marske-by-the-Sea, with very full notes. Much of the neighbourhood is like it for ten miles. This specimen was subsequently read to me in Feb. 1887, by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (*:staqu*) (3 sse. Skelton, and 12 ese. Middlesborough), a friend of Mr. Wilkinson, and at that time a student in the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster, and that is the pronunciation which I have used. I subsequently referred the chief points to Mr. T. D. Ridley, who resides at Coatham, Redcar, and he agreed with Mr. Langstaff. Mr. Wilkinson was, however, not quite satisfied with the result, but as I have not had an opportunity of hearing him pronounce, I have let my transcript of Mr. Langstaff's stand, and only regret that I am not able to do justice to Mr. W.'s views, which he was at great pains to particularise.

3. *Whitby*, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, the second edition of which was published by the English Dialect Society.

4. *Whitby, Malton, Pickering, and the Moors*, by Rev. John Thornton, Vicar of Aston Abbott, Aylesbury; this is also in io. and with no indications, but by the help of the others there is very little difficulty in interpreting it.

1.	1	<i>Danby.</i>	<i>síiv</i>	a sez,	mɛ ladz,	siiz tɛ nuu	at	a)z	riit
	2	<i>Skelton.</i>	<i>sí₁</i>	a SEE,	lädz,	ɟɛ sii nuu	dhut	aa)z	riit
	3	<i>Whitby.</i>	<i>síiv</i>	a sez,	míivɛts,	ɟɛ sii nuu	dhut	a bi	riit
	4	<i>Moors.</i>			ladz,	ɟɛ sii nuu		a)m	riit

1	ɛbuut	jon	laat'l	las	kumín	fre)t'	skíivɛl ?
2	ɛbət	dhat	liet'l	las	kumín	fre)t'	skíivɛl ɟəndhɛ.
3	ɛbuut	dhat	laat'l	bééɛn	kumín	fre)t'	skíivɛl jon.dɛr.
4	ɛbuut	t'	laat'l	las	kumín	fre)t'	skíivɛl.

2. 1 shii)z ganen duun t' rúued dhíie t'raf t' rid jat o)t' left
 2 shí)ez gáin duun)t' róued dhéce thrau t' rí)ed jat o)t' left
 3 shii)z gáin duun t' rúued dhéce thraf t' rú)ed jat o)t' left
 4 shii)z gáin duun t' rúued dhíie thraf t' jat o)t'
- 1 ond saad o)t' wíie.
 2 and saad o)t' wee.
 3 and sáid o)t' rúued.
 4 o)t'
3. 1 síier ení)ef t' béeen ev gand riit up ti)t' díier o)t'
 2 síier ení)ef t' béeen)z gí)en s'tráit up ti)t' díier v)t'
 3 síier ení)ef t' béeen ez gí)en s'treet up tu)t' díier o)t'
 4 síier ení)ef t' béeen)z gí)en s'treet up ti)t' díier o)t'
- 1 raq uus,
 2 raq ús,
 3 raq uus,
 4 raq uus,
4. 1 wíie shé)l hap'n find dhat d'ruk'n díief wíez'nd t)ap
 2 wéce shí)el mebi fín'd dhat d'ruk'n díief wí)z'nd fele
 3 wí)ue shé)l t)ans ti find dhat d'ruken díief dwí)z'nd kaal
 4 wíie slí)l mebi find dhat d'ruqk'n díief wí)z'nd t)ap
- 1 et dhe kAA :toms.
 2 bi t' ní)em v :tomi.
 3 dhe kAAL :toms.
 4 o t' ní)em o :toms.
5. 1 wi AAl kenz'm vari wiil.
 2 wí) AA'l ken ím vari wí)l.
 3 wi AAl ken ím vari wiil.
 4 ken [nAA] vari wiil.
6. 1 wí)ent t' AAd t)ap sí)en laan v nat te dí)it ne méee,
 2 wí)ent t' AAd t)ap sí)en lí)en v nat ti dí)it egí)en,
 3 wí)ent t' AAd t)ap sí)en tí)it) v nat ti dí)it egí)en,
 4 wí)ent t' AAd t)ap sí)en laan v nat ti dí)it egí)en,
- 1 pá)ue thiq!
 2 pá)ue thiq!
 3 pá)ue thiq.
 4 pá)ue kreeter!
7. 1 luks)te! iz'nt it tríu?
 2 lí)ek! iz'nt it t'rí)u?
 3 lí)uk! iz'nt it t'ríu?
 4 lí)èk! t'ríu?

Notes to Danby dt. No. 1.

1. *I*, (ái) emphatic, (a) unemphatic.
2. *there*. Mr. A. having given no sound, I follow CCR.—*gate* (jat) or (jet).—*left side*, no sound given, I have used (saad) therefore, as given for other words.
3. *enough*. Mr. A. having written *enough* without explanation, I follow CCR.—*gone* (gand) or (geed).
4. *where*, no sound assigned.—*that they call* more usual than, *of the name of* (o t' níem ev), as a rule *of* is (ev) before vowels, and (o, v) before consonants.

6. *old* (ood) is also heard.

There was a schoolmaster at Castleton, a hamlet of Danby parish, named Bull, who was constantly called (:bəl), and the same sound occurs in other words, as bushel (bəshəl) or (bishəl).

Notes to Skelton dt. No. 2.

1. *so*, also (sôv, sîv), the (v) was lost before the following (a).—*lads*, or (taps), commoner than (uēets), which however is used, (*but*iz) is not used.—*little*, (laat'l) not usual.—*lass*, also (gəl) very short, but (las) most common.—*from the*, (tre)d' was also used.—*yonder*, or (jondher), *r* not before a vowel very faint, but perceptible.

2. *going*, a distinct diphthong, not (ga'in).—*road*, or (lonen), Mr. JWL. used (o) distinctly, not (ə), and in ordinary speech he used (oo) in place of (oo).—*there*, the (r) was not heard except as (v).—*through* is (t'ru:t) on the sea-coast between Lofthouse (:lottes) (12 aw. Whitby) and Whitby.—*gate*, (jat) usual, (gēst) also heard, (-gāt) unaccented as the name of a street.—*way*, rather (róogd, lonen) road, lane.

3. *gone*, (gon) also used.

4. *may be*, or (ap'n) happen; (t'aus tē) chance to, scarcely used.—*wizzened* used, 'shrivelled' not used; (shr-) initial, used as (shrî:eb) shrub.—*by the name of*, a common expression, but oftener (wî:1) ez nî:emd, who is named, the (wî:1) is suspicious, perhaps I did not hear right, (az)iz seems more probable.—*Tommy*, certainly not Tom nor Thomas.

5. *ken* and *know* (nóov) are distinguished as *connaitre* and *savoir*.—*very*, (varē) sounded Scotch to Mr. L.

6. *soon learn*, these two words really rhymed by the omission of the (r). (t'í:etē), teacher, is used at school. The (r) was scarcely audible when not before a vowel. The regular sound of O' was (í:v) with the deep (í:1). This Mr. L. pron. in 'moon, soon, book, look, blood, stood, plough sb. (plí:uf), tough (t'í:uf), cool, tool, stool [he stole a stool (i stí:ál v stí:el) the fracture differing, stolen (stó:m)], broom [the plant], do, done, noon, spoon, floor, boot, foot, root, soot,' but 'mother, bloom, nose, brother, good, plough vb., sought, moor,' were (mædler, blaam, nócz, brudher, gud, plau, sóut, múur), 'sought' was evidently assimilated to 'bought, thought, brought, wrought, daughter,' all of which had (óu), 'coal, hole' were (küel, úel).

7. *look*, the forms (lî:eks)te, (lū)dhv, (lū)ju) lookest thou, look thou, look you, all occur. All the (u) were very deep, as well as all the (i), and perhaps (u) like (i) should be used generally.

Notes to Whitby dt. No. 3.

1. *I be right* for I is right, is strange, and doubtful. Unfortunately there is no grammar given with the Whitby Glossary, which only contains *be* in the imperative mood.

2. *going*. In his Glossary Mr. FKR. gives 'ganguin, gannin, gyng.' The pron. here assigned to the last word is quite conjectural, but reminds one of the S. (gwá'in).—*side*. Mr. FKR. writes (sáid) here and in his glossary, but (saad) is more regular.

3. *straight*. Mr. FKR. uses the ordinary spelling both here and in his glossary, hence I write (st'ret), the dental (t, d) is not marked, but must be assumed.

4. *where*, the pron. (wá:ur) is not given in the Glossary.

5. *carl*, explained in the Glossary as "a coarse old man." *Carl* is the fem., and is used for a witch.

Notes to the Moors dt. No. 4.

2. *going*, spelled *guing*, pron. assimilated to No. 3; blanks are left in many places where the sound was not given.

6. *not*, "u as in *smut*," but perhaps after all the Yo. pron. (smut) may be meant.

(3) THREE INTERLINEAR dt. FOR SOUTH-EAST YORKSHIRE.

In order to shew the close connection between the Var. iii and iv, I here give 3 dt.

1. Var. iii, *East Holderness*, pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. Stead, see pp. 499, No. 2, 501, No. 10, and Holderness cwl. *infra*.

2. Var. iii, *Sutton* (3 ne.Hull), on the borders of E. and W. Holderness, written in glossic by Mr. Edward French, of the Lead Works, Hull, long resident, native of Farndon (see D 28, p. 452, last line), and pal. by AJE.

3. Var. iv, *Goole and Marshland*, written by the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, formerly curate in that neighbourhood, and corrected in pal. from his dictation by AJE.

1. 1 *East Holderness*. s'iv a séev, míets, ju s'ii nuu et aa\z
 2 *Sutton*. su aa SEE, méets, ju s'ii nuu dhat aa\z
 3 *Goole*. saa a SEE, méets, ji s'ii nuu et aa\z

1 réit ebuut dhat laat'l las kumín fre sk'íel jondher.
 2 riit ebuut dhat laat'l las kumín fre sk'íel jondher.
 3 riit ebuut dhat laat'l gəl kumín free t' skuul jənde.

2. 1 she\z bun duun ráued dhéev thruuf red jat a left
 2 she z ganín duun t' raad dhéier thruuf red jat on te left
 3 shi\z goin duun t' raa'ed dhíiv, thruuf t' red jat o)t' left

1 and sáid v wee.
 2 ond sáid v t' wee.
 3 and sáid v)t' wee.

3. 1 síer uníef béern\z g'ien sthreet up ti díer v
 2 síer uníu' t' tjaald ez gan sthréit up te díer v t'
 3 síer uníu' t' béern\z gon street up te(t' dúer v)t'

1 raq uus.
 2 raq uus.
 3 raq uus.

4. 1 wíiv she'l me)bi fínd dhat dhruqk'n díif shriv'ld fele
 2 wéier she'l tjons fáínd dhat druqk'n díief shriv'ld fele
 3 wíiv shi'l me)bi fínd dhat druqk'n díief wiz'nd fele

1 v níiem v :tomes.
 2 v t' níim v :tomes.
 3 v)t' néerim v :tomes.

5. 1 wi aal naa im varí wíil.
 2 wi aal naa im varí wíil.
 3 wi aal naa im varí wíil.

6. 1 wíivent aad t'jap síien tíitj v nat ti díi it eg'íen,
 2 wíivent t' aad t'jap síin tíietj v nat ti díi it eg'íen,
 3 wo)nt' óud t'jap síien tíietj v nat te dau)t egeen,

- 1 púvɛr thiq!
 2 púvɛr thiq!
 3 púvɛr thiq!

7. 1 líɛk ez,'nt ít thru?
 2 líɛk iz,'nt ít thríu?
 3 líɛk iz,'nt ít tríu?

Notes to East Holderness dt. No. 1.

1. *mates*, (mééets) is refined.—*right*, also riit.—*lass*, 'gjel) often used.

2. *going*, (bɔn) boun, and (grái in) are used.—*gate*, or 'giit),—*side*, 'saad) in n. Holderness.

4. *may be*, more usual than *chance to* (tjans tí).

Notes to Sutton dt. No. 2.

4. *drunken*, probably a slip for (dhrɔk'n), compare (thríu) true.

Notes to Goole dt. No. 3.

1. *right* or (ráit), which should probably be réit.—*girl*, this *gol* has not been given me elsewhere.—*school* (skuul) is probably an erroneous reminiscence; Dr. Thompson had not been at the place for many years.

2. *gate* or 'giit).

3. *straight*, here (street), sometimes (stráit), as well as *drauk'n*, tríu), are probably errors, the dentality of (tr, dr) not having been noticed.

(4) VAR. i, MID Yo. cwl.

Complete wl. for D 30, Var. i a, or Mid Yorkshire, written in Glossie by CCR., pal. and arranged as a cwl. by A. J. Ellis. "The rule is very general that when a word has *(i)* for vowel, the refined form is *ée*, and the latter is at least in equal and very often in most use." At the end of a word the letters (-d, -r) are heard only before a following vowel. CCR. says the intonation is "a drawl in individual instances, but by rule easy and deliberate, full of body, slow going, firm and clear in enunciation: sentences run short, and the way in which words are mouthed is pregnant with meaning to an accustomed ear. There is hesitancy at times, but it is associated with purpose, and cannot be regarded as a defect. The frequent use of the dental [t, d], as it were, thickens the speech in a very striking way."

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek biék. 4 tak. 5 mak. 6 mééed míud. 7 síek séek. 8 ev. 9 bíéev bíév. 10 óv. 11 môv. 12 sóv. 13 nôv. 14 djróv. 15 óov. 16 dòv. 17 lôv lúv. 18 káek kéek. 19 tíel. 20 lém [often lóem]. 21 ním. 22 téem. 23 síem. 24 sham. 25 méem. 26 wéem. 27 név. 28 éev+r. 31 líut. 32 béevd -iv-. 33 réevd-r -iv-. 34 last. 35 óovl. 36 thóov thóv. 37 tlóov.

A: 39 kam. 40 kéem kím. 41 theqk. 43 an-d. 44 land. 46 kanel. 47 wand-r. 48 saq. 50 taqz. 51 man. 52 wan. 53 kan. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh wéish. 57 as.

A: or O: 58 frév [(f)re before a vowel]. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 emaq. 63 traq. 64 raq. 65 saq. 66 thaq.

A'- 67 gaq gan géev. 69 néev nív nív. 70 tév. 71 wéev. 72 wév. 73 séev. 74 twéev twív. 75 stréek stríek stríuék. 76 téevl. 77 lóed. 78 óov. 79 óovn óovnd. 80 alíde. 81 lánv lánvín. 83 míovm. 84 méev-r. 85 séev-r. 86 éets wot-. 87 tléevz thiez. 88 tléevth. 89 béevth bíevth. 90 blóov. 91 móov. 92 nóov. 93 snóov. 94 króov. 95 thróov. 96 sóov. 97 sóovl. 98 nóovn. 99 throovn. 100 sóovn.

A': 101 jak. 102 as aks. 104 réeud. 105 réeud. 106 bréeeud. 107 léef léef lúuf. 108 díuf. 109 léov. 110 nat nit. 111 óut. 112 éeul. 113 jal wol. 114 máel. 115 éeum jam íem jíem. 116 wéuum. 118 béeeum. 121 géeeum. 122 néeeum. 123 nóat [used]. 124 stéuum. 125 uuanli. 126 úuv-r. 127 éeus éeust. 128 [use] dhem dhím em. 129 géust. 130 búaut. 131 gúaut. 132 jat. 133 réeet. 134 éuth. 135 tléeeuth, thut [rag].

Æ- 138 fíude-r -aa-. 139 drív. 140 éeul agel-stéum [hailstone]. 141 néeul. 142 sníul snéeeul sníil. 143 ííul téeeul. 144 grív-r. 145 slén. 146 méeeum. 147 bréeeum. 148 léee-r. 149 blí ez. 150 lúest. 151 let [not much used]. 152 wa tu-r. 153 setude.

É: 155 thak. 157 réeev'n ríev'n. 158 eftu-r. 160 íg. 161 dív. 163 líud. 164 m'v. 165 síud sed. 166 míud méeeud. 167 díel déeeul. 168 ta'le. 169 wen wéum. 170 aavíst. 171 baali. 172 gres ges gas gras. 173 waa. 174 esh esh. 175 fast. 178 nit nat. 179 wat. 180 bath. 181 path.

É'- 182 sív. 183 títu. 184 líud. 185 ríud. 186 bríuth bríedth bríid. 187 líuv. 188 níiv néei. 189 wéi. 190 kíiv. 191 jíul. 192 míivn. 193 tlíivn. 194 uní oní. 195 maní moní. 196 waa-r. 197 tñiz tñíez. 199 blíut bléeeut. 200 wíut. 201 jíudhen. 202 íut jíut.

É': 203 spíetu spíéetu. 204 díud díid. 205 thríud. 206 rid. 207 níudel níudeul. 210 tléev. 211 gréev. 212 wéi. 213 éevdu-r. 215 tóut. 216 díul. 217 íutu. 218 shíp shéip. 219 slíp sléip. 221 fíiv-r. 222 éev-r. 223 dhíiv-r. 224 wíiv-r wíiv-r. 225 flísh flesh. 226 méeeust. 227 wít wít. 228 swíut. 229 bríth bríeth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek. 233 spíuk. 234 níud. 235 wíiv. 236 fíivv. 237 tñlblíen. 238 íd. 239 séeel síel. 240 léeeum líen. 241 réeeum ríen. 242 twéeeum twéum. 243 pléev plíev [only in ref. sp., colloquially (lúek) laik]. 246 kwiin [queen]. kwíen [quean]. 247 wíum. 248 míiv-r. 249 wíiv-r. 250 swíiv-r. 251 míut. 252 kíel. 253 níul. 254 ledu-r. 255 íthv-r.

E: 257 íd. 258 sig seg. 259 wíu. 260 léev líe líg [last much used in pres. t.]. 262 wíiv. 264 séeel síel. 265 stréet. 267 síeld. 268 íldíst. 270 búes belus, bíli beli. 272 elm. 273 mín. 274 bíqk. 275 [(stíqk) only used]. 276 thíqk. 277 dríutu. 278 wentu wíutu. 280 ulíiv-ven -iv-. 281 lenth [often (leqth)]. 282 stréuth [often (streqth)]. 283 mæri mari. 284 thresh. 285 kris. 286 arv. 287 búezum. 288 lit.

E'- 289 jéi jii. 290 éi ii. 291 dhéi dhii. 292 méi mii. 293 wei wii. 294 fíid. 295 bríed bríd. 296 bíliv bíliiv. 298 fíil ííel. 299 gríin. 300 kíp kíp. 301 jíiv-r. 302 míut míit. 303 swíet.

E': 305 íi éi. 306 íit éat. 307 níi néi naa. 308 níud. 309 spíud. 310 íul íil. 311 tín. 312 íiv-r. 313 aaken. 314 jíud. 315 fííet [with long initial sound to the fracture, see 595]. 316 níist níust níust.

EA- 317 fléev. 319 gíup. 320 kéev-r.

EA: 321 sóov síid. 322 laf. 323 fót íéert. 324 íut. 325 wíuk wóoek. 326 óoud úud. 327 bóuld bóuld. 328 kóoud. 329 fóuld fóoud. 330 óoud od. 331 [form used] seld síld [sometimes with final t]. 332 [form used] teld tíld. 333 kíuf kóuf. 334 íuf óuf. 335 jal íel. 336 íúul. 337 wúul. 340 séeeud. 342 éeeum. 343 waam. 345 daa-r. 346 gríut.

EA'- 347 jíud. 348 íi [(ín) gen. pl., but óften sg.]. 349 fíiv.

EA': 350 díud [ref. (díid)]. 351 líud [ref. (líid)]. 352 rid. 353 bríed [ref. (bríd)]. 354 shíuf shaav shaft. 355 díuf. 356 líuf. 357 dhuf. 359 níivv-r. neevv-r. 360 tíuum. 361 bíuum béeeum. 362 slíiv. 363 tñíup tñíup. 365 níiv-r. 366 grííut. 367 thríut [ref. (thrít)]. 368 dííuth. 369 sléev slíiv slóov. 370 róov. 371 stréev stríiv strííuv.

EI- 372 E í EE'í éei éi [very much used]. 373 dhéev. 374 níiv néev. 375 réeev réez. 376 béeeut.

EI: 377 stéevk. 378 wéevk. 379 éeul. 381 swéeeum swíivn. 382 dhéev-r.

EO- 383 síven síeeven. 384 íven ívven. 385 bíníudh óníudh. 386 jóv. 387 níiv.

EO: 388 mílk míelk mælk [all very short]. 389 jook. 390 sud síud. 393 bívand wvand. 396 waak work [?: (r)]. 397 sword swórd sá'rd [?: (r)]. 398 stéev staav. 399 brit. 400 jíivnest. 401 jíivn. 402 laan. 403 faa-r. 404 s'taa-r. 405 éeuth. 406 jííuth. 407 faadin [the (d) never dental].

EO'- 411 thríe t'rive. 412 shíe shéi. 413 dil dível. 414 flíi. 415 líi.
416 díe-r. 417 t'íie t'jáu. 418 bríe. 420 íoue-r. 421 toti.

EO': 423 thíi. 424 ráuf. 425 lít. 426 téit. 427 béi. 428 séi síe.
430 fránd. 431 bíe-r. 432 íouet. 433 bríst bríst. 434 bet bít. 435 jóu.
436 t'rive. 437 t'riveh.

EY'- 438 díi. EY: 439 t'rust.

I- 440 wík. 441 síev. 442 aavín. 443 tráa de. 444 stáal. 445 aa
aan [latter commoner]. 446 mín naan. 448 dhíiez. 449 gít. 450 tíezde.
451 sóu.

I: 452 aa. 454 wítí. 455 bíg. 457 míit. 458 níit n'ít. 459 rít. 460
wéit. 461 lít. 462 síit s'ít. 464 wítí. 465 síit [but saak sáik] are more
used]. 466 t'jaald [when read, (béem) used in speaking]. 467 waald. 468
t'íld rín [when read, (béemz) used in speaking]. 471 tíme-r. 472 shríqk
sríqk. 473 bínd [ref. (blaand)]. 474 raand [spoken of as *paal* (páid)]. 475
wínd. 476 bínd [ref. (baand)]. 477 rín. 478 grónd [ref. (gráund)]. 479
wínd [ref. (waand)]. 481 tíqge. 484 dhís. 485 thúsul. 486 jíst. 487
jíst t'edé. 488 jít.

I'- 490 baa. 491 saa see. 493 draav. 494 taam. 496 aarun. 497
raaz. 498 raat. 499 bietel [when read, otherwise (tlok, blak-tlok) clock,
black clock].

I: 500 laak. 501 waad. 502 faav. 503 laaf. 504 naaf. 505 waaf.
506 wámen. 507 wímín. 508 maal. 509 waal. 511 waan. 512 spaa-r
[ref. sp'ee-r)]. 513 waa-r. 514 aas. 515 waaz. 516 wízdem. 517 jíie.

O- 520 buu. 521 fíuul. 522 open up'um. 523 éep. 524 wóld.

O: 526 káf káuf. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531
dóute-r déevte-r. 532 kául. 533 dól. 534 úuul. 536 góud góoud. 537
muíld muud. 538 wad. 539 bóul. 540 olín. 542 bolt. 545 op up. 547 b'ául.
548 fórd [ref. (fáed)]. 549 úuud. 550 wól. 551 storm [ref. (stóem)]. 552
kóon káun. 553 óoun úun. 554 kros krus.

O'- 555 shíe shuun [the last both sg. and pl.]. 556 t'uv. 557 tíiv. 558
líek líek. 559 múde-r. 561 bláem. 562 míen. 563 mán'de. 564 síen.
565 neez. 566 u'de-r.

O': 569 bíek. 570 t'ék. 571 g'íud [Mr. Stead says he has never heard
(g'íud in Mid Yo. CCR. gives it in 30 í c. 30 íi a, b. in 30 íii a, see p. 496.
Mr. Jackson Wray knew it, but as very rare]. 572 blénd. 573 flénd. 574
bríud. 575 stíed. 576 wídenzde. 577 bíief bíie. 578 plíief plíi
plíut pléi. 579 uníef. 580 t'á tíi. 581 sóut. 582 kíul. 583 tíul.
584 stíul. 585 bríem [when read, otherwise 287, meaning a sweeping broom].
586 dív. 587 díen. 588 níen. 589 spíen. 590 th'ie-r [casually (th'ue-r)].
591 máue-r. 592 swée-r. 593 [m'én] used]. 594 bíet. 595 íet [with
short initial vowel to the fracture, see 315]. 596 ríet. 597 síet. 598 shédh.

U- 599 ebíim ubuun. 600 híev l'ev. 601 faul. 602 suu. 603 k'ém.
605 s'ín s'ím. 606 dhíe-r [casually dh'ue-r]. 607 b'ate-r.

U: 608 ugli. 609 íd. 610 wál. 611 b'ók. 612 s'um. 613 d'ruqk.
614 uuud. 615 p'ánd. 616 gr'ánd. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 r'én.
620 gr'ound. 621 wán. 622 w'nde-r. 625 t'úq. 626 w'qe-r. 628 w'én. 629
s'ín. 630 w'én. 631 thoz'de. 632 íp. 633 k'íp. 634 th'uí th'úut. 635
woth. 636 ío'de-r. 637 t'úsk. 638 busk. 639 d'ast.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 díev d'uv. 646 buu.
647 óul [occ. (uul)]. 648 uae-r. 649 th'uzen. 653 b'ut b'ud.

U': 654 shruud. 655 íuul. 656 réem r'iem. 657 bruum. 658 duun.
659 tuun. 660 báue-r. 661 shúue-r. 662 úz. 663 uus. 664 luus. 665
muus. 666 úzben. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 669 w'akunth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 míit míekel. 674 d'éd [initial d] slightly dental]. 676 líi laa.
677 d'raa. 678 d'n. 679 k'ork [?: r]. ret. (t'otí)]. 680 bízi [when read,
(t'raí) throng in speech]. 682 laatel laal.

Y: 683 m'óy. 684 bríg. 685 r'íg. 686 baa. 687 flaat flit. 688 bíld.
690 kaand. 691 maand. 693 s'ín. 696 both. 697 borí. 698 morth [?: r].
699 ríit. 700 waas [ref. (wos)]. 701 ío-t. 703 píit. 704 w'ásun.

Y'- 705 skaa. 706 waa [but never as an interrogative, for which (wat f'ar)
what f'or is used; (wáiv) whya, is a form of assent mostly, but is also used

interrogatively]. 707 *thotüen*, *thrit-*, *thrut-*. 708 *aar* [meaning perhaps (*äav-r.*)].

Y: 709 *faar* [see 708]. 711 *laas*. 712 *maas*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *bad*. 714 *lad*. 715 *pad*. 716 *adul*. 717 *djéed*. 718 *tréend* *trüed*. 719 *tadpóol*. 721 *fag*. 722 *drüen*. 723 *düari*. 724 *hóoeld*. 725 *séel séel*. 727 *djam*. 728 *sham*. 729 *fréem frém*. 730 *kan'te-r*. 731 *wantun*. 733 *skan-r*. 734 *daan*. 735 *smash*. 736 *las*. 737 *mét*. 738 *préet prüüt*. 740 *wéev wüev*. 741 *müez*. 742 *lüezi*.

E. 743 *skrüem*. 744 *müezelz*. 745 *trüüt*. 746 *brüedli*. 747 *indiv'e-r*. 748 *unligd*. 750 *beg*. 751 *port* [?: *póort*].

I. and Y. 753 *tüel*. 754 *pig*. 755 *rübet*. 756 *shrimp* [casually (*srämp*)]. 757 *taani*. 758 *göl* [rarely used, replaced by 736]. 759 *fit*.

O. 761 *léed*. 762 *éekem*. 763 *réem*. 764 *kodul*. 766 *môided* [more used in the n. and sw. of Yo.]. 767 *nôis náis*. 768 *kôok*. 769 *móodiwaap* *móudiwéep* *móudiwéep*. 771 *fond*. 772 *ban'faa-r* *bon'faa-r*. 773 *doqki* [(d) slightly dental]. 774 *püveni*. 775 *bumbi*. 777 *shop*. 778 *bf'ed* *fróed*. 779 *óús*. 780 *dj'asel*. 781 *budhe-r*, *bo-*. 782 *pu'dhe-r*. 783 *puul'tri*. 784 *buuns*. 785 *loondj*. 786 *duus*. 787 *suus*. 788 *fluut*. 789 *róu*. 790 *guun*.

U. 792 *skwabel*. 793 *äg*. 794 *dj'eg*. 795 *shrag*. 799 *skål*. 800 [not used, but the part. *skulling* is (*sk'lin*)]. 802 *ram*. 803 *dj'amp*. 805 *kradz*. 807 *pas*. 808 *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 *jabel jübel*. 810 *füs*. 811 *plüs*. 812 *léevs lüs*. 813 *büekm*. 814 *müsen*. 815 *faks*. 816 *füed*. 817 *radish*. 818 *üedj*. 819 *rüedj*. 821 *diléev*. 822 *méev*. 823 *béev*. 824 *tréev-r*. 825 *wéev*. 826 *iügel*. 827 *iügev-r*. 828 *éev'güv*. 829 *géev*. 830 *trüen* *tréem*. 831 *distrüen*. 832 *méev-r*. 833 *péev-r*. 834 *shéev* *shéev*. 835 *rüezen*. 836 *süezen*. 837 *lüesh lüs*. 838 *trüüt*. 839 *béevl büel*. 840 *tréem'er*. 841 *träs*. 842 *plaqk*. 843 *bransh*. 844 *transh*. 845 *éemshent*. 846 *trandle-r*. 847 *déevndj'r* *d'vndj'r*. 848 *tréevndj*. 849 *stréevndj'r* *-üv-* [vowel occ. inordinately long]. 850 *dans*. 851 *aant* [(t) distinct]. 852 *japren*. 853 *baagen*. 854 *hard*. 855 *karit*. 856 *péev*. 857 *küs*. 858 *briés*. 859 *trüs*. 860 *püst*. 861 *füst*. 862 *süüt séev*. 863 *tréevf trüef*. 864 *bikos* *ékos*. 865 *fóot*. 866 *püev-r*.

E. 867 *téev tüv*. 868 *djéev*. 869 *vüel*. 870 *büeti*. 871 *egrii egrüv*. 872 *trüf trüf*. 873 *früv*. 874 *rüen*. 875 *téevnt*. 876 *düntü*. 877 *éev-r*. 878 *saléri*. 879 *fümeevl*. 880 *igzam'pul*. 881 *süns*. 882 *panzi*. 883 *daandlaan*. 884 *prüntis*. 886 *früv-r*. 887 *tlaadi*. 888 *saaten*. 889 *süvs*. 890 *büvs* [said of cattle]. 891 *füvst* [(t) often omitted, especially in the first part of a compound]. 892 *nüvi*. 893 *flüev-r*. 894 *dsüev*. 895 *rsüev*. 896 [not used].

I. and Y. 897 *dilit*. 898 *naas*. 899 *nüs*. 900 *préev*. 901 *faan*. 902 *maan*. 903 *daan* [not used in common talk]. 904 *vaulet*. 905 *raa'et*. 906 *vaap-r*. 907 *traas*. 908 *advaas*. 909 *brüevz*. 910 *djä s*, *djä'sin* [last both sg. and pl.]. 911 *süstren*. 912 *raas*.

O. 913 *küvetj*. 914 *brüetj*. 915 *stüf stof*. 916 *unjen*. 917 *rüevg*. 918 *jübel*. 919 *üntmünt*. 920 *póünt püüt*. 921 *eküüvnt*. 922 *bushil*. 923 *móis-t*. 924 *tróos*. 925 *vóis vüis*. 926 *spóol spüil*. 927 *tr'vqk*. 928 *uuns*. 929 *küv'kome-r*. 930 *lóoin lüüin*. 931 *dj'agle-r*. 932 *emüvnt*. 933 *früvnt*. 934 *buünti*. 935 *küv'tri*. 936 *füvnt* [same as *füvnt*]. 937 *kok*. 938 *kóovv*. 939 *flüevs*. 940 *küvet*. 941 *füel*. 942 *bü'tje-r*. 943 *tütj*. 944 *vluu*. 945 *vuu*. 946 *móel*. 947 *bóel büel*. 948 *buul*. 950 *süpe-r*. 951 *küpel*. 952 *küv's*. 953 *kuzen*. 954 *küshim*. 955 *duut*. 956 *küve-r*. 957 *implóov*. 959 *konvéev*.

U. 960 *küv*. 961 *grüjil* *grüjil*. 962 *müuz*. 963 *küv'vut*. 964 *süjüt*. 965 *óil üil*. 966 *früüt früüt*. 967 *süüt süüt*. 968 *óóis'te-r*. 969 *süev-r*. 970 *dj'üst dj'üst*. 971 *flüüt flüüt*.

(5) VAR. II, NORTH-EAST Yo. cwl.

D Danby, Var. *ii*a, from a wl. in io. written by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby Parsonage, Yarm, author of the Cleveland Glossary, pal. conjecturally by AJE.
 W Whitby, Var. *ii*b, from a wl. in io. written by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, pal. conjecturally by AJE.

It will be evident from this wl. that the two forms of D 30, Var. *ii*a and *b*, are practically identical, and that the two lists really supplement each other. And again comparing this double list with the cwl. for Var. *ia*, Mid Yo., pp. 523-6, and remembering that in that dialect (*éev*) had a corresponding form (*iiv*), we see that the only real difference of that from this, is that this has (*iiv*) without in general any alternative form as (*éev*, *ee-*).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 W *bliék*. 4 DW *tak*. 5 DW *mak*. 6 DW *müed*. 7 W *süek*. 8 DW *ev*, W *ee*. 9 D *bi'ééiv*. 10 D *oo*. 18 W *kliék*. 19 DW *tüel*. 20 DW *liüm*. 21 W *nüüm*. 22 W *tüüm*. 23 DW *süüm*. 24 W *sham*. 25 W *müün*. 27 W *nüüv*. 28 D *iiv*. 31 W *liüt*. 32 D *bath*. 33 DW *reedher*, W *rééedhe*. 36 D [(*gi* *egen*) used], W *thoo*. A: 39 W *kam*. 40 DW *káum*. 41 W *theqk*. 46 W *kan'l*. 50 DW *teqz*. 54 D *want*. 55 DW *as*. 56 DW *wesh*. 57 D *as*. A: *or* O: 58 D *fre frev*. 59 D *lam*. 60 DW *laq*. 61 W *emaq*. 62 W *s'traq*. 63 W *thraq*. 64 W *raq*. 65 DW *saq*. 66 D *waq*.

A'- 67 W *gan*. 69 DW *nüv*. 70 W *tüv*. 71 W *wüv*. 72 DW *wüv*. 73 DW *süv*. 74 DW *twüv*. 76 W *tüv*. 78 DW *AA*. 79 W *AAN*. 80 W *alide*. 81 D *lönin loonin*, W *liüünin*. 84 DW *méev*. 85 DW *séev*. 86 D *wots*, W *wots*. 87 DW *klüev*. 88 W *klüadh*. 89 DW *büüth*, D *beeth*. 90 DW *blAA*. 91 W *MAA*. 92 W *NAA*. 93 DW *shAA*. 94 W *kFAA*. 96 W *SAA*. 98 W *NAAN*. 99 W *thraAN*. 100 W *SAAN*.

A': 101 DW *jak*. 102 DW *aks*. 104 W *rüüd*. 105 DW *reed* [written *rüde*]. 106 D *breed*, W *brüüd*. 107 W *liüt*. 108 DW *daf*. 110 W *nut*. 111 D *öut*. 113 D *whüel* ['(wh) whistled'], W *üel*. 115 DW *iüm jam*, D *cem*. 118 DW *büün*. 121 W *güün*. 122 D *neem*, W *nüün*. 124 DW *stüün*. 125 D *onli*. 126 W *üüv+r*. 127 W *üües*. 128 D *büüevz*, W *dhóv*. 129 W *güüest*. 130 W *büüest*. 131 W *güüet*. 132 D *et*, W *üüt*. 133 DW *reet*. 135 W *klüüth*. 136 DW *öüdhv+r*.

Æ- 138 W *faadhv+r*. 140 D *ag'l*. 142 D *snüil* [spelled *snüihl*], W *snaal*. 144 W *egüün*. 145 D *slüün*. 147 [*harn* used]. 149 DW *bliiz*. 150 W *lééest* *liüst*. 152 D *wə'ta*, W *wa'tv+r* [written *wat-ther*, and said to be 'as near the pron. as one can come']. Æ: 155 DW *thak*. 157 W *rüüv'm*. 158 D *ef'tv+r*, W *ef'thv+r*. 163 W [*ligg'd* used]. 167 DW *düel*. 172 W *gres*. 174 DW *esh*. Æ'- 186 W *t'brüüd*. 187 W *liüv*. 188 W *néi*. 191 W [*whole* used]. 194 DW *onli*. 195 *monli*. 200 W *wüüt*. 203 W *spüütj*. 205 W *thriid*. 206 D *reed*, W *red*. 215 W *tóut*. 218 D *shíp*. 224 W *üüv+r* *wóv*. 226 D *meest*, W *müüst*. 228 W *swüüt*. 229 W *brüüth*.

E- 232 D *brük*, W *brüék*. 233 W *spüük*. 234 W *nüüd*. 235 W *wüüv*. 236 W *iüüv+r*. 240 W [*ligg'd* used]. 242 W *twüü*. 246 W *kwüün* [also without (k), (*wüün*) a quean or female, inoffensive]. 248 DW *müüv+r*. 249 W *wüüv+r*. 250 DW *swüüv+r*. 251 W *müüt*. E: 258 D *seg*. 268 W [*audest*=oldest used]. 270 W *belusiz* [bellows]. 272 W *AAM*. 280 W *ilv'v'n*. 284 DW *thresh*. 286 D *ar*. 287 D *büüzem*. E': 313 W *aaken*. 314 DW *iüd*. 316 D *neksun*, W [*neist* uncertain, possibly (mist)].

EA- 319 DW *güüp*. EA: 322 D *laf*. 323 DW *tóut*. 326 DW *AAD*. 328 DW *KAAD*. 329 D *föd*. 330 DW *öd*. 331 DW [*selled* used], 332 W [*tell'd* used]. 333 DW *KAaf*. 334 DW *AAf*. 335 D *AA*. 337 D *WAA*. 340 D [*garth* used]. 342 D *cem*, W *céem*. 343 D *waam*. 345 W *daa*. 346 DW *güüt*, D *jat jet*. EA'- 347 DW *iüd*. 348 W [*eyen?* (*áim*)]. EA': 350 W *düüd*. 351 W *liüd*. 352 W *rüüd*. 353 DW *brüüd*. 354 D *shaf*.

355 DW *düef*. 356 W *lüef*. 357 W *dhuf*. 360 W *tüum*. 363 W *tjüep*.
365 W *maa*. 366 D *grüet*. 367 D *thriit*, W *thriiet*. 368 W *düeth*. 370
DW *rüu* [D written *rear*]. 371 W *strüu*.

EI- 372 D *äi*. 374 D *nüu*. EI: 377 D *stiik*, W *stüek*. 378 W
wüek. EO- 383 W *süev'n*. 384 W *üev'n*. 385 W *binüedh*. 386 W
jou. EO: 393 W *büent*. 397 W *süued*. 399 W *briit*. 400 W *jenest*.
401 W *jen*. 402 W *laan*. 406 W *jeth*. EO'- 412 W *shüu*. 413 D
düv'l, W *düev'l*. 414 DW *flii*. 415 DW *lii*. 417 [D *chig* used, W *chow*
(*tjôu*)]. 420 D *fôuyv+r*. EO': 423 DW *thii*. 425 DW *liit*. 430 DW
fründ. 433 D *brüest*, W *briist*. 434 DW *bet*. 435 D *jou*. 436 D *triu*.
EY- 438 DW *dii*. EY: 439 W *trüst*.

I- 442 W *äivn*. 448 W *dhüez*. 449 W *güt*. I: 455 W *lig*. 458
DW *niit*. 459 DW *riit*, W *réit*. 464 W *wük*. 465 DW *sük*, D *siken*.
468 DW *tjüde+r*. 471 W *tme+r*. 475 D *wáind*. 476 DW *bünd*. 477
D *fínd*. 478 W *gründ*. 479 D *wínd*. 481 W *fíqv+r*. 486 W *jest*. 487
W *jesthude*. 488 *jít*. I'- 494 W *taam*. 496 D *áren*. I': 505 D
waaf. 508 D *maal*.

O- 521 W *fáuel*. 522 DW *ap'n*. O: 527 W *bóut*. 528 DW *thóut*.
529 DW *bróut*. 530 DW *róut*. 531 D *datte+r* [so also (*slafte+r*) slaughter],
W *dáthe+r*. 532 W *káuel*. 533 D *dál*. 534 W *áuel*. 540 D *alan*. 547
W *báued*. 548 W *fáued*. 549 W *áued*. 550 D *wád*. 552 DW *káuvn*.
553 W *áuvn*. O'- 555 W *shüen* [shoes]. 558 D *liék*, W *liuk*. 559 D
máthe+r. 562 W *müen*. 564 W *süen*. O': 569 DW *büuk*. 570 W
tüuk. 572 D *blád*, W *blüüd*. 575 DW *stüed*. 577 D *büuf*. 578 D *plüuf*,
DW *plüuf*. 579 DW *enüet enüu*. 580 D *tüuf*. 582 W *küüel*. 584 W *stéüel*
[? *stüel*]. 585 W *briüm*. 586 DW *düu*. 587 W *düen*. 588 W *nüen*.
589 DW *spüen*. 590 D *fíüv+r*. 592 DW [(*swéev*) used]. 593 D *must*.
594 W *büet*. 595 W *füet*. 596 DW *rüet*. 597 W *süet*.

U- 600 D *lav*. 602 W *süu*. 606 DW *düv+r*. 607 DW *büv+r* [W,
writes '*butther* pron. like *th* in *thus*,' all an error]. U: 608 D *ugli*. 615
DW *püud*. 616 DW *gründ*. 618 D *wóund*. 619 W *fúnd*. 620 W *gründed*.
622 W *ónde+r*. 626 DW *uqv*. 631 D *tházde* [see 679]. 632 D *up*. 633
D *kqv*. 634 DW *thraf*. U'- 640 W *küu*. 643 W *nüu*. 648 W *üuv+r*.
U': 657 W *brüun*. 658 D *düun*. 659 DW *tüun*. 660 W *büuv+r*. 661
W *shüuv+r*. 662 D *us*, W *uz*. 663 DW *üs*. 664 W *lús*. 666 D *uzbend*.
667 DW *uat*. 668 DW *prüud*. 669 D *unkurth*, DW *uqked*.

Y- 673 DW *mätj*. 676 DW *lii*. 679 D *tjätj* [*o* as in *botch* with a suspicion
of *r* after it, here and in 631, 696, 698, 701, 707]. 682 DW *laat'l*. Y: 684
DW *bríg*. 685 W *ríg*. 690 D *kaand*, W *kán*. 691 D *mánd*. 695 W *aak'n*.
696 D *bóth* [see 679]. 697 D *berz*. 698 W *móth* [see 679]. 699 DW *riit*.
700 DW *wars*. 701 DW *fást* [see 679]. Y'- 707 D *thattüu* [see 679].
Y': 711 D *lüs*. 712 D *müis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W *müet*. E. 744 W *mez'lz*. 746 W *brüedh*. 747 W *índüv+r*.
748 DW *fúgd*. O. 761 W *lüed*. 769 D *móudwaap*. 790 W *güun*.
U. 805 W *krúdz*. 808 D *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 DW *jab'l*. 810 DW *füüs*. 811 DW *plüüs*. 812 W *lüüs*. 813
D *bak'n*. 838 W *trüüt*. 840 D *tjAAuv+r*, W *tjüuv+r*. 845 D *AAnshunt*.
847 D *dandüv+r*. 849 D *strándüv+r*. 851 W *AAant*. 852 W *apren*. 854
W *bard*. 855 W *karit*. 856 W *paat*. 857 W *küüs*. 859 DW *tjas*. 860
W *püüst*. 861 W *tüüst*. E.. 876 W *denti*. 884 W *prents*. 890 W
bees ['pl. beasts of the ox kind']. 891 W *füüst*. 892 W *nevi*. O.. 913
W *küüetj*. 914 W *brüütj*. 919 D *áintment*, W *nóintment*. 921 W *eküent*.
922 D *bshul*. 928 W *üms*. 929 W *kur-küuv+r*. 938 W *küüuv+r*. 941
W *füüel*. 942 D *batüv+r*. 954 D *kashen*.

(6) VAR. iii*a*, MARKET WEIGHTON (:wiit'n) (10 w. Beverley) ewl.

W Rev. Jackson Wray, see 10 es., No. 9, Introduction, p. 501, pal. by AJE. from dict. 17 Dec. 1877. The (a) was very fine, rather (a^l). Mr. Wray made all the (u, uu) into (u₁, uu₁). He also really trilled (r) in all cases, but deeming that an individuality, I have treated the *r* as elsewhere.

F Rev. J. Foxley, in 1877, of Market Weighton, and 20 years acquainted with the dialect, i.e., conjecturally pal. by AJE. F makes his final *-er* = *-uor*, meant for (-*ur*) apparently, but this is so clearly a misapprehension, that I have substituted (-*ur*) throughout. Thus *-thvor* was probably really (-*tʌr*). In both W and F the (e) may possibly have been (ɛ).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 WF bʌk. 4 WF tak. 5 WF mak. 6 WF nʌd. 7 F sʌk. 8 F ev. 11 W maa. 12 W saa. 13 W naa. 14 W draa. 15 W oo. 16 W daan. 17 W laa. 18 W kʌk. 19 F tʌl. 20 WF lʌm. 21 WF nʌm. 23 WF sʌm. 24 WF sham. 25 F mʌn. 27 W nʌv. 31 F lʌt. 32 F baath. 33 F rʌedhʌ. 34 F last. 36 W thʌn, F thʌn.

A: 39 F kʌm. 41 F theqk. 46 F kanʌl. 48 F suq. 50 F teqz. 51 F man. 53 W kan. 54 W want. 55 F as. 56 F wesh. 57 WF as.

A: *or* O: 58 WF free. 60 WF laq. 61 WF umaq. 62 W sʌraq, F sthraq. 63 WF thraq. 64 F raq. 65 WF saq.

A'- 67 WF gan. 69 W nʌv [adj.] noo [adj.], F nʌov. 70 W tʌv. 71 W woo. 72 W wʌv, F waa. 73 W sʌv, F sʌov. 74 W twʌv. 75 W sʌtʌok. F sthʌvʌek. 76 W tʌnd tʌd. 77 W lʌnd. 78 F aa [p.t. (aʌnd)]. 79 WF oon [(wʌ oonz dhʌ) who owns thee, whose child art thou?]. 80 W alʌv, F alʌv. 81 F lʌvʌn. 83 W mʌvʌn, WF mʌvʌn. 84 WF mʌvʌ. 85 W sʌvʌ. 86 WF wʌts. 87 F klʌvʌz. 89 WF bʌth. 91 W moo. 92 W noo. 93 W snoo, F shaa'v. 94 W kroo. 95 W throo. 96 F sʌov. 97 W sʌvʌ. 98 W noon. 99 W thron. 100 W soon.

A': 101 WF jak. 102 F aks. 104 WF rʌd. 105 W reed. 106 W brʌed. 107 W lʌf, F lʌvʌf. 108 W dʌvʌ [also called (pʌvʌst, paste)]. 110 W nat. 111 W ʌvʌt, F ʌ'vʌt. 122 W ʌvl. 113 WF wol, F jal. 115 WF jam. F wʌm. 116 W [not used], F wʌv. 118 F bʌvʌn. 121 WF gʌvʌn. 122 WF nʌvʌn. 123 [W nʌvʌt, F nʌvʌt used]. 124 WF stʌvʌn. 125 WF [nobʌt used]. 126 W ʌov. 127 W oost ʌs, F ʌvʌs. 128 [F (dhʌm) used]. 129 W gʌvʌst [goost] common]. 130 W bʌvʌt. 131 WF gʌvʌt. 132 F jat. 133 WF reet. 134 W ooth. 135 F klʌvʌt.

Æ- 138 F feedhʌr fʌdhʌr. 139 F drʌvʌ. 140 W ʌvl, F agʌlz. 141 WF nʌvl. 142 W snʌvl, F snʌvʌvl. 143 W tʌvl. 144 WF egʌvʌn. 147 W brʌvʌn. 149 W blʌvʌz. 150 F lʌvʌt. 152 W waʌtʌ+r, F wathʌr. 153 F sethʌrde.

Æ: 155 F thʌvʌk. 158 F ʌthʌr. 160 W eg. 161 WF dʌvʌ. 163 F [(lʌvʌd) used]. 164 F [(mʌd) used]. 165 F sed. 166 W [rare, (las) used, also (wentʌ) in a good sense], F mʌvʌd. 169 F wen. 171 W baalʌ. 172 WF ges. 173 F wʌz. 174 WF ʌsh.

Æ'- 182 W sʌvʌ [always], F sʌvʌ. 183 W tʌvʌtʌ. 184 W lʌvd. 185 W riid, F rʌvd. 186 W brʌvdhʌ, F brʌvd. 187 W lʌvʌ. 188 W nʌvʌ. 189 W wʌvʌ. 190 W kʌvʌ, F kʌvʌ. 191 W ʌvl. 192 W mʌvʌn. 193 WF klʌvʌn. 194 F ʌvʌ. 195 F monʌ. 196 W wʌr [(wʌovʌ+r) emphatic]. 197 W tʌvʌz. 199 W blʌvʌt [never with final (k)]. 200 W wʌnt. 201 W ʌdhʌ'n. 202 W iit.

Æ': 203 W spʌvʌtʌ. 204 W dʌvd. 205 W thʌvʌd, F thʌvʌvd. 206 W red. 207 W niid'l. 210 W tʌvʌ. 211 W gree. 212 W wʌvʌ. 213 F ʌvʌdhʌr. 215 W tʌvʌt, F tʌvʌt. 216 WF dʌvʌvl. 217 W ʌvʌtʌ. ʌdhʌ. 218 W shʌvʌp, F shʌvʌp. 219 W shʌvʌp. 221 W tʌvʌ+r [(ʌvʌd, frightened)]. 224 W wʌvʌ+r. 225 W fʌsh. 226 F mʌvʌst. 227 W wʌt. 228 W swʌt. 229 W brʌvʌth.

Æ- 232 W brʌk [common]. 233 W spʌvʌk. 234 W nʌvʌ. 235 W wʌvʌv. 236 W tʌvʌv+r. 237 W blʌvʌvʌn, F blʌvʌn. 238 W edʌ. 239 W sʌvʌvl. 241 W rʌvʌvʌn. 242 W twʌvʌn. 243 W plʌvʌvʌ. 246 W kʌvʌvʌn [queen], kʌvʌvʌn

[quean]. 247 W *wien* [F (sp'ien) spoon, used, ? from spoon meat]. 248 WF *m'iv+r.* 249 WF *w'iv+r.* 250 WF *sw'iv+r.* 251 W *méet*, F *m'et.* 252 W *ket'l.* 254 W *ledhe+r.* 255 W *wedhe+r.*

E: 257 W *edj.* 258 W *sedj.* 259 W *wedj.* 260 W [(*lig*) used for both lie and lay], F *léeé.* 261 F *séeé.* 262 W *wééé.* 264 W *eel*, F *ééel.* 265 W *str'it.* 267 W *j'iid.* 268 W [(*oodest*) oldest used]. 270 WF *belas*, W *beli.* 272 W *oom*, F *el'm.* 273 W *men.* 274 WF *boqk.* 275 WF [(*st'iqk*) used]. 278 W *wentj.* 280 W *el'ev'n*, F *lev'n.* 281 WF *lenth.* 282 W *st'renth*, F *strenth.* 283 W *meri.* 284 WF *thresh.* 285 F *kriis.* 286 WF *are.* 287 WF *biizem.* 288 W *let.*

E'- 289 W *jii*, F *jun.* 290 W *ii.* 291 W *dhii*, F *dhuu.* 292 W *mii.* 293 W *wii.* 294 W *fiid.* 296 WF *bil'ev.* 298 W *fiil.* 299 W *griin.* 300 W *kiip* [p.t. (k'ep)]. 301 W *iv+r.* 302 W *miit.* 303 W *sw'iiit*, F *sw'iiet*, 304 W [not in use for a hammer].

E: 305 W *ai.* 306 W *ai't.* 307 W *na'ist* [used]. 308 W *niid.* 309 W *spiid.* 310 W *ii.* 312 W *iv+r.* 314 WF *i'iid.* 316 W *nekst.* EA- 317 W *iléeé.* 319 WF *g'iep.*

EA: 321 W [(*siid*) used]. 323 W *f'out*, F *f'ot.* 324 W *ééit*, F *ai't.* — W *sal* [shall]. 325 W *wóo[ek.* 326 W *ood*, F *AA'ud.* 327 W *boold* 328 W *kod*, F *kAAD.* 329 W [(*lap*) used], F *f'ood.* 330 WF *od.* 331 WF [(*seld*) used]. 332 WF [(*teld*) used]. 333 WF *koof.* 334 WF *oof.* 335 W *AAL.* 340 W *jaad.* 342 WF *éem.* 343 WF *waam.* 345 WF *daar.* 346 WF *jat.*

EA'- 347 WF *i'iid.* 348 WF *ii.* 349 W *fiu.*

EA': 350 WF *d'iid* [(*diid*) means died]. 351 W *li'd*, F *led.* 352 W *riid.* 353 WF *br'iid.* 354 W *sh'ief*, F *shaaf* [pl. (*shaa'vz*)]. 355 W *d'iert.* 356 W *l'ief.* 357 W *d'ho.* 359 W *né'ber.* 360 W *t'ém.* 361 W *b'ien.* 362 W *sléeé*, [F (*slaifther*) slaughter]. 363 WF *tp'iep.* 365 W *u'iv+r.* 366 WF *gr'iet.* 367 W *thr'iet.* 368 W *d'íeth.* 369 W *sloo.* 370 W *roo.* 371 W *st'rive*, F *sthr'iv.*

EI- 374 WF *néeé.* EI: 377 WF *st'iek.* 378 W *wéék*, F *weék.*

EO- 383 W *sev'n.* 384 W *ev'n.* 385 W *bin'eth.* 386 W *j'ou*, F *j'ou.* 387 W *niu.*

EO: 389 W *ook*, F *j'ook.* 390 W *sh'ud.* 392 W *jon.* 394 W *jonde+r.* 396 WF *waak.* 397 W *s'ied.* 398 W *staav.* 399 WF *briit.* 400 W *an'ist*, WF *jan'ist.* 402 WF *léeén* [most common]. 405 W *aath.* 406 WF *aath*, W *jaath.* 407 WF *faadin.* 408 W [(*nAAD*) used].

EO'- 409 W *bi.* 411 F *tri.* 413 W *d'iv'l.* 414 WF *f'ii* [*a flea* is called (*e lop*)]. 415 WF *li.* 416 W *d'iv+r.* 417 W *tp'ou*, F *tp'ou.* 418 W *bryy₁.* 420 F *iv+r.* 421 WF *toti.*

EO': 423 WF *thii.* 424 W *rof.* 425 WF *liit.* 426 W *féit.* 429 W *f'énd.* 430 W *f'rend*, *f'rind.* 431 W *bi'iv+r.* 432 W *f'out.* 433 WF *briit.* 434 W *b'iet.* 436 W *tryy₁*, F *triu.* 437 W *tryy₁th.* EY- 438 WF *di.* EY: 439 F *thrust.*

I- 440 W *wik.* 441 W *siv.* 442 W *ai'vi.* 443 W *fraade.* 444 WF *stiil.* 446 W *naín.* 448 F *dh'iez.* 449 W *get* [(*ger uut*) get out]. 451 W *s'ou.*

I: 452 WF *aa.* 454 W *witj.* 455 WF *lig.* 457 W *méit* (*mud*) v.]. 458 WF *miit.* 459 WF *riit.* 460 W *wéit.* 461 W *liit.* 462 WF *siit.* 464 W *witj.* 465 W *s'itj.* F *sa'ik.* 466 W [(*béém*) used]. 467 W *waald.* 468 W *tp'ide+r.* F *tp'ldher* [(*dh*) slight]. 471 WF *t'ame+r.* 472 W *shriqk.* 473 WF *blnd.* 474 W [(*péérum*) paring, used]. 475 WF *wind.* 476 WF *b'nd.* 477 W *f'ind.* 478 WF *gr'und.* 479 WF *wind.* 481 WF *f'iqe+r.* 485 W *this'l.* 486 W *je-t*, F *jiist.* 487 W *jis'tude*, F *jistherde* [(*th*) faint]. 488 W *jit.*

I'- 490 W *bái.* 491 W *sái.* 493 W *draav.* 494 W *taam.* 496 W *áirun.* 497 W *raaz.* 498 W *réit.*

I': 500 W *lék.* 501 W *waad.* 502 W *faav.* 503 W *léif.* 504 W *néif.* 505 W *wéif.* 506 WF *wv₁men.* 507 WF *wámen.* 508 W *maal mád.* 509 W *waal wáil.* 511 W *wáin.* 512 W *speiv+r.* 513 W *wéiv+r.* 514 W *éis.* 515 W *wáiz.*

O- 520 W *bou*. 521 WF *fūuel*. 522 WF *op'n*. 523 W *wop*. F *wóoop*. 524 WF *wóuld*.

O: 526 W *kof*. 527 W *bout*, F *b'out*. 528 W *thout*, F *th'out*. 529 W *brout*, F *br'out*. 530 W *rouit*. 531 W *dou'ter*, F *ds'athe+r*. 532 W *kūuel*. 533 W *dul*. 534 WF *ūuel*. 536 W *goud*, F *g'oud*. 537 W *móuld*. 538 WF *wad*. 539 W *bóud*. 540 W *olun* [known]. 542 W *bozt*. 545 W *op*. 547 W *bíuud*. 548 W *fóud*. 549 W *óoud*. 550 WF *wod*. 551 W *storn* [(r) trilled, but I think only as an individuality]. 552 W *kóoun*. 553 W *óoun*. 554 W *kros*.

O'- 555 W *shun* [pl. shoes]. 556 W *tiv*, F *ti* [before a consonant, (tiv) before a vowel]. 557 W [un AAL used]. 558 WF *l'ek*. 559 WF *mudhe+r*. 562 WF *m'ien*. 563 W *munde*. 564 WF *s'ien*. 565 W *n'ez*. 566 WF *udhe+r*.

O': 569 WF *b'ek*. 570 WF *t'ek*. 571 W *gud* [g'úd] known, but very rare]. 572 W *bl'ud*, F *bl'ud*. 573 W *fl'ud*. 574 W *br'ud*. 575 WF *st'ud*. 577 W *bou* [generally, not (b'uf)], F *b'ou*. 578 WF *pl'ief*, F *pl'iu* [also]. 579 WF *en'ut*. 580 WF *t'ief*. 581 W *s'out*, F *s'out*. 582 WF *k'iel*. 583 WF *t'iel*. 584 WF *st'iel*. 586 WF *d'ie*. 587 WF *d'ien*. 588 WF *n'ien*. 589 WF *sp'ien*. 590 WF *fl'ier*. 591 W *m'uve+r*. 592 W *sw'éev*, F *sw'íud*. 593 [WF *m'un*] used]. 594 WF *b'iet*. 595 W *t'it*, F *i'et*. 596 WF *r'iet*. 597 W *s'at*, F *s'iet*.

U- 599 W *eb'nn*. 600 WF *lav*. 601 W *f'oud*, F *fo'od*. 602 W *s'ou*, F *s'iu*. 603 WF *k'um*. 605 W *son*. 606 WF *d'ue+r*. 607 W *bu'te+r*, F *bu'the+r*.

U: 608 WF *ug'li*. 609 W *í'ul*. 610 W *w'ul*. 611 W *b'ulek*. 612 W *sum*. 613 W *dr'uk*, F *dhr'uk*. 614 WF *u'und*. 615 WF *p'and*. 616 WF *gr'and*. 617 WF *su'und*. 618 W *wu'und*, F *w'á'und*. 619 WF *f'ou*. 621 F *wu'nn*. 622 W *u'ndu+r*. 625 W *u'ug*. 626 WF *u'ug+r*. 628 W *nu'nn*. 629 W *su'nn*. 630 W *w'nn*, F *wu'nn*. 631 W *thoz'de*, F *tház'de*. 632 W *up*. 633 W *k'op*. 634 WF *th'raf*, W *thruu*. 635 WF *woth*. 636 W *fo'dhe+r*, F *fo'dhe+r*. 637 W *t'usk*. 638 W *b'usk*. 639 W *d'ust*.

U'- 640 WF *k'uu*. 641 WF *uu*. 642 WF *dh'uu*. 643 WF *nuu*. 645 W *d'uv*. 646 W *b'ou*. 647 W *óul'ulet*, F *dj'ini'ulet*. 648 WF *ú'uv+r*, W *w'e+r* [quite unemphatic]. 649 *thuuzend*. 652 W *k'ud*. 653 WF *b'ud*.

U': 654 W *shruud*. 655 W *f'oud*. 656 W *rum*, F *r'um* [?:]. 657 WF *bruun*. 658 W *duun*. 659 WF *tuun*. 661 WF *sh'ú'uv+r*. 662 W *uz*. 663 W *uus*. 664 W *huus*. 665 W *muus*. 666 W *uzb'inn*. 667 W *uut*. 668 W *pruud*. 670 W *b'udh*. 671 W *muuth*. 672 W *suuth*.

Y- 673 WF *m'itj*. 676 WF *lii*. 679 W *tjotj*, F [between] *tjotj tjetj*. 680 F [(thraq) used]. 682 WF *laat'l*.

Y: 683 W *m'itj*. 684 W *br'itj*, F *br'ig*. 685 W *rig*. 686 W [not used]. 687 W *fl'éit*. 688 F *biild*. 690 W *kaand*, F *ká'und* [short]. 691 W *maand*, F *má'nd* [short]. 694 W *w'áek*. 695 W *AAK'n*. 696 W *both*, F *b'oth*. 698 WF *moth*. 699 WF *riit*. 700 W *wos*, F *waas*. 701 F *f'ost*. Y'- 705 W *sk'éi*. 706 W *w'éi*. 707 W *thottiin*, F *thóttiin*. Y': 709 W *léiv+r*. 711 W *léis*. 712 W *m'éis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 W *bad*. 714 W *lad*. 715 W *pad*. 716 W *ad'l*. 718 W *tréed*. 719 [W (b'ulr'ed) used]. 721 W *f'ag*. 722 W *d'ri'en*. 723 W *d'éevri*. 725 W *s'iel*. 728 W *sham*. 729 W *fréem*. 730 W *kan'te+r*. 731 W *wanten*. 733 W *sk'ie+r*. 734 W *daan*. 735 W *smesh*. 736 W *las*. 737 W *m'éet*. 738 W *pr'iet* [but in No. 9 es. par. 15 note, p. 518. W said especially *not* (pr'iet)]. 740 W *w'éevr*. 741 *m'éez*. 742 W *leezi*.

E. 743 W *skri'em*. 744 W *m'ev'lz*. 745 W *tj'et*. 746 W *breth*. 747 W *ind'iv'e+r*. 748 WF *fl'igd*. 750 W *beg*. 751 W *pi'ut*.

I. and Y. 753 W [(k'it'l) used]. 754 W *p'ig*. 756 W *shrem'p*. 757 W *tá'ini*. 758 W *gel* [not much used, where 'fine talk' is not used]. 759 W *fit*.

O. 761 W *l'ú'ed* [v.], WF *li'ud* [sb.]. 763 W *room*. 764 W *ko'd'l*. 766 W *mó'ud'ed* [very common]. 767 W *nó'iz*. 769 W *mó'athed*. 771 W *f'ond*. 772 W *b'áen'éiv+r*. 773 W *doqki* [used]. 774 W *pooni*. 775 W *b'ubbi*.

777 W shop. 778 W efo'd. 780 W djos'l. 781 W bodhv+r. 784 W
buuns. 785 W luundj. 786 W duus. 787 W sôus. 789 W rôu. 790 W
guun.

U. 792 W skwab'l. 793 W ug. 794 W djug. 795 W shrug. 799 W
skul. 801 W ram. 802 W ram. 803 W djamp. 805 WF krudz. 806 W
fus. 807 W pas.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 W jab'l. 810 W fûs. 811 W plûs. 813 W béek'n. 815 W
faks. 816 W féed. 817 W radish. 818 W éedj. 819 W réedj. 821 W
dilee. 822 W mee. 823 W bee. 824 W tjeév+r. 825 W wéevf. 826 W
eeg'l. 827 W eegv+r. 828 W eegi. 829 W géeen. 830 W t'reeen. 831
W dis't'reeen. 832 W méev+r. 833 W péev+r. 834 W shee. 835 W
rúezen. 836 W síezen. 837 W lûs. 838 W tr'ut [very short (*i*)]. 840 W
tjeemv+r. 841 W tjaans. 842 W plaqk. 843 W braantj. 844 W trentj.
845 W éeanshunt. 846 W tjanlv+r. 847 W déeendje+r. 848 W tjeendj.
849 W st'reeendje+r. 850 W daans. 851 W ant [the insect *ant* is called
(*pisméiv+r*)]. 852 W apren. 854 W baril. 855 W karit. 856 W péent.
857 W kûs. 858 W bréus. 860 W pást. 861 W tûst. 862 W síef. 863
W tjeef. 864 W koos. 865 W faat. 866 W páuv+r.

E. 867 W tûv. 868 W djee. 869 W viél. 870 W búti. 871 W
egrii. 872 W tjiif. 873 W free. 874 F rîen. 875 féemt. 876 W déeenti.
877 éev+r. 878 W saleri. 879 W fûmél. 880 W egzamp'l. 881 W
sens. 882 W panzi. 887 W flaadpi. 888 W saatin. 889 W sîus. 890 W
bûst. 891 W tûst. 892 WF nevî. 893 W flûv+r. 894 W disîv. 895
W risîv.

I. and Y. 897 W diléit. 898 W néis. 899 W miis. 900 W pree.
901 W féin faan. 902 W maan. 904 W vélet. 905 W rélet. 906 W
vépe+r. 908 W advéis. 909 W briiz. 910 W djéist. 911 W sîstrun.
912 W réis.

O. 913 W kíoutj. 914 W bróoutj. 915 W staf. 916 W unjen. 917
W rog. 918 W fûeb'l. 919 W óntment. 920 W pónt. 921 W ekwéemf.
922 W bashel. bishel. 923 W móist. 924 W tjois. 926 W spóil. 927 W
t'rauk. 928 W uns. 929 W kuukumv+r. 930 W ló'n. 931 W djuglv+r.
932 W umont. 933 W frant. 934 W buunti. 935 W kuum'tri. 936 W
funt. 937 W kok. 938 W kóumv+r. 939 W ilûes. 940 W kâet. 941
W fûel. 942 W batje+r. 943 W totj. 944 W eluu. 945 W vuu. 946
W mól. 947 W bôl. 948 W bowl. 950 W savv+r. 951 W kap'l. 952
W kûus. 953 W kuzen. 954 W kush'n. 955 W duut. 956 W kavv+r.
957 W implóí.

U. 960 W kii. 961 W gvy'pl. 963 W kwé'et. 964 W síuj't. 965
W ód. 968 W óistv+r. 969 W sív+r. 970 W djast.

(7) VAR. *iiib*, HOLDERNESS, AND VAR. *iv*, SNAITH, joint cwl.

N n.Holderness (:óudhernes), by T. Holderness, editor of the "Driffield
Observer," 50 years acquainted with the dialect.

W w.Holderness, by F. Ross, lived there to 21 years old, but not since.

E e.Holderness, by R. Stead, Head Master of Folkestone Grammar School,
visited every village of the region.

These are the three authors of the Holderness Glossary of the EDS. N and W
were sent me in MS. in io., with long explanations, and palaeotyped by me: E
was sent me as a numbered wl., but Mr. Stead subsequently visited me, and the
whole was revised by him with me vv. Probably all short accented (e) should
be (é).

Words to which no initial is prefixed are common to all three forms of
Holderness speech; when, in addition, some other initialled sound is annexed,
it means that it is *also* that sound in the district named. When only some initials
are given, the word was unknown for the others.

The pains taken by these three gentlemen to make me correct is most heartily acknowledged.

S Snaith (18 s-by-e. York), from a full wl. in io. by Rev. T. W. Norwood, now vicar of Wrenbury (5 sw. Nantwich, Ch.), but 40 years acquainted with the dialect. As the Snaith forms generally agree with one of those given from Holderness, I have not added them, except where they differed. Differences of (t,r, d,r) for (thr, dhr) are not noted, but Mr. N. always writes simply *tr, dr*, and hence probably used (t,r, d,r).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 EN *bīek*, W *bak*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 6 *mīūd*, S *mēeūd*. 7 EN *sīek*, W *sak*. 8 S *av*, NW *ev*, N *e*, *ez*. 9 *bejēev* [N with (h) if emphatic]. 10 AA [N (kat) used]. 11 EW *māa*, N [not used]. 12 *sāa*. 13 EW *nāa*, N [quite unknown]. 14 *dhrāa*. 15 S *āa*. 16 E *dāan*. 17 *lāa*. 18 *kīek*, S *kēek*. 19 *tīel*, S *tēel*. 20 *līem*, S *lēem*. 21 *nīem*. 22 *tīem*. 23 *sīem*, S *sēem*. 24 *sham*. 25 *mīem*, S *mēem*. 26 N *wīem*, S *wēem*. 27 *nēev*, W [not used], N [hardly used]. 28 *ēer*, N [(h) emphatic]. 31 *līut*. 32 E *bēedh*, WN *bēedh*. 33 E *rēedher*, W *rīedher*, N *reedher*. 34 last [N often omits final (t)]. 35 *āal*. 36 NE *thōa*, W *thāa*. 37 *tlāa*.

A: 39 *kom*, S *kēem*. 40 NE *kīem*, W *kūem*. 41 *theqk*. 43 *and*, H hand [emphatic]. 44 *land*. 46 *kan'l*. 47 *wandher*. 48 *saq*, N *saq*. 50 *teqz*. 51 *man*. 52 EW *wan*. 53 *kan*. 54 *want*. 55 *ash*, WN *as*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *as*.

A: *or* O: 58 *fre* [N final before a vowel (*frev*), before a consonant (*fre*)]. 59 *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *maq*. 62 *sthaq*. 63 *thraq*. 64 *raq*. 66 EN [not used], W *thaq*.

A'- 67 E *gīuv*, NW *gan*, S *gāa*. 69 EW *nīv*, W *nāa*, N *noo*, S *nāa*. 70 NE *tīv*, W *tāa*. 71 E *wāa*, W *woo*, S *wēe*. 72 *wīv*, S *wāa*. 73 *sīv*, N *se*, S *sūv*. 74 *twīv*, S *tuu*. 75 EW *sthrūek*, N *sthook*. 76 *tūvd*. 77 EW *lōvd*, N *lūvd*. 78 *āa*. 79 NW *āab*, E *ōubr*. 80 *a'īde*. 81 *lūven*, W *līen*. 83 *mūven*. 84 E *mīuv*, NW *mēer*, S *māaf*. 85 E *sūver*, NW *sēer*, S *sāaf*. 86 *wōts*. 87 *tlīvz*, S *klūvs*. 88 NE *tlīvdh*. 89 *bīvth*. 90 *blāa*. 91 *nāa*. 92 *nāa*. 93 *shāa*. 94 *kpāa*. 95 *thfāa*. 96 *saab*, E *sōubr*. 97 *sōvd*. 98 *naan*, E *nōubr*. 99 *thfāan*, E *thrōubr*. 100 *saan*, E *sōubr*.

A': 101 NE *jak*, W *īuek*. 102 EW *ask*, N *aks*. 104 *rāvd*. 105 *reed*. 106 E *brōvd* *braad*, W *brūvd*, N *brvd*. 107 EW *lūvaf*, N *līvaf*, S *lāaf*. 108 N *daf* [if used at all, (*pīvst*) used]. 109 *lāa*. 110 NE *nat*, W *not*. 111 *ōvt*. 112 [unknown], S *ēel*. 113 E *wool*, W *wol*, N *ūvel*. 115 E *wōm*, N *īem*, W *jam*. 116 [not used]. 118 *bīen*, EW *būven*, S *βāan*. 119 E *goon*, NW *gīem*. 121 S *gand* *gīem*. 122 *nīem*, S *nāab* *nūubr*. 123 [(*nōvt*) used]. 124 *stīen*, S *stāan*. 125 NE *oonli*, W [(*nōvst*) used]. 126 NW *ōubr*, S *āaf*. 127 NE *ūvst*, W *īvst*. 128 *dhaz*, NW *dhōz* [usual term (*dhem*)], S *dhaas*. 129 *gūvst*, S *gāast*. 130 *bīvut*. 131 NE *gūvut*, W *goot*. 132 E *jat*, NW *ot*. 133 E *rēvt*, NW *ret*. 134 E *ōvuth*, NW *ūvuth*. 135 W *tlōvt*, E *tlōth*, N *tlīvth*.

Æ- 138 *fadhur*, W *fēdhur*. 139 E *dhrēv*, WN *dhrēe*. 140 E *ēel*, W *eel*, N *ag'l*. 141 E *nēel*, N *neel*, W *nīel*. 142 *smīl*. 143 E *tēel*, N *tīel*, W *tīl*. 144 *ngīen*. 145 E *slēen*, NW *slēun* [rarely used]. 146 E *mēev*, N *mēen*. 147 E *brēev*, NW *brēen*. 148 *fēev*. 149 E *blēevz*, NW *blīvz*. 150 E *līst*, NW *līvst*. 152 *wather*. 153 *sethgdv*.

Æ: 155 *thak* [sb.] *thīuk* [v.]. 157 E *rēev'n*, N *rīev'n*, W *rev'n*. 158 E *athur*, WN *ether*. 160 *eg*. 161 E *dēev*, WN *dev*. 163 [forms used], W *līvd*, N *leed*. 164 E *mēev*, WN *mee*. 165 WN *sed*, N [occ.] *seed*. 166 E *mēeūd*. 167 NE *dīel*, S *dēel*. 168 *tab*. 169 *wen*. 170 *aavst*. 171 *baalz*. 172 *gas*, NW *ges*, N *gres*. 173 *waz*. 174 E *ash*, NW *esh*. 175 *fast*. 178 EW *nat*. 179 *wat*. 180 NE *bath*. 181 NE *path*.

Æ'- 182 E *sīi*, NW *sīv*. 184 E *līid*, NW *līūd*. 185 E *rīid*, NW *rīūd*. 186 E *brēdh*, NW *brīid*, *brīūd*. 187 E *līiv*, NW *līīv*. 188 E *néi*, W *nee*, N [(*wōv*) used]. 189 *wéi*. 190 *kéi*. 191 E *īil*, NW *īiel*. 192 E *mīin*, NW *mīīen*. 193 E *tlīin*, NW *tlīēn*. 194 *onī*. 195 *monī* S *menī*. 196 E

war, W was, N war wb, S wíur. 197 tpiiz. 199 W bliét, E [not used], N blec, S bleet. 200 NW wíet. 201 E iðdh'n, NW iðdh'n. 202 E iit, NW iüt.

Æ': 203 S spíut. 204 diid. 205 EN thriid, W thríed. 206 red. 207 EW niid'l, N níed'l. 210 E tlæe tlæe, NW tlee. 211 NW græe, E græe. 212 E wêi, NW wee. 213 E iðher, NW iðdher. 215 tóut. 216 E diil, NW diæl. 217 E iit, NW iüt. 218 shiip. 219 sliip. 221 fiur. 222 éeer. 223 dhæer, S dhæer dhíur. 224 NE wíur, W wéur. 225 flesh. 226 míest, W meest, S maast. 227 wet, N [occ.] wíit. 228 E [pr. t. and sb.], NW swíet, E [past t.] swet. 229 EW breth, N bríæth. 230 fat.

E- 232 E bræek, W bríek, N breck. 233 E spiik, NW spiæk. 234 E niid, NW níed. 235 E wiiv, NW wíuv. 236 E fiivar, NW fiívar. 237 W bleen, E blæen, N bliæn. 238 edj. 239 E séeul, NW seel. 240 [tuid used, WE líud, N leed]. 241 E réeen, NW reen. 242 NE twíæn, S téen. 243 E plæe, NW plee. 246 NE kwíæn, W kwíæn [in sense of queen; queen not used]. 247 wiin, S wíæn. 248 míur. 249 wíur. 250 swíur. 251 E miit, NW miét. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 EW ledher, N lédher. 255 wedher.

E: 257. edj. 258 EW sedj, S seg. 259 wedj. 261 E sée, NW see. 262 E wée, NW wee. 264 S éeul. 265 stréet. 267 niid. 268 [oldest used]. 270 EW belez, N belsiz bellows, belli belly. 272 E alam, W elum, N óum oom. 273 men. 274 E beqk, WN biqk. 275 [stínk used]. 276 thiqk. 278 EW wentj, N wensh. 280 EW lev'n elv'n, N líev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 meri. 284 E thrash, NW thresh. 285 EW kres, N watherkrashez, S krius. 286 aru. 287 biiz'm.

E'- 290 ii i, S v. 291 E dhii, N dhau [emphatic]. 292 S mi me. 293 wii wi, N wb. 296 E bdiiv, NW bilíev. 298 fiil. 299 gríin. 300 EW kiip, N kíep. 301 iúer. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E': 305 EW ái, N aa. 306 éit. 307 EW nái. 308 niid. 309 spiid, N spíed [vb.]. 310 iil. 311 ten. 312 iúer. 313 auk'n. 314 iúed. 315 fiit fiets.

EA- 317 [unknown]. 319 gíiup, S géep. 320 kéer. EA: 321 E saa [NW (siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 fót. 324 éit. 325 E wóok, NW waak. 326 E óoud, NW Aad. 327 bóud. 328 E kóoud, NW kaad. 329 E fóould, [N (dub'l up)]. 330 EN öd, W Aad. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(teld) used]. 334 Aaf [E oldest (óout)]. 335 Aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 342 N eem, E éeem, W eem. 343 waam. 345 daar, S déer. 346 E gíut, NW jat, S géet.

EA'- 347 E iud, NW iúed. 348 EW ái, N ii. 349 fiu, S féer. EA': 350 díud, E diid. 351 W led, NE líed. 352 EW red, N riid. 353 bríud. 354 shaf shav, S shíef. 355 E diif, NW díef. 356 E liif, NW líef. 357 E dhAA, W dhoo, N dhof. 359 néibur, S néeber. 360 E tiim, NW tíim. 361 E biim, NW, bíim. 362 E slæe, NW [not used]. 363 E tpiip, NW tpiép. 365 E níie [N and W (naa) nigh, used]. 366 E græt, NW gríet. 367 W thret, N thríet, E [not used]. 368 E diith, N díith, W deth. 369 slaa, E slóo. 370 raa, róoo. 371 sthAA, E sthróo.

EI- 372 EW éi, N ee, S aa. 373 E dhæe, NW dhee. 374 E néee, NW nee. 376 E béet, NW beet. EI: 377 S stæek. 378 E wéek, W wíek, N week. 382 S dhæe.

EO- 383 W sev'n, E sív'n, N síuv'n. 384 EW ev'n, N iúv'n. 385 biúuth. 386 E ju, NW jóu. 387 niu.

EO: 388 mílk. 389 NE jóok, EW jaak, S jávek. 390 EW shud, N sud. 393 bíout. 396 waak. 397 E sóoud, NW saúud. 398 staa. 399 bríit, S bréit. 400 E iúnist, NW aanist. 401 N jaan. 402 EW laan, E líien. N leen. 403 faa, N fæ. 404 staa. 405 E aath, NW aath. 406 E ath, W jath, N ath [after consonants], S iúth, jath [after vowels]. 407 faadin. 408 EW niu, N [(naad) used].

EO'- 411 EW thrii, N thríie. 412 [weak], she [strong] shíie. 413 dível. 414 líi [N flæ is (læp)]. 415 líi. 416 díur. 417 tjóu. 418 EW bruu, N briu. 420 fómr. 421 fottí.

EO': 423 thii. 424 raf. 425 líit. 426 féit. 427 bíi bi. 428 EW sii,

N *siv*. 429 [not used]. 430 frind. 431 biier. 432 fōæth. 433 briist. 434 EW biit, N bet. 435 juu jø. 436 EW thruu, N thriu. 437 EW thruuth, N thriuth.

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 E thrist, NW thrust.

I- 440 wiik, S wik. 441 siv. 442 EW áivi, N aavi. 443 EW fráidu, N fraade. 444 EW stáil, N staal, S stií. 445 [not used]. 446 EW náin, N naan. 448 NW dhíuz, E dhiiz. 449 get, N ger [before vowels]. 450 tiuzde. 451 sóu.

I: 452 a [W (ú) is used only before is, isn't]. 454 wítj. 455 EN lig [WN (*lee*) used]. 457 méit. 458 niit, S niit néit. 459 riit, E réit. 460 wéit. 461 liit, S eléit. 462 S séit siit. 464 wítj. 465 E sitj, W sák, N sik. 466 W tjàld. [N (*been*) used]. 467 WE wáld, N waald. 468 EW tjàldher, [N (*beenz*) used]. 471 tómer [N gave (*wad*)]. 472 shríqk, S shreqk. 473 blínd. 474 W ránd, E ránd, [N (*sk'n*) used]. 475 wánd. 476 bánd. 477 fánd. 478 NE gránd, W gránd, S gránd. 479 wánd. 481 fàqer. 484 dhús. 485 thís'l. 486 S jést. 487 jísthude. 488 jít.

I'- 490 báí, EN bí, N ba. 491 EW sái, N saa. 493 EW dhráiv, N dhraav, S draav. 494 EW táim, N taam. 496 éíerun. 497 E bráiz, N braaz. 498 réit, S raat. 499 EW biit'l, N biit'l [but generally called *clocks*].

I': 500 léik, S lák. 501 EW wáid, N waad. 502 WE fáiv, N faav. 503 léif, S laaf. 504 néif, S naaf. 505 wéif, S waaf. 506 wómen. 507 w'im'n. 508 EW máil, EN maal. 509 EW wáil, EN waal. 511 EW wáin, N waan. 512 spéier. 513 wéier. 514 éis, S aas. 515 EW wáiz, N waaz. 516 wídzun. 517 jiu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fáuél. 522 op'n. 523 EW wóp, N wáwep, S úwep. 524 wóld. O: 526 E kooft, NW kof. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 S bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóuther. 532 S káuél. 533 dal, N dóuli. 534 úwél. 536 góud, N guuld. 537 móul, S móud. 539 E bóul, W bool. 540 olen, N prak olen. 542 bóult, S bóut. 545 op. 547 EN báud. 548 EN fáuéd, W food. 549 NE úwéd. 550 wéd. 551 E stóorm, WN stóerm. 552 E kaan, W koon, N káuen. 553 E aan, W oon, N úuen. 554 kras.

O'- 555 shuu. 556 tí [before cons.], tiv [before vowels]. 557 tíiv. 558 líiek, N líuk. 559 mudher. 561 EW bluum, N [not used]. 562 míien. 563 munde. 564 síven. 565 náuz. 566 udher.

O: 569 bíiek, N bíuk, S buuk. 570 tíiek, N táuk. 571 gud. 572 blud. 573 flud. 574 bruud. 575 stíwéd, N stud. 576 wed·enzde. 577 lau bíu, NW bíuf. 578 plíwéft plíu [subs.], plíu pluu [verb]. 579 S maft. 580 EW taf, N téef. 581 sóut. 582 kí·él. 583 tí·él. 584 stí·él. 585 EW bruun. 586 díiv, N div [before vowels], díiz [dost], d [pl.], S duu. 587 E dan, NW dí·en. 588 níiven. 589 spíven, S spávin. 590 flíiv, S flíuiv. 591 máuer. 592 E swóour, NW swéer. 593 EW mus, [N (*man*) used]. 594 bíwét, S bíwít. 595 NE fíiet [see 315], W fat. 596 ríut. 597 síut, NE sat. 598 [not used].

U- 599 EW ebav, N ebun. 600 lav. 601 fól [N little used]. 602 síu. 603 kum. 605 san. 606 díiv, S díuiv. 607 bather.

U: 608 ughí. 609 íul. 610 E wól, NW wuul. 611 bók [N seldom used]. 612 sam. 613 dhraqk. 614 uund. 615 S pánd. 616 NE gránd, W grán. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 tam. 621 wán, W wan, N wan [did wind]. 622 mudher. 625 taq. 626 uqer. 628 S nan. 630 wán, N wan [did win]. 631 tházde. 632 up. 633 kóp. 634 E thruuf, NW thruft, S thruu. 635 wath. 636 fódher. 637 NE task. 638 N busk [means a *bush* only]. 639 NE dust.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu, dh [weak]. 643 nuu. 645 EW dav, N duu. 646 W buu, NE bóu. 647 EW óul, N uul. 648 úuiv. 649 thruuzend. 652 kad. 653 S bat.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 rum. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 660 báuiv. 661 sháuiv. 662 us. 663 mus. 664 S hus. 665 muus. 666 uzben. 667 uut. 668 prnud. 670 E buudh, W bíwédh. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mítj. 674 díid. 676 líi. 677 dhraí. 678 díin. 679 tjetj, W tjetj. 680 WE bízi [N uses (*thraq*)]. 682 laat'l.

Y: 683 mädj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 biä, N [occ.] baa. 687 EW fléit, N flüit. 688 E bild, NW biild. 690 EW káind, N kaand. 691 EW máind, N maand. 693 sin. 696 both, S bæath. 697 berä. 698 N moth, S mæath. 699 riit. 700 E was, NW wæs, S waas. 701 tæst. 703 pä. 704 E vik's'n.

Y'- 705 skái, N [also] skaa. 706 [not used]. 707 thottiin. 708 éiur. Y: 709 féiur. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 E djéed, NW djeed. 718 threed. 719 E tadpóul, W tadpáuel, [N (bóli)uel used]. 720 fag. 722 E dhriin, NW dhriien. 723 EW déeri, N déeri. 724 EW baald, N boold. 725 sí ul, S séul. 727 E djam, N [(pezaarv) used]. 728 sham. 729 N fræm, EW fræm, S fréem. 730 N kanter. 733 skáav. 734 daan. 735 smash. 737 NE máut, W mæet, S méet. 738 E préet, NW præct. 740 E wéevv, NW wæv. 741 E méeez. 742 E léeez.

E. 743 skræem. 744 EW móez'lz, N mez'lz. 745 tjáit. 746 S bráiedh. 747 E endev'vur, N indiv'vur. 748 íbged. 750 beg. 751 píut.

I. and Y. 753 [(kaf'l) used]. 754 píg. 755 E ílbut, NW [not used]. 756 NW shremp, E semp. 757 W táni, N taani. 758 gel [N usually (las)]. 759 í t.

O. 761 láud, S láued. 762 EW úmakem, E aakem, N okem. 763 NE riuem, E raam. 764 kád'l. 766 NE móidhud, W [not used]. 767 nóiz. 768 EN káuek, E kaak, W kook. 769 E móul, NW móudhud, S maal. 771 índ. 772 báumféiur. 773 NW dáqki. 774 E puuni, W puuni, N píuuni. 775 buubi. 777 shap. 778 íbd. 779 [not used]. 780 N dæs'l. 781 NW hadher, E [not used]. 782 SW páther, E [not used]. 783 pulthri. 784 buuns. 785 N huudj. 786 duus. 787 S suus. 788 NW flunt, E [not used]. 789 róu. 790 E gum, NW guun.

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 ug. 794 djug. 799 skól. 800 skól. 801 ram. 802 ram. 803 djamp. 805 krudz. 806 ías. 807 pas. 808 pæ, S pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 E íub'l éerb'l, N jab'l, W ab'l. 810 íiús, S féeus. 811 plíús, S pléeus. 812 E léeus, NW líus. 813 NE bíieken, W beek'n, S béek'n. 814 NE móies'n, W mees'n. 815 E faks. 816 E féed, NE ííed, W íed. 817 radísh. 818 E éeudj, EEDj, W eedj, N íudj. 819 E réeudj, W reedj, N ríudj. 821 E díléu. 822 E méer, NW mee. 823 E béer, NW bee. 824 tjéer. 826 íug'l. 827 íuger. 828 E éevgi [N shaking]. 829 E géen, N géen, W geen. 830 thriien, S tréem. 831 W disthriien. 832 méer. 833 péer. 834 E tjéez, N shez shee. 835 E riiz'n, N ríez'n. 836 E siiz'n, N síez'n. 838 thriit. 839 E béel, NW bed. 840 NW treamer, E treamer, S tamer. 841 tians. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj. 844 threntj. 845 eushent. 846 tranler. 847 deendj. 848 tjeudj. 849 sthreedj. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 apren. 853 baagin. 854 bard. 855 karit. 856 E péet, NW pæ. 857 kíus, S kéus. 858 E bréeus, N bríeus, W bree. 859 W tjees, NE tpius. 860 píust, S péust. 861 tóust. 862 NE sáuf, S séuf. 864 E bík'z, NW bíkíuz, -s. 865 NE faat, E fout. 866 píue.

E. 867 S tíe. 868 E djéev, W djee. 869 NE víel. 871 E egrii, N igríe. 872 tjíuf. 873 E frée, S fréer. 875 E féent, N féent, W féent. 876 S déeunt. 878 NE saleri. 879 E fíméel, W ííemel. 880 W zamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 WE dandelá'v. 884 prentis. 886 E frá'v, NE frí'v. 887 NE tlaadj. 888 NE saaten. 889 S séus. 890 E bíist, N bíust. 891 E fiist, N ííust. 892 nevi. 893 flá'v. 894 E dsiiv, N dsiíev. 895 E risiiv, N risíev.

I. and Y. 997 W dlíit, NE dléi't. 898 néis. 899 NE niis. 900 E pree, W pree. 901 E íavn, W íévn, faan. 902 EW máin, N maan. 903 EW dávn, N daan. 904 EW válet, N vaalet. 905 ráut. 906 vé'vur. 907 [not used]. 908 advé'v. 909 EW briiz, N bríiez. 910 EW djéas, N djóíst, S djáust. 911 EW siisthriin, N síisthriin. 912 réis.

O.. 913 *kúuŋtj*. 914 *bráuŋtj*. 915 *stuf*. 916 *un'ien*. 917 *rúuŋg*. 918 E *fiib'l*, NW *fíub'l*. 919 *óuntment*. 920 *póint*. 921 E *ekwéent*. 922 *bush'l*. 923* NE *móist*, W *móis*. 924 *tjóis*. 925 *vóis*. 926 *spóil*. 928 *auns*. 929 *kuukumer*. 930 *lón*. 932 *ununt*. 933 *frónt*. 935 *kunthri*. 936 EW *font*, N *faut*. 937 *kók*. 938 E *KAANER*, NE *kóuener*, W *kouner*. 939 *tláues*. 940 *kunt*. 941 *fíuel*, S *fúul*. 942 S *batjer*. 943 *tótj*. 944 *eluur*. 945 *vuu*. 946 [not used]. 947 *bóil*. 948 NW *buid*. 950 *sápur*. 951 *kóp'l*. 952 *káues*. 953 *kózen*. 954 *kóshen*. 955 *duut*. 956 *káv'er*. 957 E *emplóí*, N *implóí*. 959 E *konvéer*, N *kunvee*.

U.. 960 E *kii*, W *kíu*, N *kéi*. 961 *gríu)l*. 962 [N (*míu*) is a pile of corn in a barn]. 963 *kwaíet*. 964 *sín'it*. 965 *ól*. 966 *fírut*. 967 *síut*. 969 *sáuer*, S *sháuer*. 970 *djúst*. 971 *fiut*.

D 31 = WN. = West Northern.

Boundaries. Begin on the Solway Frith at the coast near Newton Arlosh, Cu. (13 w. Carlisle), and follow the tortuous n. *tee* line 7 already described, p. 20, through Cu. and Du. to Sunderland, then follow the coast of Du. to the Tees mouth, and go up the Tees to Croft, Yo. Here turn along w. b. of D 30, going sw. to Middleham, and s. to Burley (7 n. Bradford). After which turn w. and pass upon the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18) to the b. of La. near Colne, about 16 wnw. Bradford, and go nw. along the b. of La. to 13 ese. Lancaster, where enter La. and sweep round n. of Wyersdale (6 se. Lancaster) to Cockerham (8 ene. Fleetwood, La.). Then go n. and follow the w. and s. coast of La. and Cu., passing n. to the point of starting in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith.

Area. This large tract of country comprises s. Du., w. and m. Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n. La., and the hilly part of w. Yo. It is traversed by the s. *hoose* line 6 (p. 19) dividing it into two distinct parts. Of these the n. portion treats the U' words as having simple (uu), or rather a peculiar modification of it, beginning deeper but ending with (u), either (*úu*) or (*eúu*), where (e) is very brief and uncertain, but both fractures are conceived by the natives as simple (uu). The s. part transforms these inchoant diphthongal forms into the complete diphthongs (*óu*, *óu*, *áu*). This however does not affect the other dialectal relations. In fact the s. *hoose* line 6 only shews where the old traditional pron. (uu) has completely changed. The preparation for the change has been made in the n. portion, while probably in the EN, D 30, and certainly still further n. in the L. div., the pure old (uu) form is retained. See (*a'u*) p. 292, and (*a'u*) p. 293.

Varieties. This area I find it best to divide into several Varieties, which will be considered presently as to their nature, and will here be merely localised.

Var. i. Extreme w. of Yo., embraces Upper Swaledale, Upper Wensleydale, the nw. horn of Yo., and n. and m. Craven.

Var. ii. Lonsdale, or n. La., including extreme s. Cu., embraces Lancaster, Cartmel, Furness, and the region about Bootle, Cu.

Var. iii. We. s. of the watershed, with a part of extreme w. Yo., embraces Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale, and Orton, in We.

Var. iv. Edenside, or the basin of the River Eden, includes We., n. of the watershed, and m. Cu., and contains Kirkby Stephen, Temple Sowerby, Milburn, Langwathby, Ellonby, etc

Var. v. or w. Cu. contains Keswick, Clifton, and Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram.

Var. vi., s. Du., contains Weardale and Teesdale.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., ‡ per J.G.G., || so., and ° io.

Cu. * Abbey Holme, ° Borrowdale, * Clifton, ‡ Ellonby, ° Hale, ‡ Keswick, ‡ Langwathby, * Penrith, ° Ravenglass, ° Workington.

Du. ° Aycliffe, ° Bishop Auckland, ° Bishopton, ° Easington, ° Greatham, ° Hart, ° Hartlepool, ° Heathery Cleugh, * Lower Teesdale, ° Middleton-in-Teesdale, ° Monk Hesledon, ° Ryhope, ‡ St. John's Weardale, ° Seaham, ° Sedgfield, ° Stanhope, ° Witton-le-Wear, ° Wolsingham.

La. † Broughton-in-Furness, † Cark-in-Cartmel, † Caton, °† Coniston, ° Dalton-in-Furness, ° Heysham, † High Nibthwaite, † Hornby, † Lancaster, † Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, ° Newton-in-Cartmel, † Skerton, °† Ulverston.

We. ° Appleby, ‡ Casterton, ‡ Crosby Ravensworth, ‡ Kendal, ‡ Kirkby Stephen, ‡ Long Sleddale, ‡ Milburn, °† Orton, ‡ Shap, ‡ Temple Sowerby.

Yo. ‡ Black Burton, or Burton-in-Lonsdale, ‡ Cautley by Sedberg, ‡ Chapel-le-Dale, ‡ Dent, ‡ Horton-in-Ribblesdale, ‡ Howgill, ‡ Ilkley, ° Laithkirk, || Middlesmoor, || North of Richmond, * Richmond, || Skipton, ‡ Upper Swaledale or Muker, ‡ Upper Wensleydale or Hawes.

The extreme care and conscientious anxiety to phonograph the pronunciation of his informants, shewn by repeated revisions, which mark J.G.G.'s contributions to the phonology of this district, require particular notice, and I cannot but repeat my warmest thanks for the labour which he has bestowed during many prolonged personal interviews in making me fully acquainted with his results, and preparing them for publication here. He has also revised the proofs of D 31.

Character. Although D 31 is so large, and mostly very hilly, there is a remarkable uniformity in its mode of speech. The e. b. towards D 30 is not particularly well defined, and probably a very accurate survey, such as TH. has accomplished in the M. div., would shew a gradual melting of D 31 into D 30. But the real boundary is geographical, the subsidence of the hilly districts of the nw. and w. of Yo. into the plain which occupies its centre.

Referring to the list of Edenside speech-sounds (p. 539) for phonetic details, the general character is shewn most distinctly in Var. i, and may be roughly stated as follows:—

A-, A' = (i'á₁), as (n'í'á₁m, kl'í'á₁z, h'í'á₁m) name, clothes, home, as distinguished from the adjoining D 30, Var. i. (niem, thiez, íem): that is, the fracture consists of two nearly equally strong elements, each distinct, the first being a low form of (i) approaching to (é), and the second a low form of (a) approaching in J.G.G.'s opinion to (æ), and lying between (a, æ): whereas in D 30 the first element is generally not quite so low, though it varies among (i, i, e), and the second element is weak and indistinct. The younger generation, however, even in D 31, inclines to (íe). J.G.G.'s researches were among old people, many of whom have since died.

E' = (éi), this is another peculiar fracture, with both elements distinct and accented, the first short, and the second more prolonged, as (méi, gréin, méit) me, green, meet. These are appreciated by natives, as (ii). In D 30 they vary as (éi) accented fully on the first element, or (íe, ii), as (méi, gríin, míet míit) me, green, meet.

I' = (ái), as (tái'm) time, occasionally, but rarely, and never characteristically, varying as (E'i) in Var. vi. but always quite distinct from D 30 (taam).

O' = probably normally (ii) derived from (o'u). This (iu) is perhaps the foundation of the prevailing D 30 form (íie), but for some reason, which I cannot assign, it varies, as (á₁u), thus D 31 (k'á₁ul k'íil), D 30 (k'íel) cool.

U' = (á₁u) n. of line 6, but s. of it approaching (óu) and varying, as (óu, áu), whereas in D 30 it is regularly (un), thus D 31 (d'á₁un, d'óm, d'áun), D 30 (duun) down. In the nw. horn of Yo this U' further varies as a sound which J.G.G. writes (éuu), which is parallel to (éii) for E'. Rev. W. R. Bell wrote the sound as ew, with a ~ over, and compared it to the mew of a cat, apparently

meaning (ME-JE'U). JGG. said Mr. Bell recognised London (a¹u). In both (šī éu) the final element predominates. CCR. heard from the n. of Richmond, Yo., a sound he wrote *erw* in his Leeds Glossary, p. xiii, in *derwn, therw, nerw*, down, thou, now, the *r* only serving to alter the sound of the preceding vowel. This notation may have been meant to indicate this (éu) sound, but more closely resembles *a'u*. Here I can merely note that the subject requires investigation, but the region is so difficult of access that I have not been able to get proper information.

These are the great vowel differences, and possibly only indicate a preservation of old forms in the hills, which have been softened down in the plains. In construction *I is* (a)z), and *t'*=(t') for the, prevail over both hill and plain.

THE EDENSIDE SPEECH-SOUNDS.

Edenside is the name of Var. iv of this district, occupying n.We. and that part of Cu. about the River Eden. The sounds there found prevail more or less over the whole district, and I avail myself of this opportunity of giving the list of sounds as drawn up by JGG. in his paper on the "Traditional Names of Places in Edenside," read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society at Penrith, Jan. 1881. The traditional names themselves will be given subsequently. The words in square brackets [] are A.J.E.'s, the others JGG.'s.

Simple Vowels.

- (a, aa) Nearly as the English vowels in "Papa asked Grant to pass half the staff to aunt," but the tongue is somewhat more advanced as it is in the true Italian (a). Edenside examples: Short—*lass, glass, pass, castle, what, water, father*. Long—*Farm, cart, harvest, garden, dark*.
- (a₁) [In the paper cited JGG. used (æ) in place of the present (a₁).] General continental so-called short (aa). Quite distinct from the short sound of the last, but often confounded with it. Frequently heard as (ə)—the sound in "one such ugly cut's enough to dull one's courage"—by people from the south. [I could not hear any similarity between the two sounds.] Edenside examples: *Man, cat, bag, pan, Annie, Maggie*, etc. Compare *lassie-lad* (lasi-la₁d), *brass pan* (bras pa₁n), *laugh at* (laf a₁t), *he sang a song* (i sa₁q v sa₁q). [When I heard JGG. pronounce these words, they sounded to me rather like (la'si lad, bra's pan, la'f at); but as he repudiated (a¹) and was very anxious that (a₁) should be kept distinct from (a), and considered (aa) to be the true sound of (a) in *tather*, and (a₁) to be deeper, lying in the series, (a a₁ ə), I have followed his wishes. To my ear however he pronounced (aa) long, but (a¹, a) short, and I should have so written the sounds. He sometimes indicates 'advanced' (a, aa), which I cannot at all distinguish from (a¹, aa¹). See notes to No. 19 in the 22 interlinear es. for this district, given below.
- (AA) English vowel in "All Paul's daughters ought to talk small," but shorter in quantity, and more like the Italian *o aperto*. Edenside examples: *Calf, halfpenny, fall, wall, talk, hall*, etc. [This may be same sound as TH.'s (A¹) in D 23, Var. i, p. 353, but I could not distinguish it from (oo) Italian *o aperto*, open (o)].
- (EE) Italian *e aperto* [open (E)], and Scotch and general continental short *e*. Edenside examples: *Hare, pair, Mary, day, hay, gay*. [As JGG. pron. the words the sound was considerably deeper than in the Southern (heer, peer, meeni, dee, hee, gee) which also occurs.]
- (e) Received Southern English short *e* in "seven times eleven are seventy seven, eleven times seven are seventy seven, seven into seventy seven eleven, eleven into

- seventy-seven seven." Edenside examples: *bed, set, men, step, egg*, etc. [Kept quite separate from (*bed, set, men, step, egg*) etc., JGG. adds] It is as well to realize the difference between this and the last, because in the only scientific description of Edenside speech yet given [Dr. Murray's], this vowel is said to be represented by the one last described (EE). [Probably because (E) was native and (e) foreign to Dr. Murray, who confuses (e) with Scotch *i* in *fill, pät*, DSS. p. 107.]
- (c) True Italian *e chiuso* [shut or close (e)] and "general" Scotch and continental sound of "long *a*." Edenside examples occur only in the pairs of confluent [or fractured] vowels described below. [The true (e) does not occur in the fractures (*i*₁, *i*₁*a*₁) to which he refers, but only its forms (e¹) or (i₁).]
- (i) Received English in "in this little village lived Kätty's sister Minnie." The Edenside vowel is formed with the tongue nearer the palate than is usual in the South of England: with us [in this paper "we" always means people of Cu. and We.] the sound is nearer the short sound of (ii) as in the n. of Germany, etc. Edenside examples: *bät, lig, in, kittle, big, gät*, etc. [It should therefore be written (i¹) as (*bä¹t, li¹g*), etc., but I cannot differentiate this from pure short (i); following JGG., however, I generally write (*bät, lig*), etc., simply.]
- (ii) English vowel in "see me lead these three sweetly bleating sheep." Edenside examples are rare, the sound being generally represented by the pairs (*i*¹, *i*₁).]
- (y) By this symbol I [that is, JGG.] propose to denote a peculiar vowel common to nw. England. It sounds between the Scotch vowel in "häm, pät, ställ, milk," etc., and the unaccented vowel (u) used in "idea, canary, America, motion, conscience," etc. Dr. Murray considers that it is allied to the Scotch vowel in *guid, buik, schuin, guis*, etc. [which again he identifies with (y)], and it does sometimes remind me [JGG.] of that too. Edenside examples heard from old people: *rest, dress, rent, prance, friend, rich, rat, brack, yes, yesterday*, etc. [Observe that it is due in all these cases to a preceding (r) or following (s). I have found it necessary to mark a variety of it as (y₁) occ. See *Introd.* to No. 10 of the 22 es. given below, p. 559, and *Ab.* (i₁) in D 39.]
- (o, oo) Short, and long, of the general continental short *ö*. Identical with the Italian *o aperto* [open (o)]. It lies between English short *ö* in *not* and true long *o* in *note* [between (o) and (oo)]. Edenside examples: short—*off, Tom, bob, clog, for, short, George*: long—*no, show, grow, low* [of, *Tom, bob, clog, for*, *shor^ot, :d^or^od^oy* :—*noo, shoo, groo, loo*]. [As far as I could hear (o) does not occur; educated informants usually give (o), and in the same way I think true (AA) though given above does not occur, and that (o) or Italian *o aperto* supersedes both.]
- (o) Italian *o chiuso* [shut (o)]. General Scotch and continental long *ö*. Differs from the corresponding vowel in received English in being uttered with the tongue in one position, instead of beginning with the tongue lower and ending with it higher than this position, as is usual in ordinary English utterance. [The true sound does not occur in D 31. The Italian *o chiuso* is perhaps more like (o) than simple (oo), and I used to think it properly (*uh*). The form under which it occurs in D 31 is (u₁) as in the next article.]
- (u₁) [or as JGG. originally wrote (o¹), considering it a higher form of (o)]. This is the vowel that, in the n. of England, usually replaces the peculiar (a) in received English in "some one's husband, son or brother comes up once a month to hunt," which vowel is too frequently confounded with the (e) in *canary, idea*, etc., referred to lower down. Our Edenside vowel is nearly the same as the received English vowel in *foot, good, ball*, etc., but it is formed with the tongue more obliquely retracted from the palate. [The effect is that of a very 'thick' (u) approaching (o); see p. 291.] Edenside examples: *tuh, come, love, son, sun*, etc., *parse, marder*, etc. [as appears by the next article both (u, u₁) occur].
- (u) Received English short *ö* in *foot, good, book, ball, stood*, etc. Edenside examples: *good, ball, food, shoot, butcher*, etc.
- (uu) Italian and general Continental sound: but it is never used pure in Edenside, except in the confluents [diphthongs] as in *new, few, fruit*, etc. [*niüu, fiüu, friüüt*]. See under (*ö¹u, ü¹u*) on the next page.
- (v) Received English unaccented vowel in the words *America, idea, canary*,

motion, conscious; long it is the received English in the "early bird deserves the early worm" [this vowel is variously represented as (əə, əɑ, əo, ər, ər, ər, ər), but JGG. considers it as (æ)]. In Edenside it remains pure under strong accent. Edenside examples: (ʔt dɑ₁d₁i) *that* did I, *biscuit*, *pocket*, *window*, *barrow*, *pillow*, etc., and in a host of other words. It is one of the most important elements in Edenside speech.

- (ɔ) In pal. the short form of this vowel represents the first three or four vowels, and the sixth in the deliberate utterance of "que je me repente!" [Volney's example]; and it occurs in many other combinations in French. Our Edenside equivalent of the English vowel in "the early bird deserves the early worm," is sufficiently different from the received form to constitute one of the chief difficulties encountered by strangers attempting to speak our dialects. Our vowel lies between (u) and (o) or (æ), the English vowels referred to. The French vowel is nearer to it than any that I am practically acquainted with. [As, however, it did not strike my ear as identical with the French sound, I have generally used (ɔ₁) by way of indicating a difference.]
- (œ) The last simple vowel is identical or nearly so with the German *ö*, and I believe also with the French *eu*. In Edenside it occurs in the words *swore*, *form*, *moor*, *poor*, and a few similar forms. In place names it used to be common in compounds with the word *moor*. [In the 22 es. which follow par. 9, the word *swore* occurs, but in the Edenside examples we never find (swœœr^o) but (swy₁r^o). The sound is very uncertain, and seems mainly due to (r'). *Swore* is often rendered by *sware*, and is then treated differently.]

Confluent Vowels [Fractures, Diphthongs].

In our Northern English compounds there is a clearer utterance of each component, and a partial cessation of voice between the two vowels. Our practice agrees almost exactly with that of the Italians. [JGG. says that I call these "confluent vowels." I do not recollect ever having used this term in print. The Italian diphthongs have a "slurred glide," the two vowels being pronounced with scarcely any glide, or rather with such a diminution of force during the glide as would make it almost inaudible, but would not occasion any real silence or total separation. The glide is always marked by an acute accent on the element having the stress, and sometimes with a double accent where both elements are very distinctly pronounced.]

(āi, âi, âi) Identical with German *ey*, *ai*, *ei*, Italian *ai*, Welsh *ai*, French *ai*, etc. Upper Edenside examples: *wide*, *bide*, *bite*, *mile*, *pie*, *fine*, *tidy*.

(^ai¹, i₁¹, i₁ⁱ) [The last form is usually adopted.] These pairs represent archaic forms of long *ē* as pronounced all over the nw. of England, and in the adjoining parts of Scotland. The voice begins with the tongue retracted obliquely more or less below the normal position of the vowel in *pūn*, *fīt*, *wīth*, and goes on to a position somewhat higher, so as almost to reach the position where true (ii) is formed. Great diversity of utterance exists; many people using a sound identical with the Scotch vowel in *wife*, *tīme*, etc., (éi), while others constantly use the pair represented in the second symbol (i₁ⁱ), which is so much like true (ii) that the difference passes unnoticed. True (ii) is quite unknown here as a dialect utterance. Edenside examples: *feet*, *read*, *red*, *leaf*, *beef*, *seed*, *green*.

(^ou, ú₁u) [The second symbol here adopted after much discussion with JGG.] North-western English representative of received English, general Scotch and continental "long *ōō*." It commences with the vocal organs nearly in the position for the Italian *o chiuso* and ends with pure (u). [Its effect is quite different from that of Midland (ūu)]. Great variety exists in the pron. of this and the last pairs of vowels. In the wilds and amongst people remote from the influence of town-life the forms here given are the common ones; but there is every gradation from these into the pure (ii) and (uu) of received English among younger folk and town dwellers. Edenside examples: *cow*, *house*, *mouse*, *brow*, etc.

(óu) Italian *o aperto* [open (o)] followed by pure (u). Edenside examples: *pony*, *hoe*, *daughter*, *thought*, *wrought*, *cowlrake*.

- (ó_a, ú_a) Italian *o chiuso* followed by Italian short *a* [but this would be (a), whereas JGG. uses the sign for (a₁), which often passes into the obscure vowels (e, o)]. Edenside examples: *coal, fool, notice, George, John, Joseph, hole, coat, road, etc.*
- (e₁a, í₁a₁) [the second form adopted] Italian *e chiuso* [shut (e)] followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced Italian short *a* [but JGG. uses the symbol for (a₁)]. The (e) graduates into (í) in some mouths, and the (a₁) into obscure vowels more or less allied to (o, u). Edenside examples: *stable, cake, toad, gate, soap, name, grave.*
- (i^y) used in a few names, and also in such words as *nea, sea, tea, wca* = *nay* in dialectal assent to a negative, so, toe, woe. [This is given by JGG. on the authority of Mr. William Atkinson.]
- (íu). Short *i* in *ít, pín, líp, jíg, &c.*, followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced short *oo* in *foot, good, boll, etc.* Many speakers seem unable to pron. this quite distinctly; but most of the older people agree in doing so. [The result must be distinguished from (ú, iú).] Edenside examples: *foot, school, look, book, spoon, smoke, crook.*

Consonants.

- [b p, d t, dh th, v f, g k, m n q, s z, sh zh] call for no remark.]
- (d t) dental [or rather alveolar] *d t* uttered with the tongue [on the gums], near the back of the upper incisor teeth. [This is only in conjunction with a following (r^c).]
- (dʒ tʃ) rec. English *edge, judge, Jew, James, jam, and etch, clutch, chew, chain, watch.* Where (dʒ tʃ) occur before a vowel, the (d) or the (t) is doubled thus: (ed dʒz, maʃ tʃiz) *edges, matches*, and the first of the doubled consonants is held just as it is in Italian pron.
- (nh) [which, except in this list, is written with simple (h)], jerked aspirate, *Henry, his, home, her, behoved.* Though the aspirate has almost entirely vanished in the dialects of the townfolk, it is yet employed with much uniformity by the people in the country part.
- (kjh) palatal guttural, as in the German *siech, nicht, richt, sicht.* Now nearly obsolete. [Used only by very old people.]
- (kwh) labial guttural; Germ. *auch*; Scotch *loch, wheat, what.* Now nearly obsolete.
- (j) Rec. English in *yon, you, ye, yes.* Palatal aperture contracted more with the middle of the tongue than during the formation of (ii). [Nevertheless JGG. considers that there is more (ii) than (j) in the sound, the buzz being absent, and hence it is generally represented by (i) or very short (ii) gliding on at once to the following vowel. See under (w) at end.]
- (jh) voiceless and jerked form of the last as in *Hughes, huge, hew, humility.* [I find no jerk, (jh) is related to (j) as (zh) to (sh), that is, French *j* to Fr. *ch*.]
- (l) The same in all positions as the (l) used before a vowel in rec. English, general continental *l*, [but this is rather (l̥)]. This *l* is often held briefly (l̥), but it is quite distinct from the London and general Southern *l* in *mill, milk, fill, ell, law, lift, lip.* [I am not sure to what *l* JGG. is alluding, perhaps (L).]
- (lh) The voiceless [or rather hissed] form of the last frequently used before a voiceless palatal consonant as *m̥lhk, l̥lht, b̥lht* for *milk, lift, built.* [The hiss of the (lh) was very marked in JGG.'s pron. of these words.]
- (nh) The voiceless [or flated] form of (n), employed where an original initial *k* was once used, see the next symbol. This identical sound is in constant use in Icelandic [see Part II. p. 546]. Edenside examples: *knit, knock, know, knife, etc.*
- (tnh) The same sound preceded by (t) which represents the original *k*. [See Lediard's pron. in Part IV. p. 1046, under *K*, see also Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Part II. p. 544, n. 2.] Miss Powley, of Langwathby, and [her sister] Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, state that this was a common sound here many years ago. [See below es. No. 16, in the 22 es., introd. and notes.]
- (r^c) This is a buzzed *r*, [by which is meant an unflapped *r*, see p. 294 on *r* generally, although flapped *r*'s are necessarily buzzed, but the flapping renders

- the buzz intermittent, whereas here it meant a continuous buzz as in [z], that is to say, *r* produced by driving the voiced breath over the curved tip of the tongue, which is turned up to the front palate in a spoon-shaped form, and remains rigid, instead of vibrating [flapping], as it does in the Scotch and Italian *r*. This consonant is a retracted form of (dh), and should be distinguished from ordinary *r* in some way. [I use (r₅) for Mr. Melville Bell's untrilled *r*, which is in fact an imperfect alveolar (d), "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum" (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). And I use (r₆) where the contraction of the passage between tongue and hard palate is more in the place of (d), for the London sound, which is an imperfect (r₅), to which JGG. objects that my (r₆) is "little else than a vowel." Hence, with his consent, I have introduced the new sign (r[˘]), shewing the absence of trill by putting the (˘) above instead of below (˘). That there is much essential difference in the sounds (r₅ r₆ r[˘]) I do not suppose, and generally I shall use (r) for each of them with a previous explanation. But in the following 22 cs., as some of JGG.'s informants used the trilled (r), and others the untrilled continuous buzz (r[˘]), I have been obliged to make the distinction.] Old people rarely ever drop this consonant, but it is going out of use, when not before a vowel, among the younger folk. Examples: *ray*, *hurry*, *rare*. After *d*, *t*, the *r* is invariably dental [alveolar], and is then denoted by (r[˘]). [But then *d*, *t* are also alveolar, so we have (d, r[˘], t, r[˘]).]
- (rh) The voiceless form is rarely used and may be passed over here.
- (w) is (u^w) with the labial orifice contracted so as to impart somewhat of a buzzing effect to the sound: but the buzz is not as marked as it is in the South, and it seems here to be often replaced by simple (u) or (ū). [Hence I write ũ, which represents this form of (w) just as (i) represents a similar form of (j).]
- (wh) This is the voiceless and jerked form of the last, and it often seems to be uttered as if the back of the tongue were raised as it is in the Scotch (k^wh). We use the sound quite consistently yet, and rarely or never is it replaced by simple (w) except by townfolk [as is also too much the custom with even the best educated people in London]. Examples: *which*, *whether*, *wheat*, *what*.
- (wr[˘]) This pair of consonants yet survives in the pron. of very old people, and it is said to enter into the pron. of some of the place names, but I have not yet detected it for certain. Examples: *wrong*, *wren*, *write*, *written*. [JGG. interposed no vowel, however faint, between (w) and (r[˘]) as (w[˘]r[˘]). I sometimes think this sound should be labialised *r* as (r[˘]w), but so few people use it, and those so difficult of access, that it is impossible to study it at first hand: at second hand we have only imitations—counterfeits, not the genuine article.]

Varieties.

It is very difficult to draw the boundaries of the six varieties which I have been induced to make in D 31. To a native no doubt the differences are very prominent, and he is generally able after hearing a few sentences to localise the speaker. This happens in all extensive dialect regions. But often, on examination, here and elsewhere, these distinctions, on which so much stress is laid, resolve themselves into slight varieties of intonation, a little change of construction, a few words and phrases habitual in one locality and scarcely heard in another, and perhaps slight changes of vowels, raising or depressing them, especially (i, a), which scarcely strike a stranger at all, and which he finds it difficult to formulate. Possibly many natives may object to the localisation and characterisation of varieties here given, but it is the best which the information at my command enables me to furnish. My many attempts to draw boundaries have failed so completely that I have altogether abandoned them.

VAR. i. CRAVEN, etc.

This consists of at least two distinct parts, n. and s. of the s. *loose* line 6. The n. part has U'=(ú₁u) as (hú₁us, dú₁un) house, down, and the s. part has U'=(áu) as (háus, dáum). But considering that the s. part had merely developed the (ú₁u) of the n. part into (áu), I have not hesitated to consider these two parts as forming one variety. The best marked form of this dialect is in Upper Swaledale, which, from the information given me by Mr. G. Bell, the publisher, of 4, York Street, Covent Garden, native of Richmond, I consider to extend a little to the e. of Richmond, about Catterick. It is found to the s. without any change in Upper Wensleydale, probably as far down as Middleham. It is also certain that, with the changes of (ú₁u) into (áu) and various insignificant changes, it appears among the hills and dales of n.Craven, in Chapel-le-Dale (between Whernside and Ingleborough hills), in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (between Ingleborough and Penyghent hills), and at Burton-in-Lonsdale (at the foot of Ingleborough hill, on the b. of We.), and hence most probably prevails all over n.Craven down to the n. *theeth* line 5. For the last three places named, compared with Upper Swaledale, I give a full cwl., which shews the remarkable uniformity, except as regards U'-words, between the two parts of Var. i. And for Burton-in-Lonsdale separately, I give below quite a unique specimen.

In addition to JGG.'s papers, CCR. gave me specimens of the nw. Mining Districts, including Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, but they were reminiscences of many years standing, and differed so materially, in the direction of D 30, from JGG.'s recent and most careful work from actual dictation many times revised with the informants themselves, that I have been obliged to omit them from the 22 interlinear cs. below. Similarly CCR. gave me a specimen for "Upper Craven, Upper Ribblesdale with Ingleton, Clapham, etc., Upper Wharfedale with Kettlewell, etc., Upper Nidderdale with Middlesmoor, Langstrothdale, etc.," which very materially differs from the cwl. and the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, both belonging to this region, furnished by JGG. As before, I consider the latter work, made direct from dictation, preferable to reminiscences of long standing. Finally, CCR. gave me a specimen for Mid Craven with Skipton, which I am unable to contrast with any work by JGG., but which bears a close resemblance to the former versions. All of these seem to have been modified by memory in the course of years in the direction of the much more familiar m.Yo. forms. But I think it due to such an excellent worker as CCR., who, in his youth, had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the speech of old people in these regions (people who were old more than 50 years ago), to shew the impressions which he retains. I therefore give paragraphs and extracts of paragraphs from the cs. in all three of these versions by CCR., and prefix to them JGG.'s version from Upper Swaledale (given in full as No. 2 in the 22 interlinear cs. below), for the sake of easy comparison. And, as will be seen by the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, this holds good for n.Craven as respects the U'-words.

COMPARISON OF CCR.'S AND JGG.'S VERSIONS.

0.	1	JGG.'s <i>Upper Swaledale or Maker.</i>	what	for ^o
	2	CCR.'s <i>Upper Mining Dales.</i>	wat	fer ^o
	3	CCR.'s <i>Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale.</i>	wat	fer ^o
	4	CCR.'s <i>Skipton and Mid Craven.</i>	wat	for

- 1 :dʒwú₁em hez nǎ́á₁ dú₁uts.
 2 :dʒá₁eni ez nǎ́v duuts.
 3 :dʒá₁uven ez néev duuts.
 4 :dʒá₁en ez név dáuts.

6. 1 d' àl'd bodi hǎ₁r_ose'l 'l tel a₁ni o ʒe et lǎ₁fs
 2 t' aat wu₁men esel' 'l tɪl onɪ jan o ʒe et lafs
 3 t' óud wu₁men esel' 'l tel onɪ o ʒe et lafs
 4 th óud wu₁men esel' 'l tel onɪ o ʒoo et lafs

- 1 nǎ́u, á₁ wa₁d'nt shǎ₁?
 2 nuu, óov wu₁net she? ₁
 3 nuu, uu! wu₁net sho? ₁
 4 náu, oo! wu₁net she? ₁

7. 1 a₁ni wee shǎ₁ tel'd méi₁ sǎ́á₁ twǎ₁ á₁ thré₁ táimz óu)ǎ₁r_o,
 2 onǎ́vǎ₁dz shé₁ tɪl 'méesi it twǎ́v tɪri táaimz óur_o.
 3 onǎ́vǎ́vz sho tel'd mee it táuv thrǎ₁ táimz óuv
 4 onigéets shu toud 'mii it v túthrǎ₁ táimz óuv,

- 1 dha₁t ud dǎ₁d shǎ₁
 2 'shé₁)dǎ₁d.
 3 sho)dǎ₁d
 4 dǎ₁d she.

8. 1 shu wad 'tel' dhw hǎ́u whaar^o en
 2 shé₁)d tɪl ʒe oo ubíut ez)t 'uu en 'waar_o en
 3 shuu)d tel ʒe óv ubáut it, béevth uu en waar_o en
 4 'shuu)d tel ʒe béevth áu en wǎ́v₁er en

- 1 when shǎ₁ fa₁n'd)d' d₁r_uqken bíevst ud shǎ₁ kaalz
 2 'wen t)waar_o shé₁ fan)t' d₁r_uken bév₁s et shé₁ kóovz
 3 wen it war et sho fan)t' d₁r_uken bív₁s et sho kóovz
 4 wen it wor et shu fan)t' d₁r_uken bív₁s et shu kóovz

- 1 ǎ₁r^o ma₁n.
 2 er uzben.
 3 er uzben.
 4 er uzben.

9. 1 shǎ₁ swaar^o ud shǎ₁ saa im wǎ́v ǎ₁r^o aan éin, lígen
 2 shé₁ swaar_o she saa im wé₁ er óoen in, lígin
 3 sho swaar_o et shuu saa im wǎ́v er óoen in, lígin
 4 shu thrǎ́vpt et shu saa im wi)t' óen in, lígin

- 1 la₁q' s₁t₁r^oǎ́á₁kt utop v)d gr_und, ív iz gud su₁ndi
 2 la₁q s₁t₁rekt utop v)t' gr_unt, ív iz gúud s_unde
 3 s₁t₁retjt et la₁q leqth vpe)t' gr_und, ív iz gúud s_unde
 4 la₁q s₁t₁riekt utop v)t' gr_und, dǎ₁d i iz gud s_unde

- 1 kwú₁et, kwú₁es bi'd' d_y₁r° v_v iz aan hú₁us, dú₁un i)d'
 2 kwú₁et, tlwú₁s béi)t' us dúr_o duun v)t'
 3 kwú₁et, tlé₁es bi)t' us dúr_o stí₁ed duun vt t'
 4 kóo₁t, tlé₁es bi)t' á₁s dú₁ stí₁ed dá₁un v)t'

- 1 ní₁uk v jon lwú₁enín.
 2 ní₁uk v jondhe lwú₁en.
 3 kaaner v jon lú₁en.
 4 kóo₁ner v jon lú₁en.

11. 1 en dha₁t ha₁p'mpt ez h₁r° en t' su₁n wá₁if ku₁
 2 en dhat ap'nt ez shé₁i en)t' dó₁uter i ló₁o₁ k₁m
 3 en dhat ap'nt ez)t' dó₁uter i loo en _o k₁m
 4 en dhat apend ez shuu en)t' dó₁uter i ló₁o₁ k₁m

- 1 t₁r°ú₁m)d' ba₁k sá₁id fre hi₁qín)d' wet klí₁á₁z ú₁nt te
 2 t₁rú₁t' bak gí₁eth frev aq₁n t' wí₁et tlí₁ez ut te
 3 thruu)t' bak gá₁eth frev í₁qín t' wet tlé₁ez uut fu te
 4 thru)t' bak j₁ed fre í₁qín t' wet tlé₁ez te

- 1 d₁r°á₁i v)d' weshín dé₁.
 2 d₁rá₁i v v wé₁shín dé₁.
 3 d₁rá₁i v v weshín dé₁.
 4 d₁rá₁i en v weshín dé₁.

12. 1 whá₁l)t' ket'l wez bó₁ilen f₁r° té₁i, jaa fá₁ain
 2 waal)t' ket'l wa bó₁lín fer_o)t' d₁r₁qkín jaa fé₁in
 3 wál)t' ket'l we gé₁eet v bó₁lín fe)t' d₁r₁qkín jan fá₁in
 4 wá₁l th ket'l wor bó₁lín f_o)th d₁r₁qkín jé₁v fá₁in

- 1 bré₁it su₁m₁r_o eft₁r₁r°ní₁ún.
 2 brí₁t eft₁ení₁en i s₁mer_o.
 3 brí₁t eft₁ení₁en i s₁me.
 4 brí₁t eft₁r_oné₁en i s₁mer_o.

13. 1 en á₁i n₁v₁r° hé₁r°d nó₁ut ni maar° v dh₁s whel
 2 en a ní₁ver_o laant oni maar en dh₁s up tev
 3 en á₁i ní₁ve laant oni mé₁eev dhen dh₁s up tí₁vtv
 4 en á₁i ní₁ver_o laant oni mé₁eev en dh₁s up tul

- 1 tudée, ez sí₁u₁r° ez má₁i ní₁á₁m)z :d₁jak.
 2 tudée, ez sí₁uer ez mí₁ ní₁em)z :d₁jú₁ení.
 3 tudée, ez sí₁uer ez mí₁ né₁ee₁m)z :d₁jú₁en.
 4 tudée, ez sí₁ur ez mí₁ né₁ee₁m)z :d₁jú₁en.

14. 1 en sí₁á₁ á₁i men bi gá₁een h₁á₁m te mí₁ su₁p₁r°. gud nê₁t.
 2 en sí₁é aa)z gaq₁en í₁em te gít mí₁ su₁p₁r_o. gwá₁ed ní₁t.
 3 en sé₁ee á₁i)z gaa₁in é₁em te gít mí₁ su₁p₁. gí₁ud ní₁t.
 4 en sí₁é á₁i)z gaq₁in é₁em te mí₁ sú₁p₁r. gud ní₁t.

The complete comparison of JGG.'s Upper Swaledale with CCR.'s Mid Yo. is given in the 22 interlinear es. below. The characters that I gave for this district were taken from JGG.'s versions, and it will be seen that they agree with No. 1 above, which is considerably different from No. 2. In No. 3, which are reminiscences of a much older pronunciation than that heard by JGG., CCR. is inconsistent about the U' and French OU . . . Thus taking the complete es., of which only parts are given above, I find (nun, wivnut, dnuun, us, uu, duuts) now, without, down, house, how, doubts, but (báut, áusemí-ver) about, however. If these were rightly remembered, it would imply that early in the sixteenth century only a few U' words in n.Craven had (áú), whereas in 1876, when JGG. tried the region, all of them had it. On the other hand, CCR. in his Skipton or m.Craven es. has (náu, dáun, áus, áu, áusemí-ver, áut, dháú) now, down, house, how, however, out, thou, and no (uu), as was to be expected. Mr. Carr, in the introduction to his 'Craven Glossary,' says (1828): "At the distance of 5 or 6 miles from the e. b. of the parish of Skipton, the pronunciation is entirely changed; thus *house* is pron. *hoose*, and *mouse moose*, *cow coo*, as in the n. and e. Riding of Yo." As the distance is reckoned from the e. b. of the parish, it is presumably to be measured towards the e., and in that case it confirms the position here assigned to the s. *hoose* line 6. In the examples cited in his glossary which relates to Mid Craven, Mr. Carr adopts rec. spelling for 'how, cow, sour, out, mouth, hour, thou, down, gown,' etc., evidently indicating the sound (áú).

CCR. occasionally uses (th) for the definite art. for Skipton (and Mr. Carr uses *th'*), as well as by Washburn River (pp. 500, 502, 516, No. 6, which is adjacent. If this were adopted, it would be necessary to change the position of the n. *the teeth* line 5, and carry it from Colne, Lat. n. of Skipton, and Blubberhouses, and even Harrogate, but as the information is not complete, as the position of the line past Harrogate is quite unknown, and as the usage, if it occurs, must be rare, and is not generally acknowledged, I leave the line unaltered, with this remark. TH., see next page, heard only (t') at Skipton.

As Mr. Carr points out, Chaucer, in the Reeve's Tale, makes his two frolicsome students come from "Strothir, fer in the north, I cannot telle where." Mr. Carr identifies this with Langstrothdale (28 ne.Lancaster, 4 n.Penyghent Hill) in n.Craven, and just s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. Chaucer would of course be no authority whatever for the pron. of such a place, the very locality of which he could not assign. In the speeches of these students the only marked northernism is the use of *I is* for *I am*, which still exists.

The whole of this extreme w. of Yo. is a rather wild and not very populous region, but exactly on that account the more interesting for our purpose, because there must have been fewer instrumentalities at work for effecting great changes. From the upper mining dales down s. to Sedberg, Dent, Burton-in-Lonsdale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale, it is well represented. I am less sure of the n.w. horn of Yo. by Laithkirk, Mickleton, Romalldkirk, etc., on the borders of the Tees. The vicar of Laithkirk, Rev. W. R. Bell, supplied me with a wl. and a es., but I did not feel any confidence in my interpretation of his orthography. JGG. however had an opportunity of hearing him read the wl., and I give the result in the ewl. for Var. i, form *b*, below. The only point of interest is the treatment of the U'- words, which become (éuu), as already observed (p. 538, line 3 from bottom).

TH. in 1887 had accidentally an opportunity of hearing speech from a native of Hurst in Upper Swaledale and Clapham (6 nw.Settle and 4 sw.Horton-in-

Ribblesdale), both of them in JGG.'s territory. The Clapham ex. consisting of extracts from the es. was quite like JGG.'s, and hence need not be cited. TH. got a dt. from Hurst, another from Giggleswick by Settle, and a third from Skipton. These three I annex interlinearly. Their variations from JGG.'s are very slight, the principal being at Hurst, where TH. heard JGG.'s (\acute{u}_1u) as ($\acute{o}u$, $\acute{o}u$), which is not surprising, for the ear requires long usage to distinguish (\acute{u}_1u) from ($\acute{o}u$), to which it certainly leads.

THREE INTERLINEAR dt.

H Hurst (8 w. Richmond, Yo.), within the limits of the Muker es., No. 2 of the 22 interlinear es. below, pal. in 1887 by TH., from the dictation of a native then living near Keighley.

G Giggleswick ($\frac{1}{2}$ w. Settle), pal. in 1887 by TH., from a farm servant b. 1811. This represents w. Craven.

S Skipton (39 w. York), pal. 1887, by TH., from a native shoemaker, b. 1817, who had lived there all his life.

The (r) is left unmarked, and is uncertain, TH. having probably identified it with his own (r).

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|----|------|-------|----|----|-----|----|----|---|-------|-------|
| 1. H | <i>Hurst.</i> | A | sév, | ladz, | ɟɛ | sí | nóu | ut | áí | m | rít | vbóut |
| G | <i>Giggleswick.</i> | áí | see, | ɟaps, | ɟí | sí | náu | ut | A | m | re'ít | vbâut |
| S | <i>Skipton.</i> | A | sév, | ɟaps, | ɟɛ | sí | náu | ut | A | m | re'ít | vbâut |

H dhat láil las kumín frə)t' skíul ɟəndər.

G dhat láil las kumín frə)t' skíul ɟəndər.

S dhat láil las kumín thrə)t' skóil ɟəndər.

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|----|-----|---------|------|--------|-----------|-----|------------------|
| 2. H | shə)z | gà | ɟín | dóun)t' | róed | dhàr, | thrúu)t' | réd | gəet. |
| G | shí)z | gà | ɟín | dâun)t' | rúed | dhíer, | thréu)t' | réd | gɟEET ɔn)t' left |
| S | shə)z | gù | ɟín | dâun)t' | rúed | dhíer | thré'u)t' | réd | gɟEET ɔn)t' left |

H

G and sáid v)t' rúed.

S and sáid v)t' rúed.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----|-----------|-------|----------|-----|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| 3. H | sí | ɟɛ, | shí)z | gɟəen | te)t' | raq | dúer | [óus]. | | |
| G | lúuk | ɟɛ! | t' bàm)z | gàn | st're'ít | up | te)t' | raq | dúer | [áus]. |
| S | lúuk | ɟɛ! | t' ɟáid)z | gàn | st're'ít | up | te)t' | raq | dúer. | |

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|---------|-----------|--------|---------|
| 4. H | wàr | shí)l | me)bi | fínd | dhat | dræk | diéf | thín | |
| G | wíer | shé | mee | fínd | dhat | d'ræk'n | diéf | ríq'ld | |
| S | wíer | shé)l | ap'n | fínd | dhat | d'ræk'n | [d'ruf'n] | diéf | wádhred |

H SPEERí màn et dhe KAAL :təm.

G óud fəlb, ez dhe KAA :təm.

S thín fəlb, ez dhe KAAL :təm.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-----|------------------|----|------|------|
| 5. H | wí | AAL | NAA ¹ | ím | vare | wíl. |
| G | wí | AAL | naa | ím | vare | wíl. |
| S | wí | AAL | NAA | ím | vare | wíl. |
- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------|-----|------|------|----|------|----|-----|----|-------|
| 6. H | wíent | t'AA ¹ d | man | súin | lién | er | núit | te | dúu | ít | ɟEEN, |
| G | wé _{nt} | t'óud | ɟap | sóin | lân | er | nət | te | dúu | ít | ɟEEN, |
| S | wíent | t'óud | ɟap | sóin | lân | er | nət | te | du | ít | ɟEEN, |

H póuer thiq !
 G púer thiq !
 S púer bàrn !

7. H lúuk ! iz'nt it réit ?
 G lóuk ! iz'nt it trá'u ?
 S lúuk ! iz'nt it trá'u ?

VAR. ii. LONSDALE.

It is with some hesitation that I write the two Lonsdales, n. and s. of the Sands, as one variety, with two forms, Var. iia, and Var. iib. The two together, as TH. points out, form an area of transition for the A-, A' words from (ú) through (ia) to the Craven form (i₁a₁). Thus in Var. iia, s. of the Sands, TH. heard 77 forms ending in (v) as against 20 ending in (a). But in Var. iib, n. of the Sands, he heard only 45 ending in (v) as against 25 ending in (a). For the U' words in Var. iia, s. of the Sands, we find (áu) as in Craven, but in Var. iib, n. of the Sands, we have (óu), a descendant of (ú₁u). These are considerable differences. A greater one is that V iia uses *to* and V iib generally *at* before the infinitive. Still as *to* and *at* are both heard, notwithstanding the prevalence of *at*, through V iii, and as *to* is not unfrequently heard in V iib, although *at* prevails, or at least used to prevail, it is difficult to insist upon this as a mark of distinction.

Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, near Coniston, procured me in 1873 a cs. from Ulverston by Mr. R. Pearson, accountant, then 40 years acquainted with the dialect, and another from Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster and native of Coniston, generally considered a great authority on the dialect, b. about 1803. Owing to the sparing manner in which pron. was indicated in these cs., I have not felt justified in attempting to pal. them. But the last has been read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, and is given on p. 563, as No. 5 in the 22 interlinear cs. Four cases of *to* or *at* before the infinitive occur in these two cs. Mr. Pearson writes, 1) I wod trest em *ét* speek trewth, par. 5; 2) hingin out t' wet claeas *ta* dry, par. 11; 3) I doant want *tà* kna, par. 13; 4) sa sharp *ta* kra, par. 14. Mr. Bowness has *ta* in all four cases. In 'Three Furness Dialect Stories by a Native' (Coward, Carlisle, 1867), given me by Mr. Ellwood, *tà* or *to* occurs before the infinitive 22 times, and *at* never. In Roger Piketah's *Furness Folk* (Coward, Carlisle, 1870), an examination of the first tale, 'Amang t' Rowndheeads,' gives 18 *to* and 9 *at* before the infinitive, the latter being 1) a bit funder *ét* gang; 2) them at knaas how *ét* dew it; 3) I cuddent bide *ét* see 'em; 4) I ext 'em what was *ét* dew wi' him; 5) we were fooarst *ét* part company; 6) he'd hed nowt *ét* itt o' t' day; 7) meadd me summat *ét* itt; 8) I'se fain *ét* see ye; 9) I heddent mich time *ét* spar.

Noticing these discrepancies, I wrote to Mr. Ellwood, and he replied as follows on 2 Jan. 1874, the passages in [] being my interpolations.

“*Ut* (ɛt) as the sign of the infinitive is used in Furness, as Mrs. Ellwood [native] and I can abundantly confirm. *To* and *ta* (tɛ) for the infinitive is found, however, quite as commonly, and the tendency in the case of *ut* is rather to become obsolete. [Miss M. A. Bell, who belongs to the younger generation, could not remember having heard it.] Not that it is obsolete, or anything like it as yet, for you may hear *ut do*, *ut go*, etc., every day here in the mouths of the dalesmen as commonly as possible. It is also to be found, I believe, in s.Cu. as far as that term is used as comprehending Millom [13 ssw.Coniston] and Whitbeck [15 sw.Coniston, both on the sw. promontory of Cu.]. I took the printed specimen [of my es.] you inclosed to the Coniston postmaster [Mr. R. Bowness], and he said, after carefully thinking the matter over, that *ut* might be used for *to* in the case of two of the infinitives you had marked in it, viz. ‘*to speak the truth*’ [par. 5], which might be put ‘*ut speak t’ truth*,’ and ‘*to dry*’ [par. 11], which might be ‘*ut dry*.’ In the other two cases [*to know*, par. 13, and *to crow*, p. 14] he thought, on account of euphonic reasons, which he could not very well explain, *to* or *ta* (tɛ) ought to be retained. When he first gave the written specimen to me which I sent you before, I mentioned this very thing to him, and suggested that in the case of the infinitive he should put *ut*, but he said that one form was just as commonly used as the others, and it was therefore indifferent. So I let it remain *to* as he had put it. There is one thing which I think deserves to be noticed in regard to the testimony in favour of *ta* and *ut* in their Furness usage, and that is, that those who have given *ta* or *to*, viz. Mr. Morris [author of the ‘Three Furness Stories’], the Coniston Postmaster, and I believe Mr. R. Pearson, are all natives of the district, and have never been much out of it; while those who give *ut* and *et* invariably are, I think, comparatively strangers.—Mr. Gibson [referring to four High Furness tales in his ‘Folk-speech of Cumberland,’ etc.] having only been about eight or nine years in practice as a surgeon at Coniston, which was, I believe, the whole length of his sojourn in Furness [he was a Scotchman; his Furness tales occupy about twelve small pages, and contain *ut* thirty-seven times, and *to* three times, these three cases being possibly oversights], while Roger Picketah, who is in truth Dr. Barber, formerly of Ulverston, lived in Furness just about the same length of time as Mr. Gibson, and is really a Nottinghamshire man, knowing very little indeed about this dialect. . . . It is easy enough, however, to assign a reason why the natives should not dwell so much upon *ut* as those who are comparative strangers. A stranger is more struck by peculiarities, as *ut* certainly is, and, therefore, he, when writing in the dialect, gives them in every case, while the native accustomed to them in their proper order gives them only as they occur.”

The fact about *to* and *at* seems to be that the people were Saxon naturally using *to*, that the *at* was a Scandinavian invasion which only partially ousted *to*, and that hence both are used with equal correctness. It is to be observed also that though the two parts of Lonsdale are separated by the estuary of the Gilpin running into Morecamb Bay, from We., yet s.Lonsdale adjoins We., in the s. of which both (áɛ) and (ɛt) are used. But I have found it best to separate We., which I place under Var. iii; and to distinguish two forms *a* and *b* of Var. ii. Except as regards the U' and A-words and the use of *to*, *at*, these *a* and *b* forms of Var. ii are almost identical, as the following comparison will shew.

SONG OF SOLOMON, Chap. ii.

The late Mr. R. B. Peacock wrote Chap. ii. of Solomon's *Song of Songs* for the dialect of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and Mr. J. Stockdale for the form of Lonsdale n. of the Sands, both in a partially systematic orthography, as printed on p. 31 of Mr. Peacock's pamphlet on the ‘Six Northern Counties of England,’ Berlin, 1863, subjoined to his Glossary of Lonsdale, *Trans. Philological Soc.*

Supplement to part ii. 1867. I have here pal. these two versions by means of his Key (*ibid.* p. 11), assisted by the two cwl. for these regions given below from TH.'s observations, but the (*a*) is uncertain (see p. 554), and (*tʀ*, *ɖʀ*) was not recognised, and the aspirate was retained.

1. S *Lonsdale South of the Sands.* ái)z)t' rúez v :sheeren, en)t'
 N *Lonsdale North of the Sands.* ái)z)t' rúez v :sheeren, en)t'
 S *lilí v)t' valiz.*
 N *lilí v)t' valiz.*
2. S *emaq)t' lasenz mi luv)z láik v lilí emaq)t' wíkwudz.*
 N *es)t lilí emaq)t' tharnz, súe iz mi luv emaq)t' dóu,te,rz.*
3. S *emaq)t' ladz, mi bílúvd)z láik en ap'l emaq)t' kom'en*
 N *es)t ap'l trii emaq)t' triiz v)t' wud, súe iz mi bílúvd*
 S *triiz; ái sat me dáwn under hiz shade wí gart*
 N *emaq)t' sanz; ái sat me dówn under hiz shade wí gart*
 S *plezer, en hiz fréut wez swiit te mi téast.*
 N *ɖpói, en hiz fréut wez swiit te mi téast.*
4. S *hi bróut me te)t' fíestín háus, en hiz káder óuer me*
 N *hi bróut me te)t' fíesten hóus, en hiz káder óuer me*
 S *wez luv.*
 N *wez luv.*
5. S *gi)me v súep v sumet te sup, te kumfert me, en ái sud*
 N *fresh'n me up wí v sup v sumet et ɖriqk, gi)me*
 S *láik sum ap'lz te it; fer ái)z dívd síik v luv.*
 N *sum ap'lz et it; fer ái)z feer síik v luv.*
6. S *hiz left hand)z under mi h'ed, en hiz réit hand*
 N *hiz left hand)z under mi híed, en hiz riit hand daz*
 S *kud'lz me.*
 N *kod'l me.*
7. S *en máind je dhís, je :ɖjeríuzlem lasenz, bí)t' valí v o)t*
 N *ái warn je, oo je dóut,erz v :ɖjeríuzelem, bí)t'*
 S *kái en ship i)t' fíildz, ez je doont star up, ner wak'n*
 N *bávs en bí)t' jóuz i)t' fíild, et je star net up, ner wak'n*
 S *mi luv, tel)v láiks.*
 N *mi luv tel hí plíezez.*
8. S *t' vóis v mi bílúvd! luk je hi kumz lóupín óuer)t' felz,*
 N *t' vóis v mi bílúvd! luk je hi kumz lóupen on)t' felz,*

S skelpin vtop)v)t' hóuz.
N skipen on)t' hóuz.

9. S mi biluvd)z láik v roo er v juq buk; luk je, hi)z standin
N mi biluvd)z láik v roo er v juq buk; luk, hi standz

S bihint áur woo, hi)z gluurin áut v)t' winde, en shoo'in
N bihint óur woo, hi) líeks áut v)t' windez, shoo'in

S hizsel thru)t' lat)wærk.
N hizsel thru)t' lat'is.

10. S mi biluvd spak en sed tu)me, náu, hani, git up, dhat)s
N mi biluvd spéak en sed te me, ráiz up, mi luv, mi

S v boni las, en kuu dhi weez.
N feer)en, en kum her weez.

11. S fer dus)te sii, t' winter)z past, t' reen)z óuer en gían.
N fer)t' winter)z past, fer se'uer, t'reen)z óuer en gon.

12. S t' fláuerz iz bigin'in te blaa; t' parin táim v)t' bardz iz kum,
N t' flóuerz kumz up v)t' arth, t' bardz iz bigin'en et síq,

S en jan me híier)t' stok duv kuu'in i)t' wudz.
N en)t' kushet kuu iz hard i óur land.

13. S t' beri triiz iz i blos'em, en)t' swiit bríier)z bigin'in te
N t' feg trii pats óut it griin fegs, en)t' váinz wi)t' tender

S send áut v réit náis smel. duu git up wi dhe, djói, ku
N gréap givz v gud smel. git up, mi luv, mi

S dhi weez ái see, en let me luk ut dhi koni [=pretty] fías.
N feer)en, en kum her weez, ái see.

14. S oo mi djói, ez iz i)t' níks v)t' krag, i)t' larkin húlzl
N oo mi duv, vt)s i)t' klíqks v)t' kragz, i)t' háiden pléasz

S v)t' steerz, kum áut wi dhat swiit fías v dhi aan, let me
N v)t' steerz, let me sii dhi féas, let me

S híier dhi lálil klaper gaq, fer dhi vóis iz míuzik itsel,
N híier dhi vóis, fer swiit iz dhi vóis,

S en dháu)z riit gud lukin.
N en dhi féas iz riit boni.

15. S tek uz)t' foksez, t' lálil foksez, ez spóilz t' váinz; fer wær
N tak uz)t' foksez, t' lálil foksez, vt spóilz t' váinz; fer óur

S váinz hez vast tender gríaps.
N váinz hev tender gréaps.

16. S mi biləvd)z máin, en ái)z hiz; hí fiidz əmɔq)t' l'iliz.
N mi biləvd)z máin, en ái)z hiz; hí fiidz əmɔq)t' l'iliz.

17. S tel)t' dee brək, ɛn)t' shaduz fliiz ewee torn dhu, mi
N tel deebrek, ɛn tel)t' shaduz fliiz ewee torn dhu, mi

S hmi, ɛn bi láik v roo ɛr v juq hart v :bedher felz.
N biləvd, ɛn bi láik v roo ɛr v juq bak ɔn :bedher felz.

To these may be added the following for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, which has the advantage of having been taken direct from dictation.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS dt.

(:brə'ut'n i f'a'rnɛs) pal. 1881 by TH. from dictation of Mr. R. N. Woodend, b. about 1846, native, then residing at Barrow-in-Furness, who stated that no change had taken place in dialectal speech during the previous twenty years.

1. ái see, ladz, ju sɪ nóu dhɛt ái)m rɪt ɛbóut dhat láil las komɪn fra t' skuul ɔn dɛr.

2. shi)z gæm doun t' rúed dhɛr, thruu t' rɛd jɛt [gjeet] ɔn t' left and sáid ɛt t' rúed.

3. lu_ok jɛ! t' tʃáild)z [las ɛz] gaan sɪr'e'it u_o te t' raq óus díuɛr.

4. wə shi)l ap'n fɪnd dhat d,ru_oqk'n díɛf wɔdherd aad felɛ [faul tʃap], i)t' neem v :tɔm.

5. wɪ ɔo naa)ɪn varɛ wiil.

6. wɛnt t' aad tʃap sɪm tel ɛr te nɛt dɔu)t ɛgjeen, púr thiq!

7. lu_ok jɛ! it)s kwáit t,ráuu.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS PHRASES noted by TH.

1. (wɛnt dhu begɛr katʃ it wɛn iz fə'dɛr naaz i)z plɛd t'róuɛnt), won't the [emphatic] beggar catch it when his father knows he's played truant.

2. (wái, wət)s)te gje't'n frɛsh tɔdeɛ?), well, what)hast)thou gotten fresh to-day?

3. (shɪ)l varɛ láikli díi tɔm.ərn), she'll very likely die to-morrow. [not this morning, for to-morrow was given to translate.]

4. (wə)s)te gaan dhɪs af)te rɪmɪn? ái)z gaan jaam), where is (art) thou going this afternoon? I is (am) going home. The conjugation is with *is* throughout (ái)z, dhii)z, ii)z, wii)z, jú)z, dhé)z).

For Lonsdale n. of the Sands see also the Lower-Holker-in Cartmel es., the fourth of the 22 interlinear es. pp. 558, 563; and the cwl. for Var. ii, both form *a* and form *b*.

THE TRANSITION FROM (u_o) TO (u).

On p. 292 it was stated that TH. considered that a mixed region existed where both (u , u_o) were heard to the south of a line drawn from Gainsborough in Li. to Ulverston (which he would now correct to Coniston) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La. This was promised to be considered in D 24 and D 31. For D 24, see p. 365. We have now to look at D 31. According to the information sent to me by TH., who in 1888 revisited the country on purpose, the whole of both Lonsdales is a mixed region, where not only (u_o) is in most places, at least occasionally, and even frequently, used in the cases he heard, but (u) is likewise to be heard, and with this also frequently a pure (u). It is almost needless to say that this depends entirely on TH.'s appreciation, which I have been entirely unable to check by the appreciation of other observers, who were capable of distinguishing (u , u , u_o). Certainly beyond Lonsdale in Cu., We. and Yo. this (u_o) was not heard by my authority, JGG., to whom TH.'s vowel was a novelty, p. 291, l. 8 from bottom. On the other hand, the tapering of (i) into (i^1 , i) was well known to him.

The places which TH. has visited for this purpose, and the number of words containing an (u sound which he has examined in each, are as follows :

Over Wyersdale 14, Lancaster 45, Caton (4 ne.Lancaster) 42, Hornby (8 ne.Lancaster) 40, Carnforth 45, Clark-in-Cartmel (5 e-by-s.Ulverston) 55, Lower Holker (5 e.Ulverston) 56, Ulverston 32, Broughton-in-Furness 9, Coniston 17, Higher Nibthwaite 9, total 364 cases.

The sounds heard in these examples, without specifying the particular cases, are marked by him thus : (u) 83, (u_1) 39, (u^1) 8, between (u^1) and (u) 1, (u) 131, between (u) and (u_o) 3, between (u_1) and (o) 1, (u_1) 24, (u_o) 61, variants between the last and (u , u , o), or (u) and (u) 10, (\exists) 1, (o) 2. The running lies therefore with (u , u_1 , u , u_o). With regard to (u_o), which is the main point to be considered, the numbers of cases recorded were, Over Wyersdale 10, Lancaster 11, Caton 11, Hornby 5, Carnforth 0, total 37 cases (all s. of the Sands, and hence under Midland influence), Clark 1, Lower Holker 13, Broughton-in-Furness 6, Coniston 2, Higher Nibthwaite 2, total 24, of which the greater number is found at Lower Holker, and the others are so very sparse that they can hardly be regarded.

Hence we may say that Lonsdale s. of the Sands is a decidedly mixed region, more than half the cases of (u_o) observed by TH. having there occurred, but that Lonsdale n. of the Sands (with the exception of Lower Holker, which against 13 (u_o) had 12 (u), 22 (u_1) and 4 (u^1), is almost entirely free of (u_o). It would require a very long and extended observation, which we cannot expect any one to undertake, to get more precise and definite results, and we are greatly indebted to TH. for the great labour and pains he has taken in obtaining, recording, and analysing his observations.

TH. has also analysed the transition from (i) through (i_1 , i^1) to (i) in this same region, and in 174 cases finds (i) 8, (i_1) 5, (i^1) 4, (i) 157, which last must therefore be considered as the normal pron.

VAR. iii. WESTMORLAND S. OF THE WATERSHED.

This watershed, starting from Helvellyn, runs nearly e. over Rydal Head, High Street, Harter or Carter Fell, n. of Crow Brow, over Shap Fell to Orton Sear, and then runs nearly s. to Langdale Fells, where it turns e. and enters Yo. by Howgill Fells. The very names indicate a barrier, but in point of fact Var. iv, just n. of this watershed, differs very slightly from Var. iii. The most prominent difference is, that in Var. iii the use of *at* for *to* before the infinitive is very general, but in Var. iv *to* prevails. This Variety also includes that w. horn of Yo., w. of Bow Fell and Whernside, containing Dent and Sedberg, as distinct from Craven, Var. i, which borders on it.

This Var. iii, like Var. i, is traversed by the s. *loose* line 6, which passes from the mouth of the Winster, on the b. of La. and We., in an ene. direction, to pass between Dent on the s., and Sedberg on the n., then running se. through Garsdale. Hence the small s. portion of this variety uses (*áu*), and the large n. portion uses (*ú₁u*) for U. This (*ú₁u*) as I hear it is quite distinct from (*á'u*), but is so like (*óu*) that I have often found a difficulty in distinguishing it. Both the (*áu*, *ú₁u*) agree with the sounds in the corresponding parts of Var. i, which, except from the use of *to* for *at*, is barely separable from it. This dialect is well illustrated by Nos. 6 to 11 of the 22 interlinear es., and a close examination will shew how very slight the differences are of one from the other, and all from Var. i, Nos. 2 and 3, Var. ii, Nos. 4 and 5, Var. iv, Nos. 12 to 17, with the exception of the *at* and *to*. In No. 11, from Orton, We., there are some peculiar insertions of (*i₁*) in a number of words marked †, which JGG. had not observed in the neighbourhood. The words are: he, this, who, certain, did, themselves, kent, herself, lying, length, said, bairn, happened, son, yard, day, kettle, tea, since, week, next, does, never, more, till, shepherd, night, be, t'other. The same informant dictated No. 13, which has no trace of such an insertion. This variety is further illustrated by the ewl. from Dent and Howgill, the last of which I was able to verify by a personal interview.

VAR. iv. EDENSIDE.

The basin of the River Eden includes We. n. of the Watershed and central Cu. This scarcely differs from the n. part of the last except in the universal use of *to* (*tə*) before the infinitive. It is carefully illustrated by Nos. 12 to 17 of the 22 interlinear es., and belongs entirely to the (*ú₁u*) region. Two of these es., Nos. 14 and 16, are valuable from the care taken by the informants, two old ladies, Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Powley, since deceased, who had had a life's knowledge of the dialect, and the diligence with which they were revised by JGG. from their dictation. This variety extends northward to the n. *tee* line 7. It is to be observed that this line makes almost a cusp about Kirk Oswald (15 n.w. Appleby), where, according to JGG., the change from WN. to NN. is strongly marked. He observed that s. of Kirk Oswald they called a 'stone dyke' a (*st₁á₁n dáik*) genuine WN., and a few miles to the n. a (*steen déik*) genuine NN. The w. b. of this variety is not well defined, but may be regarded as running to the n. from Helvellyn, and e. of Skiddaw. The e.b. may be taken as the b. of Du. The change of pron. in passing into Du.

is very slight, and is said to occur about Harwood, Du. (11 nne.Appleby, We., and close to the b.).

Some interest attaches to the slight differences between Var. iii and iv. The words *Æ day*, *E say way* have (*ee*) and (*ee*) in iii, and (*EE*) in iv. *EA'* in iii is (*iie*) but (*ái*) in iv. Generally the close sounds (*noo dee*) *no day*, belong together in iii, and the open (*noo dEE*) in iv. *O'* words have (*iu*) in iii and (*iu*) in iv. The aspirate in iii is a mild jerk (*u*), and in iv a strong jerk (*.h*), the voiceless jerk (*u^h*) does not occur. These are only rough indications. Generally, iii represents the s. parts of the district, and iv the n. portions. Most of the other points are the same. See the Edenside speech-sounds, p. 539.

VAR. v, WEST CUMBERLAND.

So far as pron. is concerned, Var. v is very slightly different from Var. iv, but comprises what is usually known as Cu. on account of Mr. Dickinson's Glossary. This author, whom I never saw, kindly gave me a version of my es., but it was superseded by a vv. es. by Mr. Hetherington for Clifton, close by Workington, where Mr. Dickinson lived. This forms No. 19 of the 22 inter-linear es. The s. parts are illustrated by a es. dictated to JGG. from Keswick, No. 18. The n. part, which is important as forming a transition to NN., shewn by the frequent use of the diphthong (*éi*), for the (*ái*) of the other parts, was dict. to me by Rev. T. Ellwood, No. 20. The slight differences which exist are best appreciated by inspecting Nos. 18, 19, 20, in the 22 inter-linear es. already referred to, p. 563.

VAR. vi, SOUTH DURHAM.

This comprises that part of Du. which is s. of the n. *tee* line 7, and differs but slightly from Var. iv. The main difference seems to be in the treatment of the *U'* words, and here I am unable to give anything very satisfactory. They are generally assumed to have (*uu*), but there is so much confusion between this and some form roughly like (*óuu*, *vúu*) that JGG. felt unable to decide what the sound really was, but generally assumed (*vúu*) as an approximation, using (*óuu*), however, in some cases. Compare the Laithkirk (*éuu*) in Var. i, p. 538. See the dt. and cwl. for Var. vi, Weardale and Teesdale, given below. The Cu. (*íáí*) forms have been worn down to (*íu*, *íu*). This form is well illustrated by a full word list for St. John's, Weardale, and Middleton-in-Teesdale, and by a dt. for Stanhope, with full notes comparing three others which I had received.

TWENTY-TWO INTERLINEAR ES.

In order to shew the relations, similarity, and differences of these Varieties, and to compare them with the neighbouring D 30 and D 32, the following 22 interlinear versions have been inserted, chiefly from the remarkable phonetic transcripts made by JGG., for the following places:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| D 30, Var. i. | D 31, Var. ii. |
| 1. Mid Yorkshire. | 4. Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, La. |
| D 31, Var. i. | 5. Coniston, La. |
| 2. Muker or Upper Swaledale. | D 31, Var. iii. |
| 3. Hawes or Upper Wensleydale. | 6. Casterton for KirkbyLonsdale, We. |

7. Dent, Yo.
8. Sedberg, Yo.
9. Kendal, We.
10. Long Sleddale, We.
11. Orton, We.

D 31, Var. iv.

12. Kirkby Stephen, We.
13. Crosby Ravensworth, We.
14. Temple Sowerby, We.
15. Milburn, We.

16. Langwathby, Cu.
17. Ellonby, Cu.

D 31, Var. v.

18. Keswick, Cu.
19. Clifton, Workington, Cu.
20. Abbey Holme, or Holme Cultram, Cu.

D 32, Var. i.

21. Carlisle, Cu.
22. Knaresdale, Nb.

Introductions.

No. 1. *Mid Yorkshire*, D 30, Var. i, form *a*. This is repeated from D 30, p. 502, where it heads the 10 es. there given, and is placed at the head of these also, as a standard of comparison to shew the difference between the eastern and western forms of the N. div.

No. 2. *Muker or Upper Swaledale* (:swaad^l), on the (:swi^lai^l), (16 w-by-s. Richmond), D 31, Var. i, form *a*. This was written in 1876 by JGG. from his own observations when employed in the Government Geological Survey of the neighbourhood for some years. He was assisted by Mr. Edward Alderson (b. 1831), of Keld (16 w. Richmond); George Calvert, of Muker (16 w-by-s. Richmond), then old and since dead; James Clarkson, of Reeth (8 w. Richmond), then old and since dead; James Broderick, of Summer Lodge (13 wsw. Richmond); Mrs. Clarkson (then aged and now dead) and her family, of Satron (2 e. Muker); Mr. James Kearton (b. 1808, and since dead) and family, of Muker; Mr. Enoch Atkinson and family, of Arkendale Head (16 wnw. Richmond); Mr. Willey and family, of Arkendale; Mr. Liddle, and many other natives. The es. has been compared with the living speech, as used by old people in Swaledale generally, and by those above mentioned in particular, at least 20 times, and in Oct. 1877, JGG. considered it to be a fair representative of the dialectal pron. current among the older inhabitants. That of the younger people differs so little from that of the old that it did not seem to require a separate version. The chief difference lies in the use of (*iu*, *iue*) for (*iu*, *iuu*) as (*siɣur*^o) for (*siɣur*^o), but this avowed modernism is found only among the younger inhabitants of the lower parts of the dale, when the speech merges into that of D 30. The wording here given has been generally accepted as the best rendering of the sense that it is possible to make without departing considerably from the original text. Some variants are given in the subsequent notes. In the autumn of 1882 JGG., in many visits to me of several hours each, went over all his versions given among these 22, especially Nos. 2, 3, 6 to 17, and we then settled the best palaeotypic forms to be used. These versions therefore, and especially the present No. 2, are, probably, the most exact representations of genuine old peasant pron. in secluded spots that have as yet been obtained. The only versions comparable to them are those due to TH. in the Midland div., but, through circumstances, these had not been so frequently revised and compared with native speakers as JGG.'s. In the notes which follow the 22 interlinear es. will be found many remarks upon the sounds represented and their notation. See also the cwl. written from the dictation of Mr. E. Alderson, of Keld, mentioned above, given below, Var. i, letter M. JGG. also wrote a translation into this form of speech of the scene between *Lance and Speed* from Shakspeare in the notice prefixed to Part III., but it will not be given here because the example was ill selected.

No. 3. *Haves* (19 sw. Richmond), for Upper Wensleydale, D 31, Var. i, form *b*. This was pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. Shaw (b. about 1820), Registrar of Births for the district, educated, and many years a schoolmaster there. His (r^o, h) did not fairly represent the well-marked forms of the outlying parts, but in other respects his pronunciation was identical with that of an old dalesman, who, on the same day that this es. was dictated, drove JGG.

a long distance, and conversed with him all the time. All the (*á*u) of this es. were reported by Mr. Shaw to have been (*á*u) some thirty years previously, or about 1846, as they now are in Dent, No. 6, below. Revised with JGG. in Nov. 1882, by AJE.

The resemblance between the Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale es. amounts to a practical identity. In order to shew it strongly whenever the word in the second is the same as in the first, I put (.,) in No. 3 instead of rewriting the word, but I insert the word if even the difference is minute, as with a long instead of a medial vowel, and write (—) when there is no equivalent in No. 3 to the word in No. 2.

No. 3 is connected with No. 4 by Upper Craven, and n.La. of which I have no es., and hence I must refer to the cwl. for Var. i. North Craven, given below. Without this explanation the skip of 31 miles, from Hawes to Cartmel, appears tremendous, but practically, as we shall see, pron. remains the same as at Muker and Hawes throughout.

No. 4. *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La., D 31, Var. ii \bar{b} , 12 nw.Lancaster, pal. in May, 1877, by TH., from the dictation of Thomas Thornhill, of Lower Holker, assistant gardener at Holker Hall, b. 1819, native.

This was an early attempt at writing this dialect, and TH. did not properly observe the curious (*á*) forms, which struck him as (*á*). In later notes (1881), from the same informant, he writes the equivalents of (m^ál^k, b^álth, br^ád, m^álst, sp^ák, sk^ás, sl^át) make, both, broad, most, speak, scarce, slate, which approach to JGG.'s forms. Also at Coniston in (1881) he records (n^éa, st^éan) no, stone. So that (*á*) must be taken as the normal form, though often mixed up with (*á*) (see p. 549). Allowing this I find practically the same pron. all over Furness and Cartmel. TH. had examined Cark (where he was fortunate enough to find an old woman b. in 1797), Ulverston, Coniston, and Broughton. The great feature of this variety is the conversion of (un) through (*á*u) into (*ó*u), a remarkably slight change in reality, and it was through this, I think, that the form (*ó*u) was subsequently obtained, see the following es.

No. 5. *Coniston*. This es. written in io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster of Coniston, b. ca. 1807, was obtained for me by Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, p. 549, but it was not possible for me to interpret the spelling satisfactorily. After nearly ten years Miss M. A. Bell, a native, at Mr. Ellwood's request, read me the es. from the original orthography for me to pal. Miss Bell also read to me Mr. Ellwood's wl. See the Furness cwl. Var. ii \bar{b} , below. She belonged to the younger generation of dialect speakers, as Mr. Bowness did to the older. I did not recognise (*á*) in her pron., but only (*á*). I did not hear (*á*), but only (*á*). Miss B. could not recollect having heard *at* before the infin., on this usage see intro. to D 31, Var. iii, p. 550. Her *r* was nearly vocalised when before a consonant or final, but I write (r). I assume her *e*, *u* to be (e, *u*), but the difference from (e, *u*) was not certain. In the fractures I heard (*á*) or (*á*), not (*á*). I assume also that her *ou* was (*ó*u), but the difference from (*á*u) was not well marked. This represents the same Var. ii \bar{b} as No. 4.

No. 6. *Casterton* (2 ne.Kirkby Lonsdale, 10 se.Kendal, We.), representing Kirkby Lonsdale, D 31, Var. iii, form *a*. Pal. in 1875 by JGG. from the dictation of Mrs. Wilson, b. about 1825, native, who had lived most of her life at Casterton, but had a few years previously removed to Penrith, Cu., where she was keeper of the Castle Bar Tollgate. She spoke most of her home words in this form. She then used (u) to, before the infinitive, but in her younger days she had used (ut). The participial termination *-ing*, here written (u^í), is in JGG.'s opinion more nearly (-*æn*), but not at all (-*æn*). The U' is completely (*á*u). The (e₁) differs scarcely at all from (e).

No. 7. *Dent*, Yo. (12 ese.Kendal, We.). D 31, Var. iii, form *b*. Dent, or Dentdale, is the district, Dent's Town is the town. This es. was pal. May, 1876, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Parrington, a native of Dent's Town, close to the late Prof. Adam Sedgwick's birthplace (see Part I. p. 289, note 4, and p. 311, note 1), a shoemaker by trade, and then living at Keld in Upper Swaledale (see No. 2, p. 557), where he had kept a small inn for 10 years, and he had with him at the time a young man fresh from Dent. He is not an educated man, and continued to speak much of the Dent dialect at Keld. He still used (ut) at,

for *to*, before the infinitive in ordinary conversation at times; his (ɛ) is lower than the normal, his (r) distinctly trilled, and not buzzed, he employed (nh) initial for *kn-* in ordinary conversation, and he remembers (w'r-), but not the gutturals, as Prof. Sedgwick did. The participial ending *-ing* is perhaps most intelligibly represented by (ɛn), but there is a sound of (a) running through it as if from the old form in *-ande*, so that it might be written (ɛ^l), thus (-ɛ^ln).

No. 8. *Sedberg* (:sɛbɔ̃r), Yo. (9 e-by-n. Kendal, We.), and Cautley (3 n. Sedberg). D 31, Var. iii, form *e*. Sedberg and Dent lie on a peninsula of Yo., which runs into We., and the speech is strictly the same as We., but the s. *hooose* line 6 runs between Sedberg and Dent, so that while Dent says (ha'us), Sedberg says (há₁us), which is received as (huus). Sedberg parish contains the curacies of Cowgill, called (:kooɣil), (the late Prof. Sedgwick's birthplace, see his Memorial cited in Part I. p. 289, note 4), Dent (where his father was minister), Garsdale, Howgill (from which JGG. procured a word list, given below, Var. iii), Cautley (from which JGG. obtained a es., see note to this No. 8), and Dowbiggin. Although so close to one another, there is not much communication between Cautley and Sedberg. One member of a family in Cautley goes to Sedberg on market days, seldom oftener. Yet the dialects are as nearly as possible identical. Hence only the Sedberg version is here given, which JGG. prefers, and the Cautley variants are subjoined in the notes. The Sedberg version was pal. by JGG. in Sept. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Foster, b. about 1811, an uneducated native of Sedberg, where he lived 35 to 40 years, afterwards passing a few years in Keighley (Lower Craven, Yo., see D 24), and then at Askrigg, Upper Wensleydale, Yo. (5 e. Hawes), and finally had charge of the tollgate s. of Penrith, Cu. His (r) is trilled, and (nh) distinct. He uses *at* dry, *at* crow, pars. 11 and 14. The Cautley version was pal. by JGG. in Dec. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Gibson, a farmer, who had picked up learning enough to qualify himself as a National Schoolmaster in Cautley, but who was certainly not an educated man. He was b. near Sedberg, and had lived 18 years at Cautley. JGG. was four to six weeks at Cautley at different times, and can vouch for the general accuracy of the version, but thinks that in cases of difference preference should be given to the Sedberg version as dictated by an older man.

As the Sedberg and Dent versions are so much alike, almost the only real difference being the treatment of the U' words, all words in the Sedberg identical with those in the Dent version will be merely represented by (.), and words omitted by (—).

No. 9. *Kendal*, We., Var. iii, form *d*. Mr. Joseph Brown, of the Grammar School, Kendal, in 1874, sent me a version of this es. in systematic orthography, which I then transliterated to the best of my ability, aided by long explanations given me by Mr. Brown in answers to questions. In 1876 JGG. was fortunately enabled to pal. Mr. Brown's version from his own dictation, and I can thus present it in the same orthography as the other We. versions. Mr. Brown also gave me a complete wl. in Glossic, but not to confuse the two methods of appreciation I do not give it. Mr. B., as most speakers there, considered his (u, i) to be quite pure, and JGG. considered them to be nearly so. Mr. B. writes the glossic equivalent to (li)am, hii)al, fader, dee, teel, riit, faiv, spii)ek, gree, kéi, dii)ud, thréi, gréin, huus, spá)en, nü)un for lame, whole, father, day, tail, right, five, speak, grey, key, dead, three, green, house, spoon, noon. The aspirate is very light (l_h). Mr. Brown used (ɔ) in speech, but he meant (o) as here written. The (r) is always trilled, though very lightly when final. The use of (wr-) as (w'r-) is remembered, but is no longer heard. JGG. was generally content with writing (ee), but sometimes used (ee₁), intermediate between (ee, ee). Many of these little differences may be mere individualities.

No. 10. *Long Sleddale*, We., Var. iii, form *e*. Long Sleddale is hardly a village, it is a straggling parish, about 6 m. long and 1½ m. wide, on the River Sprint, pop. 173, the southernmost point being about 6 n. Kendal. It must not be confounded with Wet Sleddale (3 ne. Shap Fells) on a branch of the River Lowther, so that the watershed lies between them. Long Sleddale was the native place of Rev. Thomas Clarke, from 1856 Rector of Ormside (2 se. Appleby), who wrote me a version in it, which was subsequently pal. from his dictation by JGG., and revised in October, 1875. All the (r) are trilled. The (i) is nearer

(ii) than in Eden Valley, Var. iv. Mr. Clarke insisted on pure (ii, uu), but I have used (i₁i, ú₁u) as agreeing better with the actual peasant pron. of the neighbourhood. Of Mr. Clarke's pron. of *friend*, Dr. Murray says: "Mr. Clarke's vowel, instead of seeming to me something between my (ä) and southern (ə), was something on the *other* side of (ə), more *forward* and *higher*—between

(frynd
— fry₁nd
frönd — frend)

There was to me a decided suggestion of (y) in it, but no visible rounding." I have used (fry₁nd), and readers will not be far wrong in saying (frynd) or (fri₁nd). Mr. C. used (tu) to before the infinitive, but (et) at is the ordinary preposition used in the district, and (te) to is refined. Though (süv) is not as usual as (siv), this pron. is not unfrequent, but they differ in meaning in adjoining districts. Initial (w'r-) seems to exist, Mr. C. gave (w'ra₁q, wra₁q), and even (üra₁q).

No. 11. *Orton*, We. D 31, Var. iii, form *f*. Orton is 11 ne.Kendal, and 8 sw.Appleby on the s. side of the watershed, a large parish of 24,430 acres and with only 1449 inhabitants, the town having 558. This version was pal. about 1876 by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. James Dover, of Woodfoot, Crosby Ravensworth (6 sw.Appleby), a corndealer, or 'badger,' who has known the dialect from his youth, and has places of business in each of the principal towns around; he is a very observant and intelligent man. This version is believed to be in many respects very accurate, but JGG. heard it only once, revising his writing the next day. The words marked † have the pronunciation indicated by Mr. Dover, with an inserted (i₁), see p. 555, but these pronunciations have not been confirmed by other observations made by JGG.

No. 12. *Kirkby Stephen*, We. (9 sse.Appleby), D 31, Var. iv, form *a*. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Joseph Steel, better known as "Joe" Steel, b. 1811, a mason, a native of Kirkby Stephen, where he had lived nearly all his life, a self-educated man, fairly well read in all matters relating to the antiquities and folklore of his district, and well known as a verse writer. From nearly a three years' acquaintance with the Kirkby Stephen dialect, JGG. considers this es. to be a fair representation of the speech of the older people of that neighbourhood. Mr. Steel does not recognize (nh, kh, kjh, kwh) as occurring in the speech of any old person he can remember.

No. 13. *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. (6 sw.Appleby), representing the country districts s. of Appleby. D 31, Var. iv, form *b*, pal. 1876-8 by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. James Dover (see No. 11, above, corndealer, of Woodfoot (1 s. Crosby Ravensworth), where he has lived all his life. He uses much the same speech as in this version when dealing with the country people. He received a good local education, and was said at that time to write verses. JGG. says he has heard more antiquated forms from old folk that come from the same part, such as initial (wh), and even (mh) after suspended (t'), as (t' mhm₁u₁m) the moon. In the preface to the Westmoreland version of the *Song of Solomon*, by the Rev. John Richardson (r:itsun), Head Master of Appleby School, written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says, "*ebm-clipt* = *evenly-clipped*. The *bm* sound is very peculiar: confined, perhaps, to our dialect. To give *b* its due power we must close the lips. Well, keep them closed; then carry *m* half-way through the nose, [meaning?], and you will get the exact value of *bm* in *ebm* . . . : *bm* and *mb* seem to be both simple sounds. We have the *bm* sound in *sebm*, *elebm*, *priest-ebm* (a young student on the *ere* of holy orders), and in many other words, of which *ibm-in* for *evening* is one of the most noteworthy. *Itt'n-it*, past participle and imperative of the verb *eat*; *tn* is a simple sound partaking of *t* and *n* in the same manner that *bm* is a simple sound partaking of *b* and *m*." On this Prince LLB. remarks in pencil in my copy: "Je suis certain que le *bm* de Westm. est un son simple, mais je ne crois pas avec le traducteur, au *tn* simple." Although Mr. Richardson's explanations are not very lucid, his story of a hackney coachman with a cold in his head, saying *mbove*, leads one to suppose that he meant (b., d.) or (b, d) with an imperfect nasal resonance. But JGG.

could not hear any difference between this *b* and his own (*b*). Mr. Dover did not remember (*w'r-*), but an old lady with whom JGG. lodged at Hilton (3 c. Appleby), and who could not read, b. about 1816, remembered it well enough; she, however, had never heard (*kh kjh kwh*). Old people of good memories have denied the use of (*kh*) in their time, in Var. iv, and JGG. does not believe in its present existence.

No. 14. *Temple Sowerby*, We. (6 nw-by-w.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *c*, pal. 1876-8, by JGG., from the dictation of the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (the name of her house, standing 1 nw.Temple Sowerby) on the Eden. This was taken down and revised, indeed, rewritten six times, after consultation with Mrs. A. She had lived in this neighbourhood 50 years, and had had abundant opportunity of acquiring a complete knowledge of the dialect. She was the wife of a former High Sheriff of Westmorland. She herself used pure (*i*, *u*), and insisted on JGG. so writing the sounds. But this was a purism on her part, the neighbouring peasantry using only (*í*₁, *ú*₁), which have therefore been here substituted. She also used the finals (*-th*₁*r*^o, *-dh*₁*r*^o), for which the peasantry say (*-t*₁*r*^o, *-d*₁*r*^o), which are here restored. In other respects her pronunciation has been scrupulously followed.

No. 15. *Milburn*, We. (6 nw.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *d*. JGG. resided a considerable time in Milburn from 1876 onwards, making it his headquarters. The present is the result of two years' observations, and he has been assisted by Mrs. Howe and family, Mrs. Robinson and family, and Mr. Lewis, all life-long residents at Milburn. He believes that this version fairly represents the speech of the folk about Milburn. He considers that pure (*uu*, *ii*) are quite unknown in the Eden Valley speech, their places being taken by (*ú*₁, *í*₁), and quite as often by (*ó*₁, *é*₁). Mrs. Robinson volunteered the remark that JGG. said (*ku*) in place of (*kó*₁) or (*ké*₁) at a dialect reading there. He has occasionally heard (*nh-*, *w'r-*), as in (*uhok*, *w'r*^o*í*₁*it*) *knock*, *wright*. The distinction between the verbal noun and present participle is frequently lost, but JGG. thinks they would say (*w*)*v* *f*₁*r*^o*v*₁*r*^o *v* *w*eshin *t*₁ *d*₁ *t*₁ *w*eshin *d*₁*e*₁, we have forever washing—an endless quantity of washing (verbal noun) to do this washing day (treated as present participle, though also a verbal noun). The present participle invariably ends in (*en*), the (*v*) approaching (*a*₁); the adj. form ends in (*in*) and sometimes in (*en*); the verbal noun almost always ends in (*in*). The (*ɔ*₁^o, *ə*₁) are frequently used theoretically in this and preceding versions, that is, when their presence has once been clearly perceived in one or two words more distinctly pronounced for the unaccented syllables, they are assumed to exist in other unaccented syllables where they had not been uttered with sufficient clearness to be identified. When (*d*₁*r*^o) ends a word and is preceded by a short vowel, it is usually preceded by a non-dental (*d*), as (*fad**d*₁*r*^o), and the tongue may be felt to glide along the hard palate from the (*d*) to the (*d*) position.

No. 16. *Langrathby* (:la:qenbi), e.Cu. (4 ne.Penrith), D 31, Var. iv, form *e*. The late Miss Mary Powley (:p₁*u*₁li, :p₁*o*₁li, :pu₁li), the Cumberland poetess, sister of Mrs. Atkinson (see No. 14, above), when very old sent me this version in her own orthography. She died 23 Dec. 1882, but in 1876-7 JGG. had opportunities kindly given him by her of palaeotyping it from her dictation, and he compared his transcription four times with her. She considered that she gave the pron. of 40 or 50 years previously, or about 1820-30, and says that some old people still speak so, in se.Cu. and n.We., her father's locality, not n.Cu., which belongs to D 32, and is more like Lowland Scotch. Miss Powley, like Mrs. Anderson, dictated pure (*uu*, *ii*), but these have been altered to (*ú*₁, *í*₁), as generally heard. She also did not nasalise (*ái*) into (*áa* *i*), as usual in the neighbourhood, but this has been left. She remembered (*w'r-*, *kh-*), also (*nh-*) or (*tn-*, *tnh-*) for initial *kn*. Some of the words, as *door*, *too*, *ground*, *few*, *washing*, etc., have been carefully examined with Miss P. not less than 7 or 8 times. The representative of English *ur*, *or* is decidedly (*ɔ*₁*r*^o, *ə*₁*r*^o), but *Thursday*, *hurt*, *worm*, *word*, and a few others may be normally (*uu*₁*r*^o, *oo*₁*r*^o). Custom, however, varies, and (*ɔ*₁*r*^o) is certainly the common old form. Miss P. abridged some passages of the es., saying in her letter to me 23 Oct. 1873, sending the es., that there were "many more words in the example than an old Cumbrian would have thought of to express his meaning. People who speak

such language are mostly too positive to ask what others *think*. *Why* is not a Cumb. rustic word, nor *notwithstanding*, nor *though*, but 'what for, for aw' *that*.' *Fact*, *case*, *point*, *straight off*, and *want* are unheard of by old rural people. *Prate*, and *to sup*, and *quick* in this sense would require a dictionary or be reckoned proper to that alone." Hence the interlinear comparison is often deficient, though it is fuller than Miss P. at first wrote.

No. 17. *Ellonby* (6 nw.Penrith, Cu.), a hamlet in the parish of Skelton, D 31, Var. iv, form *f*. Pal. in 1875-6, and twice re-audited, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Bainbridge, occasionally called (:bEENbrɪg), b. about 1845, a linen-draper at Penrith, but a native of Ellonby. He had himself used most of the following expressions, and distinctly remembers hearing the remainder from the old people there. JGG., from his knowledge of the Skelton district, considers this to be a fair representation of the older forms of the home speech of those parts at that time.

No. 18. *Keswick*, Cu., D 31, Var. v, form *a*. Written in systematic orthography, with great care, in 1873, by Mr. William Postlethwaite, then master of the Church of England schools at Wreay (:rɪɐ), (5 se.Carlisle), but knowing the Keswick speech from childhood. He could not send me the speech of Scotch Cumberland, on the borders of which he lived. Fortunately JGG. was able to pal. his es. from his dict. in Nov. 1875, and from this the present copy is taken. JGG. says he is afraid that it does not adequately represent the old folk speech of 30 years previously, that is, 1845, but it was the oldest that Mr. P. could remember with any approach to certainty. Mr. P. said that pure (uu, ii) were used, but he himself in speaking to the children employed (û₁u, î₁i), which forms are therefore here written.

No. 19. *Clifton*, Cu. (2 e.Workington). D 31, Var. v, form *b*. Originally written Oct. 1873, in Glossic, by Mr. J. N. Hetherington, son of the late Vicar of Clifton. He had known the dialect for 25 years. This was pal. by AJE., and corrected from dictation in Nov. 1875.

No. 20. *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. (14 wsw.Carlisle), on the Waver, which runs into the Solway Frith. This version was originally written in Dec. 1873, in his own orthography, by Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver (2 ssw.Coniston-in-Furness), n.La., author of 'Welcome into Cumberland,' and other Cumberland poems, native, and acquainted with the dialect all his life. The same month it was read to me by Mr. Harkness, of Aspatria (:spɪɑːtrɪ) (12 ne.Workington, and 6 s-by-w. Holme Cultram), who, however, had not been in the district itself. But in July, 1884, I had the advantage of correcting my transcript, although somewhat hastily, from the dictation of Mr. Ellwood himself. Hence this version cannot compare for minute accuracy with those of JGG. The dialect was first recommended to my notice by Mr. Hetherington (see No. 19, above) as a transitional form between central and north Cu. The use of (t) for *the*, and (aɪ) for *I am*, however, keeps this quite distinct from D 32, Carlisle. This is said by Mr. Ellwood to be the language of Dandie Dinmont in *Guy Mannerling*. This gives D 31, Var. v, form *c*.

No. 21. *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, Var. i, form *a*. Although Carlisle lies n. of the n. *tee* line 7, and hence belongs to the North Northern or D 32, yet on account of its close connection with the other Cu. varieties (all of which have (t) *the*), and the general resemblance of the vowel system, which approximates to the Abbey Holme form, No. 20, it seems best to place it here. It is sharply distinguished from the L. form by the use of (u, u₁) for U in place of the L. (ʌ), without any transitional form. Of this region I had an example written from the dictation of a maidservant fresh from Dalston (4 ssw.Carlisle), whose father was from Wreay (:rɪɐ) (5 sse.Carlisle), and mother from Southwaite (7 sse. Carlisle). But it was one of my earliest attempts to write down dialect from dictation, and I was from the first not satisfied with the result. I had also had no opportunity of revising it. I was therefore glad to have a version from the practised hand and ear of JGG., to whom it was first written, and then dictated by the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (see No. 14, p. 561). Her family was of Scotch extraction, and her parents had always servants from Scotland or the neighbourhood of Carlisle. From these Mrs. A. learned her Carlisle speech, which JGG., from his knowledge of Carlisle, considers to be very fairly repre-

sented in this version. Mrs. A. left (ii, uu) pure as in Scotland, but as JGG. always heard (ú₁i, ú₁u) from old people, I have introduced these forms as in Nos. 14 and 16. It is most probable that they should also be used in No. 20, but I had no authority to make the change. Mrs. Atkinson wrote out this version twice in her own orthography, and frequently revised it with JGG. The final form resulted from a conference between him and me in 1882.

No. 22. *Knaresdale*, Nb. (17 e. Carlisle, Cu.), just beyond the n. *tee* line 7. D. 32, Var. i, form *b*. This is the connecting link between Cu. and Nb., but is still decidedly Cu. in character. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, b. about 1826 at Knaresdale, where he lived till he was 18; since then he has lived as a miller in the valley of the Eden, Cu., and mainly at Blencarn, a hamlet of the parish of Kirkland, Cu. (8 n-by-e. Penrith), at the foot of Cross Fell. He was not an educated man, but spoke a mixture of the Knaresdale and Eden Valley forms of speech, though at home he generally used his native speech. His (ú₁i) is hardly distinguishable from JGG.'s own (ii), his (ú₁u) resembles that in the Eden Valley, No. 12 to 17. His (r) is gently trilled, and is not (r°). He says (fiúu, biz'nəs, r'iz'n) few, business, reason. He does not remember (uh-, wr-, kjh, kuh).

* * * In arranging these 22 es. interlinearly, care has been taken by leads and rules to indicate the grouping. The complete sets of 22 es., of which two occur on a page, are separated by rules. The No. 1, which does not belong to this district, and is only placed here for comparison, is separated by a thick lead, from Nos. 2 and 3, which forms Var. i. Then another lead separates these two from Nos. 4 and 5, constituting Var. ii. The other groups are Nos. 6 to 11 or Var. iii, Nos. 12 to 17 or Var. iv, Nos. 18 to 20 or Var. v, and Nos. 21, 22, which belong to the next district. These groups are shewn especially well in the first set immediately below.

TEXT.

0.	1 D 30, V. i.	<i>Mid Yorkshire</i> , pp. 502 and 557.	wat fe
	2 D 31, V. i.	<i>Muker</i> , Yo. p. 557.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	3 D 31, V. i.	<i>Hawes</i> , Yo. p. 557.	há ₁ u t)iz et
	4 D 31, V. iib.	<i>Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel</i> , La. p. 558.	wái
	5 D 31, V. iib.	<i>Coniston</i> , La. p. 558.	wat for
	6 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Kirkby Lonsdale</i> , We. p. 558.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	7 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Dent</i> , Yo. p. 558.	wha ₁ t fAAr
	8 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Sedberg</i> , Yo. p. 559.	” ”
	9 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Kendal</i> , We. p. 559.	wha ₁ t
	10 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Long Sleddale</i> , We. p. 559.	whái
	11 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Orton</i> , We. p. 560.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	12 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Kirkby Stephen</i> , We. p. 560.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	13 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Crosby Ravensworth</i> , We., p. 560.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	14 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Temple Sowerby</i> , We. p. 561.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	15 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Milburn</i> , We. p. 561.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	16 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Langwathby</i> , Cu. p. 561.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	17 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Ellonby</i> , Cu. p. 562.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	18 D 31, V. v.	<i>Keswick</i> , Cu. p. 562.	há ₁ u
	19 D 31, V. v.	<i>Clifton</i> , Cu. p. 562.	wha ₁ t for
	20 D 31, V. v.	<i>Holme Cultram</i> , Cu. p. 562.	wha ₁ t fer ^o
	21 D 32, V. i.	<i>Carlisle</i> , Cu. p. 562.	weer ^o for ^o
	22 D 32, V. i.	<i>Knaresdale</i> , Nb. p. 563.	wha ₁ t for

1	:dʒúwen	ez	néev	duuts.
2	:dʒwú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ á ₁	dú ₁ uts.
3	„	„	„	„
4	:dʒúen)z		níe	dóuts.
5	:dʒon	ez	níá	dóuts.
6	:dʒu ₁ n	he ₁ z	ní ₁ á ₁	dáuts.
7	:dʒoni	hez	ní ₁ á ₁	dáuts.
8	:dʒú ₁ en	„	„	dú ₁ uts.
9	:dʒoni	hez	níá ₁	dú ₁ uts fo ₁ r.
10	:dʒoni	hez	níe	dú ₁ uts.
11	:dʒw ₁ en	hez	níe	dú ₁ uts.
12	:dʒwú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ e	dú ₁ uts.
13	:dʒon	hez	ní	dú ₁ uts.
14	:dʒon	hez	níe ₁	dú ₁ uts.
15	:dʒú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ e	dú ₁ uts.
16	:dʒon	hez	ní ₁ e	dú ₁ uts.
17	:dʒú ₁ á ₁ n	hez	ní	dú ₁ uts.
18	:dʒwú ₁ en	hez	ní ₁ a	dú ₁ uts.
19	:dʒw ₁ on	hez	níe	duuts.
20	:dʒon		:shíper ^o d	hez ní ₁ e dùts.
21	:dʒon	hez	nee	dú ₁ uts.
22	:dʒá ₁ en	hez	nii	dú ₁ uts.

1.	1	wíil,	néevbe,	jii	en	ím	me	béeth	o)je	laf
	2	wáaiv,	néei bə ₁ r ^o	jíii	en	hám	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th	o)je	lăf
	3	„	„	dhéii	„	„	„	„	— —	„
	4	wáí,	:dʒím,	béeth	ím	en	dhii	me		laf
	5	wíi	neber,	jii	en	hám	me	bíáth		laf
	6	wáiv,	ne ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	dhí ₁ i	en	hám	mee ₁	bí ₁ á ₁ th	o)je	lăf
	7	wáaiv,	ne ₁ bə ₁ r,	jí ₁ i	en	hám	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th	o)je	lăf
	8	wáiv,	„	dhí ₁ i	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	wel, wel,	ne ₁ bə ₁ r,	dhú ₁ u	en	hám	me	bí ₁ a ₁ th	„	lăf
	10	wáaiv,	ne ₁ bə ₁ r,	dhii	en	hám	me	bí ₁ eth	o)je	la ₁ f
	11	wáaiv,	ne ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	dhú ₁ u	en	fhí ₁ e	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th	o)je	lăf
	12	wáaiv,	nee ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	jí ₁ i	en	hám	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th		lăf
	13	wáaiv,	ne ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	dhí ₁ i	en	hám	me	bí ₁ é ₁ th	o)je	lăf
	14	wáaiv,	nee ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	jí	en	hám	me	bí ₁ é ₁ th		lăf
	15	wáaiv,	nee ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	jí	en	hám	me	bí ₁ a ₁ th	e)je	lăf
	16	wáaiv,	nee ₁ ’ebə ₁ r ^o ,	jí ₁ i	en	hám	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th		laf
	17	wáaiv	nee ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	jí ₁ i	en	hám	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th	o)je	lăf
	18	wel	ne ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	dhú ₁ u	en	hám	me	bí ₁ á ₁ th		lăf
	19	wíil	nee ₁ ber ^o	dhú ₁ u	en	hí ₁ i	me	bíáth		la ₁ f
	20	wéi,	neber ^o ,	juu	en	hám	me	bí ₁ eth		laf
	21	wéi,	nee ₁ bə ₁ r ^o ,	dhii	en	hám	me	bíeth		lăf
	22	wéii	néei’ber,	dhú ₁ u	en	hám	me	bí ₁ eth	o)je	laf

1	leik, et	dhís	níuz	v	maan,	wé)s)t	kéev?	
2		et	dhís	níúuz	v	mááin,	whíá ₁	kaar ^o z?
3		„	„	„	„	„	„	
4		et	dhís	tíel	v	máin,	bet waa	kíerz?
5		et	dhís	níuz	v	máin,	if Ji láik, waa	kíáarz?
6		et	dhís	níúuz	v	máin,	wíá ₁	kjee[r ^o z?
7		et	dhís	níúuz	v	mááin,	whíie	keerz?
8		„	„	„	„	máin,	whíá ₁	kéerz?
9		et	mí	níúuz			whaa	kíú ₁ rz
10		et	dhís	níuz	v	mááin,	whoo	kíerz?
11		et	†dhíez	níuz	v	mááin,	whíi	kí ₁ er ^o z?
12		et	dhís	níúuz	v	mááin,	whíá ₁	kéer ^o z?
13		et	dhís	níúuz	v	máin,	whí ₁	kee ₁ r ^o z?
14		et	dhís	tíé ₁ l	v	mááin,	whíé ₁	keer ^o z
15		et	t	níúuz	et	ev gíten	te tel je, whi	keer ^o z
16		et	tís	stú ₁ á ₁ r ^o i	v	mááin,	whíe	keer ^o z
17		et	dhís	stú ₁ á ₁ r ^o i	v	mááin,	whí	keer ^o z?
18		et	dhís	níú ₁ uz	v	mááin,	whoo	keer ^o z?
19		et	dhís	níúuz	v	máin,	whoo	keerz?
20		et	dhís	tíel	o	méin,	whíe	kéer ^o z?
21		et	dhís	níúuz	v	me'in,	whé	keer ^o z?
22		et	dhís	níúuz	v	me'in,	whíi'	keerz?

1		·dhat)s	néevdher	íiv	ne	dhíiv.	
2	fə ₁	·dha ₁ t?	·dha ₁ t)s	needhə ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	ne	dhaa ₁ r ^o .
3	—	—	„	„	„	„	„
4			dhat)s	needher	íer	ner	dhíá'r.
5			dhat)s	niáder	íier	ne	dhíer.
6			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	ne	dhíá ₁ r ^o .
7			dhat)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r	híiə ₁ r	nə ₁ r	dhíá ₁ r.
8			„	„	híiə ₁ r	„	„
9			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r	híiə ₁ r	nə ₁ r	dhíá ₁ r.
10			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r	híiə ₁ r	nə ₁ r	dhíiə ₁ r.
11			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
12			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
13			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
14	fə ₁	·dha ₁ t?	·dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
15	fə ₁	·dha ₁ t?	dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
16			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
17			·dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
18			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nu ₁ r ^o	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
19			dha ₁ t)s	náú ₁ də ₁ r	híi ₁ er	ner	dhíi ₁ er.
20			dhat)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híi ₁ er ^o	er	dhíi ₁ er ^o .
21			·dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	ne	dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
22			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ dher	híi ₁ er	er	dhíi ₁ er.

2.	1	jan	kenz	it)s	nəbəd	v	fécə	v	mín	ət	gəqz	ən
	2			it)s			fíúu	v	fʷú ₁ ək	əd		
	3				níá ₁ bodí		—	—	—	—		
	4					vare	fá'u		fôak			
	5				nə ₁ t	meni						
	6				nət	sə	me ₁ ni	[fíúu]	fook			
	7				nət	sə	meni	[fíúu]	fAAk			
	8				"	"	"		fuu ₁ k			
	9						fíúu		fook			
	10						fíúu					
	11		it	iz'nt	sə	meni			fʷú ₁ ək			
	12						fí ₁ úu		fʷú ₁ ək			
	13				[nu ₁ t	sə	meni]	fíúu	fʷú ₁ ək			
	14						fíúu		fʷú ₁ ək			
	15		it)s	nu ₁ t	sí	meni			fʷú ₁ ək	ət		
	16			nu ₁ t	sə	moni	[fíúu]		fʷôək			
	17		it)s	nu ₁ t	sí	meni			fú ₁ a ₁ k	ət		
	18						fíú ₁ u		fʷú ₁ ək			
	19						fíúu		fwook			
	20				ní ₁ t	mani						
	21						fíúú		fʷóks			
	22								fʷAAk			

1	diiz	əko's	dhe)r	fíúú	at,							
2	díiz	bíko's	dhe)r ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	wí	nhaa		dha ₁ t,			
3	,,	bíkoz	dhee)r ^o	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,			
4	dii	bíkooz	dhe)r	láft	át.							
5	dii	kos	dhe)r	láft	at,	wí	naa					
6	díiz	fə ₁ r ^o	bíjən	láft	at,	·wí ₁ i	naa		dha ₁ t,			
7	déiz	bíkos	dhə ₁ r	láft	at,	wí	nhaa		dha ₁ t,			
8	díiz	fə ₁ r	bíjən	,,	,,	wí ₁ i	,,		,,			
9	díiz	koz	dhə ₁ r	láft	ət,	·wí ₁ i	naa					
10	díi	fə ₁ r	bin	láft	a ₁ t,	wí ₁ i	nhaa		dha ₁ t,			
11	díez	fə ₁ r ^o	bíjən	láft	ət,	dhú ₁ u	naa ₁ z		dha ₁ t,			
12	díiz	bíkaZ	dhə ₁ r ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	wí	·noo					
13	díiz	bíkoz	dhə ₁ r ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ ii	nò		·dha ₁ t			
14	díi	əko'z	dhə ₁ r ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	wí	nhaa		dha ₁ t,			
15	díiz	fə ₁ r ^o	bíjən	láft	ət,	wí	nhoó		dha ₁ t			
16	díiz	əko'z	dhə ₁ r ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	wí	tnhoó,		·ət			
17	díiz	əko'z	dher ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ i	noo		dha ₁ t,			
18	díiz	bíko'z	dher ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ i	no,					
19	díi	əko'z ₁ s	dher	láft	at,	·wí ₁ i	noo,					
20	dii	bíko'z	dher ^o	láft	at,	wíi	noo		dhat,			
21	díi	bíko'z	dher ^o	láft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ i	ken					
22	líiv	laq	ef ₁ te ₁ r	dher	láft	wí	·noo		dha ₁ t,			

1		d)net	ez ?	préi	wat	sud	mak
2		du)net	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
3	wéiil eníúuf.				"	"	"
4							
5		dúent	we ?		wat	su ₁ d	miák
6		dóoent	we ?		wha ₁ t	su ₁ d	ma ₁ k)
7		du ₁)net	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	me ₁ k)
8		duu ₁ nt	"		"	su ₁ d	"
9		doont	we ?		wka ₁ t	sud	me ₁ k)
10		dúust	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	mí ₁ ek
11		dhú ₁ u	dúez.	†	whíu	shud	mí ₁ ek
12		du ₁)net	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
13		du	wi nu ₁ t ?		wha ₁ t	shud [sud]	ma ₁ k
14	geeli wí ₁ il.				wha ₁ t	sud	me ₁ k)
15	geeli wí ₁ il,	ret du	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
16			du)we !		wha ₁ t	sud	mak
17	wí ₁ il eníúuf,	du)wi)nu ₁ t ?			wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
18		dí ₁ ent	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
19		dúuent	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	mak
20		dív'nt	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	mak
21		dív'nt	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	me ₁ k
22	wí ₁ il eníú ¹ ef,	doont	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	mí ¹ ek

1	em ?		it's	nut	vare	laaklínz,	iz it nuu ?
2	dhem	déi ?	it's	ny ₁ n	si	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli, iizs)t nú ₁ n ?
3	em ?	—	"	ny ₁ t	—	"	lá'ikli, iiz)t ?
4			it	iz'nt	vare	lá'ikli	ez dhe wòd.
5	em ?		it)	s nu ₁ t	vare	lá'ikli,	is)t ?
6	em ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	iiz)t ?
7	em ?		it's	net	vare	lá'ikli,	iizs)t náu ?
8	"		"	iz'nt	"	"	" nú ₁ n ?
9	em ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^e	lá'ikli,	iz)it ?
10	em ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^e	lá'ikli,	is)t ?
11	em ?		it's	†n ₁ en		lá'ik)t	iish)t ?
12	dhem ?		it's	ny ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	iizs)t ?
13	em ?		it's	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	iizst ?
14	em	déi ?	it's	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	ret is)t nu ₁ t.
15	em	déi ?	it's	nín	si	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli, iiz)t nu ₁ n ?
16	dhem ?		its	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	ret is)t nu ₁ t.
17	dhem ?	déi ?	it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	iizs)t nú ₁ n ?
18	dhem ?		it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	iizs)t ?
19	dhem ?		it's	nu ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lá'ikli,	is)t nú ₁ n ?
20	dhem ?		it	iz'nt	vare	lé'ikli,	is)t ?
21	fem	déi ?	it's	ny ₁ t	va ₁ r ^e	lé'ikli,	is)t ?
22	dhem	déi ?	it	iz'nt	va ₁ r ^e	lé'ikli,	iizs)t ?

3.	1	usemivə	dhícz)w)z tílínz v)t' t'réenth	
	2	vwuvə ₁ r ^o	dhəə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	3	„	dh _u 1r ^o „ „	fa ₁ ks
	4	but áuivə	it)s v	fakt wat ái)s
	5	hóuəvə	dhúuez er t'	faks o)t' mater
	6	áu)í ₁ və ₁ r ^o	dhor ^o ə ₁ r ^o)t'	fa ₁ ks
	7	háu)í ₁ və ₁ r	dhíiz ist)t'	faks
	8	hú ₁ u)í ₁ və ₁ r	„ iz „	„
	9	hú ₁ u)í ₁ və ₁ r	à)z gaan tē tel dhe)t' t'ríúuth	
	10	hwivə ₁ r	dhor wer)t'	fa ₁ ks
	11	bu ₁ t	dhú ₁ u naa ₁ z, ·dhəə ₁ r ^o)z	fa ₁ ks
	12	ú ₁ uivə ₁ r ^o	dhooz ə ₁ r ^o)t'	fa ₁ ks
	13	hú ₁ ueb·ə ₁ r ^o	dhəə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	14	vwí ₁ və ₁ r ^o	dh _u 1r ^o)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	15	vwí ₁ və ₁ r ^o	dhəə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fa ₁ ks
	16	vwí ₁ və ₁ r ^o	aa)l tel dhe t' r ^o í ₁ its on)t,	
	17	ú ₁ u)í ₁ və ₁ r ^o	a)l tel dhe) t' r ^o í ₁ its on)t,	
	18	vwí ₁ və ₁ r ^o	dh _u 1r ^o)z)t' r ^o í ₁ its on)t,	
	19	hwuu ₁ r	dhəə ₁ r ^o)zs)t'	fakts
	20	enivēe	dhis is)t' wee it waz,	
	21	hú ₁ və ₁ r ^o	dhis iz dhe t'ríúúuth v dhe	
	22	vwuvə	dh _u 1rz dhe	fa ₁ ks v dhe

1	v)t'	kíies,	séev	dʒist ganz tē en óoed dhe dhuu
2	v)d'	kíá ₁ s,	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod
3	v)t'	„	síá ₁ „	„
4	telín ə	dhi,	súv	od
5			súv	dʒu ₁ st od
6	v)t'	kíá ₁ s,	síá ₁	pre)dhe hod
7	v)t'	ma ₁ tə ₁ r,	sív	dʒu ₁ st hod
8	„ „	kíá ₁ s,	sív ₁	pre)dhe „
9	v)t'	kíá ₁ s,	síá ₁	dʒust hod
10	v)t'	kíies,	sóov	pre)dhe dʒust
11	v)t'	kíies,	sv	hod)ti
12	v)t'	kíá ₁ s,	síiv	dʒu ₁ st hod dhi
13	v)t'	dʒob [bizny ₁ s]	síiv	dhu med ez w ₁ l hod dhi
14	v)t'	kíé ₁ s,	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod)ti
15	v)t'	kíá ₁ s	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod)dhi
16			if	dhú ₁ u)l hod)ti
17			if	dh)l hod dhi
18			sí ₁ a ^o	dʒu ₁ st hod dhi
19	v)t'	kíá ₁ s,	súuv	dʒu ₁ st hod ti
20			sív	hod vər
21		ma ₁ tə ₁ r ^o	sív	dʒy ₁ st hod v
22		kí ¹ es,	sí	dʒu ₁ st hod dhi

1	dhi	dín, frínd,	en	bi	wisht	nu	waal aa)z
2	dhi	nóiz, fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	whel	áa <i>i</i>)v
3	„	„ „	„	„	„	t'l	áa <i>i</i>)v
4	dhi	nóiz,				tíl	áa <i>i</i>)v
5	jer	náiz, mon,	en	bi	wáa <i>i</i>)et,	tel	aa)v
6	dhi	nóiz, fryy ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	wháa <i>i</i> l	áa <i>i</i>)v
7	dhi	nóiz, mi la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	wháa <i>i</i> l	áa <i>i</i>)v
8	„	„ „	„	„	„	whal	aa)v
9	dhi	nóiz, fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	t'l	aa)v
10	whisht,	fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	wháa <i>i</i> l	a)v
11		nóiz v dhe,	en		whisht,	tíl	áa ₁ i
12		nóiz, fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	t'l	aa)v
13		nóiz,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	whel	a)v
14		nóiz, mán,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	whel	a)v
15		nóiz, mi la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	whel	a)v
16		nóiz, mi la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	whel	a ₁)v
17		nóiz, mi la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	whel	aa)v
18		nóiz, mi fr ^o e ^o nd,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	t'l	a)v
19		nóiz,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et,	tel	a)z
20		nóiz, men,	en		whisht	tíl	a)z
21		nóiz, mi ma ₁ n,	en	bi	wháa <i>i</i>)et	tíl	áa <i>i</i>)v
22		nóiz, frínd,	en	bi	kwáa <i>i</i>)et	tíl	áa <i>i</i> bi

1	díen.	œk	te	budz	nu!
2	gít'n díen.	híi ₁ r ^o s)te!			
3	díuen.	„	„		
4	teit dhe.	lís'n!			
5	du ₁ n.	lís'n!			
6	duen.	haar ^o ks)te!			
7	du ₁ n.	lís'n náu!			
8	duen.	haar ^o ks)te!			
9	du ₁ n.	ha ₁)the			
10	díu ₁ n.	lís'n ná ₁ u!			
11	díen.	láa <i>i</i>)dhe.			
12	díen.	las)te ná ₁ u.			
13	díen.	lís)te ná ₁ u.			
14	díen.	láais)te [láa <i>i</i>)je].			
15	gít'n díen.	lái)je.			
16	díen.	láa <i>i</i>)je.			
17	díen.	lís'n [haar ^o ks)te, láa <i>i</i>)je].			
18	du ₁ n.	lâis)te.			
19	du ₁ n[díuen].	híers)te.			
20	dían.	lís'n.			
21	dííen.	láais)te.			
22	díí'en.	lís'n ná ₁ u.			

4.	1	aa)z	síer	et a	iíed	am	séeb,
	2	áai z	sàr ^o t'n	et)i	híi ₁ r ^o d)tem	se	sí ₁ á ₁ ,
	3	,,)z	síúuer ^o	áai	,,)em		see, —
	4	wel ái)s	sàrt'n	ái	erd		
	5	a)z vare	saart'n	a	iíerd	dhem	see
	6	ai)z	síúuer ^o	et)a	haar ^o d)am		see ₁ —
	7	áai)z	saart'n	aa	híi ₁ r ^o d)em		SEE sí ₁ á ₁
	8	,,	síúuer	ái	haard	,,	,,
	9	aa)z	saart'n	aa	haard)em		see,
	10	áai)z	saart'n	et v	haard tem		see —
	11	aa)m em ₁ est	†sìert'n	dhe	telt me	sí ₁ e,	†(d ₁)ed
	12	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	et i	haar ^o d	dhem	see ₁ —
	13	áai iz	saar ^o t'n	et v	haar ^o d	tem	see ₁ —
	14	à)z	saar ^o t'n	et v	haar ^o d	tem	se)sí ₁ é ₁ —
	15	a)z	saar ^o t'n	et v	hí ₁ i ₁ r ^o d)t'	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	SEE, —
	16	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	a)v	haar ^o d)tem		SEE —
	17	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	et aa)v	haar ^o d)tem	tel ebú ₁ ut it	—
	18	aa)z	sar ^o t'n,	et v	hàr ^o d	dhem	SEE —
	19	aa ₁)z	saart'n	a	haard	dhem	SEE —
	20	à)z	saart'n	v	haard	dhem	see —
	21	ái)z	saar ^o t'n	ái	hí ₁ i ₁ r ^o d tem		see —
	22	ái)z	saart'n	aa)v	hí ₁ i ₁ erd	dhem	SEE —

1	sa ₁ m	v	dhím	fóok	et wint	(t ₁ r ₁ f)t'	jal	thiq
2	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	(t ₁ r ₁ ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
3	,,	,,	dh ₁ u ₁ r ^o	,,	et	,, thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	,,	,,
4			t' séem	fóak	see	vz ná'u it	AA ¹ .	
5	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ or ₁	fóok	et went	thruu	o)t'	thiq
6	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ oor ^o	fóok	et we ₁ nt	thrú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	djob
7	sa ₁ m	v	dhem		et went	thrú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
8	,,	,,	dh ₁ u ₁ r	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	,,	,,	,,	djob
9			dhem		et went	thrú ₁ u it		
10	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ or	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thrú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	
11	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et	níúu)t'	hí ₁ el	thiq
12	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ ooz	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
13	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ é ₁ l	djob
14	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ é ₁ l	thiq
15	sa ₁ m	v	them	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
16	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
17	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ ú ₁ á ₁ k	et kent)t'	r ^o ú ₁ its v)t'	hí ₁ el	djob
18	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o e'u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
19	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ á ₁ r	f ₁ wóok	et went	thrú ₁ ut)t'	hí ₁ ál	thiq
20	sa ₁ m	v)t'		fóok	et ní ₁ u	AA ebút	it	
21	sa ₁ m	v	v ₁ dh ₁ á ₁ r ^o	f ₁ wóok	et went	thr ^o u ₁ u dhe	hí ₁ el	thiq
22	sa ₁ m	v	dh ₁ u ₁ r	f ₁ wAAK	et kent	dhi	hí ₁ el	djob

1		fr̥)ʔ)ʔost		dh̥s̥iːlz,
2	dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz	fr̥°e)ʔ	va₁r̥°e	f̥ə₁r̥°st,
3		fr̥°e)ʔ		f̥ə₁r̥°st dh̥er̥°selʔz,
4				
5		fr̥)ʔ	f̥ə₁rst	dh̥ers̥eːlz,
6	dh̥ə₁r̥°se₁lʔz	fr̥°e₁)ʔ	f̥ə₁r̥°st.	
7	dh̥ə₁r̥selʔz	fr̥)ʔ	f̥ə₁rst.	
8				
9	dh̥ə₁r̥selʔz	fr̥)ʔ	f̥ə₁rst,	
10	k̥ensaarn dh̥ors̥elʔz	fr̥)ʔ	f̥ə₁rst,	
11		fr̥°e)ʔ	f̥ə₁r̥°sht	†dh̥ər̥°s̥iːlʔz,
12		fr̥°e)ʔ	f̥ə₁r̥°st	dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz,
13	dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz	fr̥°e)ʔ	va₁r̥e	f̥ə₁r̥°st,
14		fr̥°e)ʔ	va₁r̥°e	f̥ə₁r̥°st dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz,
15		fr̥°e)ʔ	va₁r̥°e	f̥ə₁r̥°st dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz,
16		fr̥°e)ʔ		f̥ə₁r̥°st dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz,
17		fr̥°e)ʔ	va₁r̥°e	f̥ə₁r̥°st dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz,
18		fr̥°e)ʔ	f̥u₁r̥°st	dh̥u₁r̥°selʔz,
19		fr̥e)ʔ	va₁r̥e	f̥ə₁rst dh̥ers̥elʔz,
20		fr̥e)ʔ		f̥u̇erst dh̥ers̥elʔz—
21		fr̥°e dh̥i	f̥ə₁r̥°st	dh̥ə₁r̥°selʔz,
22		fr̥e dh̥e	f̥ə₁rst	dh̥ers̥elʔz,

1	·dhat a d̥id	s̥évf	en̥i̇ef.
2	dha₁t d̥id)i.		
3	áai d̥id dha₁t	s̥i̇á₁f	en̥i̇úuf.
4			
5	ES a du₁d	s̥i̇áf	enu₁f.
6	dha₁t d̥id)i	s̥i̇á₁f	enu₁f.
7	·dhat d̥id)i	s̥i̇úu̇ə₁r	enu₁f.
8	” ” ”	s̥i̇á₁f	”
9	éei,	s̥i̇á₁f	enu₁f, aa ·d̥id.
10	dha₁t a du₁d,	s̥i̇úu̇ə₁r	enu₁f.
11	dha₁t du₁d)i	s̥i̇u₁r̥°	en̥i̇úf.
12	dha₁t d̥id)i	s̥i̇úu̇ə₁r̥°	en̥i̇úf.
13	·dha₁t du₁d)i	s̥i̇úu̇ə₁r̥°	en̥i̇úf.
14	et du₁d)i,	s̥i̇e₁f	en̥i̇úf.
15	a du₁d ·dha₁t n̥ú₁u,	s̥i̇a₁f	en̥i̇úf.
16	·et du₁d)i,	s̥i̇á₁f	an̥i̇úf.
17	et du₁d)i,	s̥i̇á₁f	en̥i̇úf.
18	dha₁t du₁d)i,	s̥i̇a₁f	en̥i̇úf.
19	et du₁d)a₁	s̥i̇áf	enu₁f.
20	et ·d̥id)i!		
21	·dha₁t d̥id)i	sẏ₁ʔuuer̥°	en̥i̇úf.
22	áai d̥id ·dha₁t	s̥i̇i̇ef	en̥i̇i̇ef.

5.	1	et t'	juuq'is	sun	izse:l	e	gr'iet
	2	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	3	,, ,,	ju ₁ qst	baar ^o n	,, ,,	,, ,,	gr ^o i'iet
	4	et	juqest	lād	it'sel,	e	gart
	5	at t'	ju ₁ qkst	su ₁ n	h'issel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	6	et t'	ju ₁ qst	la ₁ d	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	7	et t'	ju ₁ qst	baarn	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	8	,, ,,	,,	la ₁ d	,,	,,	,,
	9	et t'	ju ₁ qst	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	10	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baarn	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	11	et t'	juqest	baar ^o n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ 'et [gr ^o i ₁ 't, gə ₁ r ^o t]
	12	et t'	ju ₁ qist	baar ^o n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ 'it
	13	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baar ^o n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ 'it
	14	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	15	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hizsel',	et)s e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	16	et t'	ju ₁ qist	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	17	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	18	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baar ^o n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ 'it
	19	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	20	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel'—	e	griit
	21	et dħe	ju ₁ qizst	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ 'it
	22	et dħe	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gr ₁ 'it

1	lad	e	naan	i'er	óovd,	kend	iz	fii ₁ 'du	v'ies
2	la ₁ d	e	né'in	jíi ₁ r ^o	aald,	kent)iz	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis	
3	,,	—	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o z	,,	
4	lād	e	ná'in,	—	—	ná'u	is	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o z	vóis
5	lad	e	na'in	jí'er	aald,	níuu	iz	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o z	tuq
6	la ₁ d		ná'in	jí ₁ i ₁ r ^o	aald,	né ₁ 'u)t'	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis	
7	la ₁ d		náa'in	jíi ₁ r	aald,	kent	iz	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r	vóis
8	,,	e	,,	,,	aald,	,,	,,	,,	tu ₁ q
9	lād	e	ná'in	,,	,,	kent	iz	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r	vóis
10	la ₁ d		náa'in	jíi ₁ r	aald,	nhéuu)t'	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r	vóis	
11	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ 'in,	,,	,,	hí ₁ i	tkí ₁ 'ent)t'	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ q
12	la ₁ d	ev	náa ₁ 'in,	,,	,,	kent	iz	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
13	la ₁ d		náa ₁ 'in	jə ₁ r ^o	ool'd	kent	iz	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
14	la ₁ d		ná ₁ 'in	jə ₁ r ^o	Aald,	kent	iz	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
15	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ 'in	jí ₁ i ₁ r ^o	Aal'd,	kent	iz	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
16	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ 'in	,,	,,	kent	t'	fä ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
17	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ 'in	jí ₁ i ₁ r ^o	ool'd,	kent	t'	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
18	la ₁ d	e	náa'in	,,	,,	ní ₁ 'u	iz	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
19	lā ₁ d	e	ná'in	,,	,,	kent	t'	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r	vóis
20	lad		né'in	i'er ^o	ool,	níu	iz	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o z	tu ₁ q
21	la ₁ d	e	ne'in	jə ₁ r ^o	Aal,	kent	iz	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r ^o	vóis
22	la ₁ d	e	ne'in	jí ₁ 'er	Aald,	kent	iz	fa ₁ 'dä ₁ r	vóis

1	et	jans,	dhuf		it	·waae	séiken	e	kwíiv		
2	ed	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AAL	it	·waz	si		kwíiə ₁ r ^o	láik	
3	et	„	„	AA	„	wəz	„		kwíiə ₁ r ^o	—	
4	es	síen	ez	i	árd	it,	ev	it	wòs	se	kwíer
5	et	jans,	fer	o)t'		·wos	súá				kwíier
6	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
7	et	jans,	fər	AA	it	wəz	se		kwíiə ₁ r		
8	„	„	„	„	„	„	„		„		
9	et	ja ₁ ns,	i	spáit	en	it	bíi)	en	se		kwíiə ₁ r
10	et	jans,	fə ₁ r	oo	t)	wəz	se				kwíiə ₁ r
11	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r	aa							
12	et	jans,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	wəz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
13	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	wəz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
14	et	ja ₁ ns,	fər	AA	it	waz	si		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
15	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	si		kwíiə ₁ r ^o	láik	
16	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	wəz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
17	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)	waz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
18	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	·oo	t)	wəz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o		
19	et	jans,	fer	oo	it	·waz	síe		kwíiər		
20			fer	AA	it	waz	síe		kwíiər ^o		
21	et	jens,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	wəz	se		u ₁ qket	le'ik	
22	et	jens,	fer	AA	t)	wəz	se		kwíiər		

1		skwéevkin	jan	laak,	en	·a)d	t ₁ rust	·im	
2	en	skwéíiki,			en	e	wəd	t ₁ r ^o y ₁ st	im
3	en	skwíiek'n,			„	áai)d	„	„	
4	en	skwíikín,			en	ái)d	t ₁ rust	im	
5	en	skwíákin	láik,	en	a	wod	bak	·əm	
6	en	skwíikín,			en	áai)d	t ₁ ru ₁ st	hím	
7	en	skwíiúeken,			en	aa	wad	t ₁ ru ₁ st	hím
8	„	skwíikín,			„	·áai)l	epo'd	im,	híi)z
9	en	skwíiúeken	láik,	en	a)d		epo'd	it	híi)
10	en	skwíiekí,			en	a)l	epo'd	im,	híi)l
11	híi	skwíiekt	síe.		aa	wəd	tíek	em	
12	en	skwíiki,			en	aa)l	epo'd	em,	híi)l
13	en	skwíiki,			en	aa)l	epo'd	im	·híi)l
14	en	skwíiki,			en	a)wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	·hím	
15	en	skwíiki,			en	e	wad	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em
16	en	skwíiúeken,			en	e	wad	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em
17	en	skwíiki'n,			en	aa	wa)d	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em
18	en	skwíikín,			en	a	wad	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	·hím
19	en	skwíiúeken,			en	a)d	t ₁ ru ₁ st	·hím	
20	en	skwíiúeken,			en	aa	wad	t ₁ ru ₁ st	hím
21	en	skwíiúeken,			en	ái)l	epo'd	im	
22	—	skwíikín,			en	ái)l	·wad	t ₁ ry ₁ st)em	

1	te	sp'íiek	t'rééuth	ev	oni	dee,	ái,	marí
2	te	sp'íiek t'	t'riúuth		a ₁ ni	dee,		dha ₁ t
3	„	sp'íiek „	„	„	„	„		„
4	te	sp'íiek t'	t'riúuth	et	eni	reet.		
5	te	sp'íiak t'	trúuth		eni	dee, --		dhat
6	et	sp'íik t'	t'riúuth		e ₁ ni	dee ₁ ,	ee ₁ i,	·dha ₁ t
7	et	sp'íiek t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee ₁ ,	ái ₁ i,	·dhat
8 a	lad et)	sp'íik)t'	„	„	„	„	ái ₁ i,	—
9	wed	sp'íik t'	t'riúuth		·eni	dee,	aa,	
10		sp'íiek)t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee ₁ ,	éei,	dha ₁ t
11	et	sp'íiek)t'	t'riúuth	et	eni	taa ₁ m,		·et
12		sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		ani	dee ₁ ,		et
13		sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		oni	dee,		·et
14	te	sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,	·ma ₁ r ^o i
15	te	tel)t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee,	EE ₁ i,	
16	te	sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		oni	dee,		·et
17	te	sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,	
18	te	sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,	
19	te	sp'íik)t'	t'riúuth		eni	dee,	ái,	
20	te	tel)t'	trúuth		eni	dee,		et
21	te	tel' dhu	t'riúuth		oni	dee ₁ ,		·dha ₁ t
22	te	sp'íik dhu	t'riúuth		oni	dee ₁ 'e,	ái	

- 1 e ·wad.
- 2 ed wa₁d)i.
- 3 — „ „
- 4
- 5 a wod.
- 6 á₁i wad.
- 7 a wad.
- 8 „ „
- 9 ·wa₁d.
- 10 a wed.
- 11 — wad)i!
- 12 wad)i!
- 13 wod i.
- 14 wod i.
- 15 a wad ·dha₁t nu₁u.
- 16 wad)i!
- 17 aa wa₁d!
- 18 a ·wad!
- 19 a₁ ·wa₁d!
- 20 wad)i!
- 21 wad)i!
- 22 wad ·dha₁t nú₁u.

6.	1 en)t'	óoed	wamen	ese:l	el	tíl	oni	jan
	2 en)d'	ál'd	bodi	hə ₁ r _o se:l	'l	tel	a ₁ ni	
	3 ,,)t'	aad	wamen	,,	,,	,,	,,	
	4 en)t'	aad	wamen	erse:l	wud	tel	eni	
	5 en)t'	aald	w _u men	erse:l	wíl	tel	eni	
	6 en)t'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	e ₁ ni	
	7 en)t'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	8 ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	el	,,	,,	,,
	9 en)t'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	10 en)t'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	11 en)t'	aald	wamen	ʃhə ₁ r ^o sí ₁ el	ed	tel	eni	Ja ₁ n
	12 en)t'	AAd	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	ani	
	13 en)t'	ól'd	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	oni	
	14 en)t'	AAd	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	15 en a)z	sí ₁ unə ₁ r ^o et)t'	ool'd bodi	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	16 bet t'	AAd	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	oni	
	17 en)t'	oold	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	Ja ₁ n
	18 en)t'	oold	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	19 a ₁ n t'	áud	wamen	h _{er} sel'	'l	tel	eni	
	20 en)t'	ool	w _u men	erse:l	'l	tel	ani	
	21 en d _h e	AAl	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o sel'	'l	tel	oni	
	22 en d _h i	AAd	wamen	h _{er} sel'	'l	tel	eni	

1	o)je	et	lafs en flóuts	n _u ,	en	tíl	o je
2	o)je	ed	lă ₁ fs	nú ₁ u	en	shə ₁ l tel) je	
3	,,	et	,,	,,	,,	— ,, "	
4	o)je	et	laf's	nóu			
5	o je	et	laf	nóu	en	tel it	
6	o`je	et	lăfs	ná _u ,	en	te ₁ l je	
7	o)je	et	lăfs	ná _u ,	en	tel je	
8	,,	,,	,,	nú ₁ u	,,	,, "	
9	o)je	et)s	lăfen	nú ₁ u,	en	tel je	
10	o)je	et	la ₁ fs	nú ₁ uu,	en	tel je	
11	o)je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u,	en	wud tel)je	
12	o)je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u,	en	tel)je	
13	o je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u,	en	tel)je	
14	o)je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u,	en	shə ₁ l tel)je	
15	o)je	et)s	gaan to lăf	nú ₁ u,	en	shə ₁ l tel)je	
16	o)je	et	lafs	nú ₁ u,	en	tel)je	
17	o)je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u,	en	tel)je	
18	o)je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u	en	tel je	
19	on je	et	lafs	nú ₁ u	en	tel je	
20	o)ji	et)s	lafen	n _{uu} —á _i ,	en	tel ji	
21	o je	et	lăfs	nú ₁ u,	en	tel je	
22	o je	et	lafs	nú ₁ u,	en	tel je	

1	strúit	of en ind,	túv,	vduut	mítj	bo,de,r
2	str ^o éit	of	tíuu	widh ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r ^o
3	r ^o iit	,,	,,	widh ₁ ut	mítj	,,
4	et jans			wi ₁ out	eni	bodher
5	rit	Af hand,	túu,	wi ₁ out	mítj	boder
6	str ^o éit	vwee ₁		wi ₁ out	mítj	bo,d ₁ r ^o ,
7	strek	Aaf		widh ₁ ut	eni	bo,d ₁ r
8	stréit	vwee ₁		widh ₁ ut	,,	,,
9	strek	vwee	en AA	wi ₁ uut	'eni	bo,d ₁ r
10	strek	vwee		wi ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r
11	at jans,			wid ₁ ut	m ₁ ekun eni	bu ₁ v ₁ d ₁ r
12	str ^o ak	vwee ₁	túu,	wid ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r
13	str ^o ek	vwee	túu,	wid ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r ^o ,
14	et jans		túu	widh ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r ^o
15	str ^o éit	of	túu	widh ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r ^o
16			túu	wid ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r
17	str ^o ek	vwee		wid ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r ^o
18	str ^o éit	of,	túu	wid ₁ ut	mu ₁ tj	bo,d ₁ r ^o ,
19	strúit	of	en oo,	v ₁ d ₁ ut	mu ₁ tj	bo,de,r,
20	rit	vwee	en oo	v ₁ du ₁ ut	mu ₁ tj	bo,de,r ^o
21	et jans		ty ₁ ú ₁ u	widh ₁ ut	mik'l	bo,d ₁ r ^o
22				widh ₁ ut	mik'l	bodher

1	en	ji)l	b ₁ t	aks ₁ n	iv	er, oo!	wi)net
2	if	ji)l	nobut	ä ₁ s ₁ r ^o ,		âi,	wa ₁ d'nt
3	"	"	"	"	"	oo!	wid'nt
4	iv	je)d		eks)er.			
5	if	ji)l	nobut	eks)er,		wectje?	
6	if	ji)l	nobut	e ₁ ks ₁ r ^o		éc ₁ i	wec ₁ nt
7	if	ji)l	nobut	eks ₁ r,		áai)j	wad'nt
8	"	"	"	"	"	áai)z	síúu ₁ r
9	if	je)l	nobut	e ₁ ks ₁ r,		mái	wæ ₁ rd, w ₁ cent
10	if	je)l	nobut	eks ₁ r,		áai,	wec ₁ nt
11	v ₁ ú ₁ ut it,	if	juu)d	nobut	ees ₁ r ^o ,		dha ₁ t
12		if	ji)l	nobut	äs ₁ r ^o ,		áai)i
13		if	ji)l	nobut	'äs ₁ r ^o ,		áai)i wad'nt
14		if	je)l	nobut	äs ₁ r ^o ,		áai)i
15	óu ₁ r ^o t' dJob,	if	je)l	nobut	äs ₁ r ^o ,		'et
16		if	ji)l	nobut	a ₁ ks ₁ r ^o ,		'et
17		if	ji)l	nobut	a ₁ ks ₁ r ^o ,		dha ₁ t
18		if	ji)l	nobut	äs ₁ r ^o ,		oo wo)nt
19		if	je)l	nobut	aks)er,		ái) dhat
20		if	je)l	nobut	as)er		— at
21		if	ji)l	nobut	a ₁ ks ₁ r ^o ,		'dha ₁ t
22		if	ji)l	nobut	a ₁ ks)er,		e'i woont

- 1 she ?
 2 shə₁ ?
 3 „
 4
 5
 6 shə₁ ?
 7 shə₁ ?
 8 shi wil.
 9 shə₁ ?
 10 shə₁ ?
 11 shi wud !
 12 she wad dha₁t !
 13 shə₁ ?
 14 she wil dha₁t ná₁u.
 15 wil shə₁.
 16 wil shə₁.
 17 wu₁l shə₁, máa₁i saq ! but woont shə₁ !
 18 shi ?
 19 wil)shu !
 20 wu₁l shi !
 21 shi wil !
 22 she.

7.	1	liéstanz	she)d	tílin	o	ít	tu	‘méi	wín	aa
	2	a ₁ ni	wee	shə ₁	teld	méii	s’ ₁ á ₁ ,	when)	i	
	3	„	„	shə	„	„	„	„	á ₁ i	
	4	líbst		shi	telt	mii				
	5	eni	weez	shi	telt	ít	mii	wen	a	
	6	e ₁ ni	wee ₁	shi	te ₁ lt	‘m’ ₁ i	dha ₁ t	whe ₁ n	á ₁ i	
	7	eni	wEE	shə ₁	teld	m’ ₁ i	s’ ₁ á	when	a	
	8	„	wEE ¹	shi	„	„	„	„	áa ₁ i	
	9	et lí ₁ iist		shi	telt	‘m’ ₁ ii	ít	when	aa	
	10	síúu ₁ r enu ₁ f		shi	telt	‘mii	twóo	v	thr’ ₁ i	
	11			sh’ ₁ i	telt	m’ ₁ i		when	áa ₁ i	
	12	úu ₁ və ₁ r ^o ,		she	telt	m’ ₁ i	s’ ₁ ié	when)	i	
	13	eni	wEE,	she	telt	‘m’ ₁ ii	s’ ₁ ié	when)	a	
	14	eni	wEE,	she	telt	‘m’ ₁ i		when)	a	
	15	eni	wEE,	she	telt	‘m’ ₁ i	s’ ₁ ié	when)	a	
	16	oni	wEE	shi	telt	‘m’ ₁ i	ít	when)	a	
	17	eni	wEE	shə ₁	telt	‘m’ ₁ ii)t		when)	v	
	18	eni	wEE	shi	telt	‘m’ ₁ i	s’ ₁ a ^o	when)	a	
	19	eni	wEE	shi	telt	‘m’ ₁ ii	ít	when)	a	
	20	eni	wce	shi	telt	‘mii		when)	a	
	21	et oni	r ^o e’t	she	telt	‘m’ ₁ ii		when)	á ₁ i	
	22	oni	wEE’v	she	telt	m’ ₁ i	s’ ₁ i	when)	á ₁ i	

1	akst ɛr ɛ	téɛtɾi	taamz	óu)ɛr ɛd)shɛ
2	á ₁ st)ɔ ₁ r ^o	twí ₁ á ₁ thr ^o éi	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o , 'dha ₁ t ɛd
3	„ „	twí ₁ á ₁ thr ^o íii	„ „	— —
4		tuu ɛr thrii	táimz	óuɛr,
5	ekst ɛr	tú ɛr thrii	táimz	úɛr, dhat shi du ₁ d
6	e ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o	tú ₁ u ɛ thrí ₁ i	táimz	áu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
7	ekst)ɔ ₁ r,	tú ₁ u ɛ thrí ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r, dha ₁ t
8	„ „	„ „ „	táa'imz	„ —
9	ekst)ɔ ₁ r			
10	táa'imz óu)ɔ ₁ r	when ɛ ekst)ɔ ₁ r,		
11	esh ₁ t)ɔ ₁ r ^o	twí ₁ ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óur ^o ɛbú ₁ ut ít,
12	ás ₁ t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
13	ás ₁ t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
14	ás ₁ t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
15	ás ₁ t)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
16	a ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
17	a ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ a ₁ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óu)ɔ ₁ r ^o
18	ast)ɔ ₁ r ^o ,	tɛ'ú ɛ thr ^o í ₁ i	táa'imz	óur ^o
19	akst)ɛr,	twí ₁ ɛ ɛr thrí ₁ i	táimz	áuɛr
20	ast)ɛr ^o ,	tuu ɛr ^o thr ^o ii	téimz	óuɛr ^o
21	a ₁ kst)ɔ ₁ r ^o	twéɛ thr ^o ii	té'imz	óuɛr ^o ,
22	a ₁ kst)ɛr	twí ₁ ɛ thrí ₁ i	té'imz	óuɛr

1	en a konséets ɛt shɛ	óud)'nt tɛ bi raq ɛ saaken ɛ
2	did shə ₁ ,	en shi 'su ₁ d)'nt bi fàr ^o r ^o a ₁ q
3	„ „	„ shə ₁ „ „ — „
4	en wí wad)'nt tak ɛr tɛ	bi raq
5	en shii su ₁ d)'nt bi	raq
6		en shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi ra ₁ q
7	did shə ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i sa ₁ d'nt bi w'raq
8	„ „	„ „ su ₁ d'nt „ 'raq
9		en 'shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi raq
10	du ₁ d shi,	en 'shii sud'nt bi w'ra ₁ q
11	'ɛt i did,	en shí ₁ i kud'nt bi 'ra ₁ q
12	did shə ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i óut'nt tɛ bi 'ra ₁ q
13	dha ₁ t du ₁ d shə ₁ , ['shí ₁ i]	en shə ₁ 'shud'nt bi si fàr ^o r ^o a ₁ q
14	'ɛt du ₁ d shə ₁ ,	en 'shí ₁ i óut'nt tɛ bi faar ^o r ^o aq
15	du ₁ d shə ₁ ,	en a)z síuu)ɔ ₁ r ^o ɛt shɛ óut'nt tɛ
16	'ɛt du ₁ d shə ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i 'sud'nt bi w'r ^o a ₁ q
17	du ₁ d shə ₁ ,	en shə ₁ 'sud'nt bi 'r ^o a ₁ q
18	du ₁ d shi,	en shí ₁ i sud'nt bi r ^o a ₁ q
19	ɛt du ₁ d shɛ,	en shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi raq
20	ɛt did shi,	en 'shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi r ^o aq
21	'ɛt did shə ₁ ,	en 'shí ₁ i sud'nt bi fa'r ^o r ^o aq
22	did shi,	en shi sud'nt bi si far 'raq

1	mávet	ma ₁ te _r	ez	dhís,	uu)s)t	je	thíqk?
2	ebú ₁ ut	sá'k)v	thíq	ez	'dhís,	wha ₁ t	thíqk jíi?
3	on	„ „	póint	„ „	„ „	what	dez dhá ₁ u
4		ín	v	thíq	v	dhís	súert.
5		ín	sik	v	thíq	ez	dhís, dji naa?
6	áua ₁ r ^o	sík	v	thíq	ez	dhís,	what dez dhá ₁ u
7	ebáut	sík	v	thíq	ez	dhat,	what dez 'dhá ₁ u
8	óu)ə ₁ r	„ „	„ „	„ „	dhís,	„ „	'dhá ₁ u
9	ebú ₁ uut	sík	v	thíq	ez	'dhís,	sud shi thíqk je?
10	óu)ə ₁ r	sík	v	thíq	ez	dhís,	sud shi? wha ₁ t
11	ebú ₁ ut	sek	v	thíq	ez	dhís,	what dez 'dhá ₁ u
12	ebú ₁ ut	sek	v	thíq	ez	dhís,	what dez dhá ₁ u
13	ebú ₁ ut	sek	v	thíq	ez	dhís'n,	what dest dhu
14	on	sek	v	póint	ez	dhís'n,	what thíqk 'jíi?
15	bi si va ₁ r ^o v	faar ^o	r ^o aq	ebú ₁ ut	sek	v	ma ₁ tə ₁ r ^o ez dhís'n,
16	ebú ₁ ut	sek	v	thíq	ez	tis,	wha ₁ t dez)te 'thíqk?
17	ebú ₁ ut	sik	v	thíq	ez	dhísen,	wha ₁ t de 'jee thíqk?
18	ebú ₁ ut	sek	v	thíq	ez	dhís,	what de 'jee thíqk?
19	on	sek	v	póint	ez	dhís,	what thíqks)te?
20	ebùt	sek	v	thíq	ez	dhat,	sud shi, thíqk)je?
21	en	sek	v	póint	ez	'dhís,	what thíqk jíi?
22	abú ₁ ut	sek	v	thíq	ez	dhís,	what de 'jee thíqk?

-
- 1
2
3 thíqk?
4
5
6 thíqk?
7 thíqk?
8 „ ebú₁ut ít?
9
10 de jíi thíqk?
11 thíqk ebú₁ut ít?
12 thíqk?
13 [de 'jee] thíqk?
14
15 what de 'jee thíqk ebú₁ut ít?
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

8.	1	wiil,		ez	aa	wɛ	seejɪn		·shii)ed
	2	wáai)ɛ,	dha ₁ n,	ez)	i	wɛz	seejɪn		shu)wad
	3			,,	áai	,,	,,		,, wud
	4	wái		ez	ái	wɛs	seejɪn,		·shii)d
	5	wíil		ez	ái	wɛz	seejɪn		·shii
	6	wɛl		ez	ái	wɛz	tɛ ₁ lɛn	dhe	shíi
	7	wáai)ɛ,	dhan,	ez	aa	wɛz	see ¹ ɛn,		shíi
	8	vare wiil,	,,	,,	áai	i	,,	tɛlɛn	,,
	9	va ₁ re wiil,		ez	aa	wɛz	seejɪn,		shíi)d
	10	va ₁ re wíil,		ez)	v)	wɛz	seejɪn,		she)d
	11	wháai)í		ez	áai	i	wɛz	tɛlɛn	dhe,
	12	wáai)ɛ	dha ₁ n,	ez	a	wɛz	see ₁ ɛn,		shu)wad
	13	wáai)ɛ	dha ₁ n,	ez	a	wɛz	tɛlɛn	ɟɛ	shu [shíi]
	14	wáai)ɛ,		ez	a	wɛz	seeɛn		shə ₁
	15	wáai)ɛ,	dha ₁ n,	ez	a	wɛz	seeɛn,		·shu
	16	wáai)ɛ,		ez	aa	wɛz	seeɛn		shu
	17	wɛl,	dhen,	ez	a	wɛz	seeɛn,		shu
	18	wɛl		ez	aa	wɛz	see ^o n,		·shíi
	19	wíil		ez	a	wɛz	seeɛn,		shíi)d
	20	wéi		ez	aa	waz	seejɪn,		·shii)l
	21	wɛl		ez	ái	wɛz	seejɪn,		shíi
	22	wɛ'i	dʒy ₁ 'əst	ez	ái	wɛz	seejɪn,		shu

1	tíl	ɟɛ	béuth,	uuguts	ɛn	wíier	ɛn	wín	it
2	tɛl	dhe		hú ₁ u		whaar ^o	ɛn	when	
3	,,	,,		,,	ɛn	,,	,,	,,	
4	tɛl	ɟɛ		óu		wár	ɛn	wɛn	
5	wod	tɛl	ɟɛ	óu		waar	ɛn	wɛn	
6	wad	tɛ ₁	dhe	háu	ɛn	whe ₁ n	ɛn	whaar ^o	
7	wɛd	tɛl	dhe	háu		whaar	ɛn	when	
8	wad	,,	,,)t' s'íá ₁ m,	hú ₁ u		,,	,,	,,	
9		tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ uu,		whaar	ɛn	when	
10		tɛl)	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u,		when	ɛn	whaar	
11	wud	tɛl	dhe	hú ₁ u	ɛn	whíi ₁ ɟ ₁ ^o	ɛn	when	
12		tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u		whoor ^o	ɛn	when	
13	wɛd	tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u		when	ɛn	wheer ^o	
14	wɛd	tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u	ɛn	whaar ^o	ɛn	when	
15	wɛd	tɛl	ɟɛ	tíu,	hú ₁ u	ɛn	whoor ^o	ɛn	·when
16	wɛd	tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u		when	ɛn	whaar ^o	
17	wɛd	tɛl	dhe	hú ₁ u		wheer ^o	ɛn	when	
18	wɛd	tɛl	dhe	hú ₁ u		whoor ^o	ɛn	when	
19		tɛl	dhe	hú ₁ u		wɛn	ɛn	whoor	
20		tɛl	ɟi	húu		whóor ^o	ɛn	when	
21	wɛd	tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u	ɛn	when	ɛn	whaar ^o	
22	wud	tɛl	ɟɛ	hú ₁ u		when	ɛn	wheer	

1	wáaer et shə fan)t'		d ₁ r ₁ k'n	bíives	et shə _z
2	shə ₁ fa ₁ n'd)d'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ qken	bííest	ed shə ₁
3	„ „ dha ₁ t		„	bííest	et „
4	shí fan)d)t'		d ₁ r ₁ o ₁ k'n	bíá'ist	et shí
5	shí fa ₁ nd)t'		d ₁ r ₁ u ₁ k'n	bíá'ist	shí
6	shə ₁ fa ₁ n't)t'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bííest	et)shə ₁
7	shí fa ₁ nd)t'		d ₁ r ₁ u ₁ qk'n	bííest	et shí
8	„ „ „		„	„	„
9	shí fa ₁ n'd' dha ₁ t		d ₁ r ₁ u ₁ k'n	bíííist	shí
10	shí fa ₁ nd)t'		d ₁ r ₁ u ₁ k'n	bíí'ust	et shə
11	shí fá ₁ nd)d'		d ₁ r ₁ uken	bí'ist	et shí
12	shə fa ₁ nd)t'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shə
13	shí fa ₁ n't'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	fél'le	et shí
14	shə ₁ fa ₁ n'd)t'	AALd	d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shə
15	shə fa ₁ nt't'	AAL'd	d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shə
16	shí fa ₁ n'd)t'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shí
17	shə ₁ fa ₁ nd)t'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shí
18	shí fà ₁ nd)t'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shí
19	shí fə ₁ nd dhat		d ₁ r ₁ u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	shí
20	shí fan)t'		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	r ^o u ₁ bish	et shí
21	shí fa ₁ n dhe		d ₁ r ^o u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shí
22	shí fə ₁ und dhet		d ₁ r ₁ u ₁ k'n	bíí'ist	et shí

1	te kóool er	uzben on.
2	kaalz ə ₁ r ^o	ma ₁ n.
3	kaaz „	hu ₁ zb'nd.
4	kooz er	u ₁ zben.
5	kooz er	u ₁ zben.
6	kaaz ə ₁	ma ₁ n.
7	kaaz ə ₁ r	man.
8	„ „	hu ₁ zbend.
9	kaaz	hu ₁ zbend.
10	kooz ə ₁ r	hu ₁ zben.
11	kaaz)t'	hu ₁ zbent.
12	kaaz ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
13	kooz ə ₁ r ^o	ma ₁ n [hu ₁ zben'd].
14	kaaz ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
15	kaaz ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
16	kaaz ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
17	kooz ə ₁ r ^o	ma ₁ n.
18	kooz ə ₁ r ^o	hu ₁ zbent.
19	kooz er	hu ₁ zbend.
20	kooz er ^o	man.
21	kaaz ə ₁ r ^o	gudma ₁ n.
22	kaaz er	hu ₁ zb'nd.

9.	1	she	t _r i _u ept	et she	soo im	wiv er	éeen
	2	shi	swaar°	et shə ₁	saa)im	wiv ə ₁ r°	aan
	3	shə ₁	„	et she	„ „	wi „ „	„
	4	shi	swi _{er}	shi	saa)im	wi er	aan
	5	shi	swi _{ar}	shi	saa)em	wi er	aan
	6	shə ₁	swy _y ₁ 'a ₁ r	et shə ₁	saa)im	wi)ə ₁ r	aan
	7	shi	swi _{ar}	et shi	saa)im	wi(d)ə ₁ r	aan
	8	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	shi	swy _y ₁ 'a ₁ r	shi	saa)im	wi)ə ₁ r	aan
	10	sh _i _i	sw _i _i 'a ₁ r	et shi	saa)im	wi)ə ₁ r	aan
	11	wháa _i i, shi	sw _i _i 'r°	et shi	saa)em	wi)t	aan
	12	she	sw _i _i 'a ₁ r°	et she	soo)im	wi ə ₁ r°	oon
	13	shi	sw _{ee} _r °	et shi	soo im	wi(d)ə ₁ r°	òn
	14	shi	swy _y ₁ r°t	et she	s _i id im		
	15	shi	sw _i _i 'a ₁ r°	et she	saa)em	wi e ₁ r°	oon
	16	shi	swy _y ₁ ə ₁ r°	she	soo)em	wi(d)ə ₁ r°	oon
	17	shə ₁	s ₁ wy _y ₁ er°	shə ₁	soo)im	wi(d)ə ₁ r°	oon
	18	shi	swy _y ₁ a°r°t	et shi	soo)im	wi(d)ə ₁ r°	oon
	19	shi	swoor	shi	soo)em	wi(d)er	oon
	20	shi	swi _i 'er°	et shi	soo)im	wi(d)er°	oon
	21	shi	swy _y ₂ 'ə ₁ r°	shi	s _i id)im	wi)ə ₁ r°	een
	22	shi	swy ₁ a ₁ r	et shi	s _i id)im	wi(d)er	aan

1	i _{en} ,	l _i gin		s _t r _i t _t	et laq	lenth	etop
2	éin,	l _i gen	la ₁ q	s _t r _i °i ₁ 'a ₁ kt			etop
3	„	„	„	s _t r _i °i ₁ ekt			„
4	áiz,	l _i gin	v)t' fu ₁	rat _t			
5	áiz,	l _i gin	laq	str _i éekt	et fu ₁	lenth	
6	i ₁ in,	l _i gen		s _t ree ₁ k	áut		etop
7	éin,	l _i gen		s _t r _e k	áut		etop
8	i ₁ in,	„		—	—		„
9	i ₁ in,	l _i gen	ful	s _t r _u ₁ k			
10	i ₁ in,	l _i gen	oo)iz			lenth	etop
11	i ₁ in en ə ₁ r°,	†l _i egen	aa iz		aan	†l _i enth	etop
12	i ₁ in,	l _i gen		s _t r _y ₁ kt	ú ₁ ut	et ful	lenth etop
13	i ₁ n,	l _i gen	oo iz			lenth	etop
14				s _t r _i °i ₁ ikt	AA iz	la ₁ q	lenth
15	i ₁ in,	l _i gen	laq	s _t r _i °i ₁ ikt			etop
16	i ₁ in,	l _i gen	la ₁ q	s _t r _i ₁ 'i ₁ ikt			—
17	i ₁ in,	l _i gen		s _t r _i °et _t	ú ₁ ut	oo)iz	lenth
18	i ₁ in,	l _i ga°n		s _t r _i °ééit	u ₁ ut	et ful	lenth
19	i ₁ in,	l _i gen	laq	s _t r _i 'i ₁ it			
20	áiz,	lái'en	laq	s _t r _i °i ₁ it			
21	i ₁ in,	l _i gen		s _t r _i °ikt	út	hiz	h _i ₁ el lenth
22	i ₁ in,	lái'en		s _t r _i 'i ₁ ikt	ú ₁ ut	AA iz	laq lenth

1	v)t'	grund,	iv	iz	gúvd	sunde	kúvət,
2	v)d'	gr ^o u ₁ nd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ ndi	kwú ₁ ət,
3	„ t'	„	„	„	„	„	„
4	on t'	gru _o nd,	in	iz	best		kúvət,
5	on t'	grə ₁ nd,	in	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ nde	kúvət,
6	v)t'	grú ₁ und,	í ₁ n	iz	ha ₁ lídə		klí ₁ á ₁ z,
7	v t'	grú ₁ und,	ev)	iz		su ₁ nde	klí ₁ áz,
8	— „	„	in	„	best	„	kú ₁ ət,
9	on)t'	gru ₁ nd,	in	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ ət,
10	v)t'	gry ₁ nd,	in	iz	be ₁ tə ₁ rmə ₁ r		kló ₁ á ₁ z,
11	v)t'	grú ₁ uund,	in	iz	be ₁ tə ₁ rmə ₁ r ^o		klí ₁ áz,
12	v)t'	gru ₁ nd,	in	iz	best		klí ₁ á ₁ z,
13	v)t'	grú ₁ un'd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ ət,
14	on)t'	gru ₁ n'd,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwóot,
15	v)t'	gr ^o ú ₁ un'd,	in	iz	best	sun ₁ de	kwú ₁ ət,
16	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n'd,	iv	iz	gud	sun ₁ de	kwú ₁ á ₁ t,
17	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kú ₁ á ₁ t,
18	on)t'	gry ₁ nd,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ ət
19	on)t'	gru ₁ nd,	ev	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ nde	kwot,
20	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n,	iv	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ nde	kúóoot,
21	on) dhe	gr ^o u ₁ n,	in	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kú ₁ ət
22	on) dhe	grú ₁ und,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ ət

1	tléees	biv)t'	us	dúv,		duun
2	klwú ₁ es	bi)d'		dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	ev iz aan	hú ₁ us, dú ₁ un
3	„	„ t'		díúver	v)t' —	„ „
4	tlúes	vsáid		ev iz	aan dúer,	dóvn
5	klúues	bi)t'		dúer	stíán	dóvn
6	klúues	bi)t'	háus	díúur		dávn
7	klú ₁ es			tev)iz	aan díúuə ₁ r,	dávn
8	„	bisáa ₁ id)t'		hú ₁ us	díúuə ₁ r	dú ₁ un
9	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'	hú ₁ ús	dú ₁ uə ₁ r		dú ₁ un
10	klwú ₁ es	vsáa ₁ id)t'		hú ₁ us	díúur	dú ₁ un
11	haar ^o d	bi)t'		dúə ₁ r ^o	v)t' hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
12	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'		dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	ev iz oon	hú ₁ us, dú ₁ un
13	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'	hu ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
14	klwóos	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
15	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'		díúuə ₁ r ^o	ev iz oon	hú ₁ us, dú ₁ un
16	klwú ₁ á ₁ s	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o ,		dú ₁ un
17	klú ₁ vz	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dú ₁ uə ₁ r ^o ,		dú ₁ un
18	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	deú ₁ uə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
19	na ₁ r)t'			dú ₁ er	v)t' hu ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
20	klúóos	bi)t'	huuz	dí ₁ er ^o		dún)t'
21	klú ₁ es	bi) dhe	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
22	klú ₁ es	bi) dhe	hú ₁ us	dí ₁ er		dú ₁ un

1	et t'	núek	v	jon	lon.
2	i)d'	núuk	v	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
3	et,t'	kwú ₁ er ^o ner ^o	,,	,,	lwú ₁ en.
4	et t'	ka'rner	v	jon	rúed.
5	i t'	kaarner	o)t'	lonín	jonder.
6	bi)t'	núuk	v)jon		lú ₁ en.
7	i)t'	núuk	v)jon		lú ₁ en.
8	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
9	i)t'	karnə ₁ r	v	jon	lwú ₁ en.
10	i)t'	núuk	v	jon	lwú ₁ en.
11	et)t'	kwú ₁ ə ₁ r ^o nə ₁ r ^o	v)t'		lwú ₁ en.
12	et)t'	núuk	v	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
13	et t'	nhnúuk	v	jon	lwú ₁ en.
14	et			jon	lonín núuk.
15	bi)t'	núuk	v	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
16	et			jon	lwú ₁ enín núuk.
17	v)t'	núuk	v	jon	lú ₁ a ₁ nín.
18	i)t'	núuk	v	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
19	bi)t'	koorner	v	jon	lonín.
20		kor ^o ner ^o	v	jon	leen.
21	et dhe	ka'r ^o nə ₁ r ^o	v	jon	lonín.
22	et dhi	nú ₁ ek	v	jon	lonín.

10.	1	i	wer	egúet	v	waanín	sez	she,	fer
	2	hi	wez	r ^o kwú ₁ er ^o en	ewee,	shə ₁	sed,		fə ₁ r ^o
	3	,,	,,	whindjen	ewee,	,,	sez,		fə
	4	i	wez	gríenín	ewee,				fer
	5	en i	wez	windjen en	wáinín	ewee,	sez	shíi,	dju ₁ st fer
	6	hú ₁ i	wez	rú ₁ eren	ewee ₁ ,	se)shí,			fə ₁ r ^o
	7	hi	wez	rú ₁ eren	ewee ¹ ,	sed	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r
	8	hú ₁ i	,,	,,	,,	se	,,	,,	,,
	9	hi	wez	rwú ₁ eren	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fer
	10	hú ₁ i	wez	ró ₁ eren	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r
	11	hú ₁ i	wez	bí ₁ elen	ewee ₁ ,	†shí ₁ ed	†shí ₁ ie,		fə ₁ r ^o
	12	hi	wez	whindjen	ewee ₁ ,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	13	hi	wez	whindjen	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	14	hi	wez	whindjen	ewee,	she	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	15	she sed	et t'	aal'd fel ₁ le	wez	whindjen			fə ₁ r ^o
	16	hú ₁ i	wez	whindjen	ewee,	she	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	17	hi	wez	whindjen	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fer ^o
	18	hú ₁ i	wez	whindja ^o n	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fu ₁ r ^o
	19	hi	wez	windjen	ewee,				fer
	20	hi	wez	kr ^o ú ₁ enín	ewee,	shí	sez,—		fer ^o
	21	hi	wez	whá ₁ nen	ewee,	sez	shí,	dju ₁ st	fə ₁ r ^o
	22	hi	wez	grú ₁ iten	ewee,	shí	sez,		fer

1	éu'l t'	waald	laak	tuv	v sí'iek	béeen,
2	AA)d'	wəə ₁ r ^o el'd'd'	sí'ám	ez	v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
3	AA)t'	wu ₁ r ^o el'd)t'	"	"	" "	"
4	AA ¹)t'	wa ₁ rld	l'á'ik		v st'ikt	p'ig.
5	o)t'	wəə ₁ rld	l'á'ik		v badli	baarn,
6	AA)t'	wəə ₁ rəld)t'	sí'ám	ez	v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
7	AA)t'	wəə ₁ rəld)t'	sí'ám	ez	v badli	baarn
8	"	"	"	"	" "	"
9	AA)t'	wəə ₁ rld	l'á'ik	"	v ba ₁ dli	baarn,
10	oo)t'	waardt [waar'ldt]	sí'ém	ez	v badli	baarn,
11	aa)t'	wəə ₁ r ^o eld	l'á'ík		v ba ₁ dli	†b'í'ér ^o n,
12	AA)t'	wəə ₁ r ^o eld	l'á'ík		v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
13	A')t'	wəə ₁ r ^o el'd	t' sí'ém	ez	v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
14	AA)t'	waar ^o d'l	l'á'ík		v sí'ík	baar ^o n,
15	AA)t'	wəə ₁ r ^o el'd	l'á'ík		v ba ₁ dli	baa ₁ r ^o n,
16	AA)t'	waar ^o eld	l'á'ík		v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
17	oo)t'	wu ₁ r ^o ld	l'á'ík		v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
18	oo)t'	waar ^o eld	t' sí'ám	ez	v ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
19	oo)t'	wa ₁ rld	l'á'ik		v sí'ík	baarn,
20	oo)t'	waar ^o ld	l'é'ik		v badli	béer ^o n,
21	AAI'	dhe waar ^o el	l'é'ik		v sík	beer ^o n,
22	AA	dhe wəə ₁ r ^o ld	l'é'ik		v sí'ík	tj'é'ild,

1	er	v laal	las	ev	v tí'vi.
2	er ^o	v l'á'íl	l'ás	et	ed gít'n sa ₁ dli fr ^o 'íit'n'd.
3	"	" "	"	"	" — fr ^o 'íit'ndt.
4					
5	er	v l'á'íl	las	frít'nd.	
6	ə ₁ r ^o)v	l'á'íl	l'ás	gr'íiten.	
7	er)v	l'á'íl	las	et	wəz sadli fré'íit'nt.
8	"	" l'á'íl	l'ás.		petít
9	ə ₁ r)v	l'á'íl	l'ás	ín)v	fr'íiut.
10	ə ₁ r ^o)v	l'á'íl	l'ás	gr'íiten.	
11	ə ₁ r ^o)v	l'á'íl	l'ás	ín(t' sa ₁ lks.	
12	ə ₁ r ^o	v l'á'íl	l'ás	et	ed gít'n fr'íit'nt.
13	ə ₁ r ^o	v l'á'íl	l'ás	gr'íiten.	petít
14	ə ₁ r ^o	v l'al	l'ás	iv)v	fr ^o 'íit.
15	ə ₁ r ^o	v l'al	l'ás	ev)v	pet.
16	ə ₁ r ^o	v l'al	l'ás.		petít
17	ə ₁ r ^o)v	l'aa ₁	l'ás.		petít
18	ə ₁ r ^o)v	l'aa ₁	l'ás	iv	v pet.
19	er	v l'aa ₁	las	ev	v pet.
20	er ^o	v l'é'íl	las	i)t'	pet.
21	ə ₁ r ^o	su ₁ m w'í'í bit	lasi	iv	v fr ^o 'it.
22	er	v l'ít'l	las	ín	v fr'íit.

11.	1	en	·dhat	ap'nd	ez	shì	en t'	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	léev	
	2	en	·dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en t'	su ₁ n wáif		
	3	,,	,,	ha ₁ p'ndt	ez	r ₁ r ^o	,, r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
	4	en	dhat	ap'nt,	ez	á'r	en er	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	loo	wes
	5	en	dhat	ap'nd	ez	shíi	en er	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o in	laa	
	6	ná <u>u</u>	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
	7	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en e	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
	8	,,	,,	ha ₁ p'nd	ez	h ₁ r ^o	,, r ₁ r ^o	,, ,,	laa	
	9	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nt whal	h ₁ r ^o	en r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa		
	10	nú ₁ u	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mt	ez	shíi	en r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
	11	en	it	†h ₁ e ₁ p'nt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)t'	†si ₁ u ₁ n wáa ₁ if		wes
	12	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
	13	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
	14	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)t'	su ₁ n wáa ₁ if		
	15	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)t'	su ₁ n wáa ₁ if		
	16	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	loo	
	17	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	loo	w ₁ r ^o
	18	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en)r ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o in	laa	
	19	en	dhat	tok plíás	ez	shíi	en t'	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o in	loo	
	20	en	dhat	waz	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en er ^o	su ₁ n wáif		
	21	en	dh ₁ s	ha ₁ p'nd	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en r ₁ r ^o	su ₁ n wé'if		
	22	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nd	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en er	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o in	laa	w ₁ r ^o

1	kam	dhe wíez	t ₁ r ₁ f ₁ t'	bak	géeuth	fr ₁ v	aq ₁ n t'
2	ku ₁		t ₁ r ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ d'	ba ₁ k	sáaid	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en)d'
3	,,		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	,,	jaar ^o d	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ in — ú ₁ ut)t'
4	kum ₁ n		thruu ₁ t'	bak	ja ₁ rd	fr ₁ e	íq ₁ n t'
5	kom		thru ₁ u ₁ t'	bak	jaard	fr ₁ e	íq ₁ n óut t'
6	ku ₁ m		thrú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	faald	fr ₁ e ₁	híq ₁ en t'
7	ku ₁ m		thrú ₁ u ₁ t'	bak	faald	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ in t'
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	sáa ₁ id	,,	,,
9	ko		thrú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	jaa ₁ rd	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en t'
10	ko	thrú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	faald	[sáid]	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en t'
11	ku ₁ men		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	†já ₁ er ^o d	fr ₁ aa ₁	híq ₁ en t'
12	ku		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	jaar ^o d	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ in ú ₁ ut t'
13	kom		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	fòld	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en t'
14	kü		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	faald	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en ú ₁ ut t'
15	ku ₁ m [kü]		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	sáaid	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ in t'
16	ku ₁		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	foold	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en ú ₁ ut t'
17	ku ₁ men		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	foold	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en ú ₁ ut)t'
18	ku ₁ m		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	ba ₁ k	sáaid	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ a ₁ n)t'
19	kom		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'		foold	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en u ₁ p)t'
20	koom		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ t'	bak	jaar ^o d	fr ₁ ee	híq ₁ en uut)t'
21	kam		thr ₁ ú ₁ u ₁ dhe	ba ₁ k	sáid	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ en út dhe
22	ku ₁ ma ^o n		thrú ₁ u ₁ dhe	ba ₁ k	foold	fr ₁ e	híq ₁ in dhe

1	wit	tlééZ	uut	te	d ₁ raa	uv	v	wéishin	díiv,
2	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ Z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ r ^o áái	v)d'		weshin	dee,
3	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ Z		„	„	uv)a		„	dee,
4		tlíevz	óut			on)t'		weshin	dee,
5	wet	klíáz		te	drái	on	v	weshin	dec,
6	we ₁ t	klí ₁ á ₁ Z	áut	et	d ₁ ráai	Jaa		we ₁ shin	dee ₁ ,
7	wet	klíáz	áut	et	d ₁ ráai	Jaa		weshin	dee ₁ ,
8	„	„	ú ₁ ut	et	d ₁ ráai	„		„	„
9	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ Z	ú ₁ ut	et	d ₁ rái	v)t'		weshen	dee,
10	wet	klíevz	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráai	Jaa		weshin	dee,
11	wet	klíevz	ú ₁ ut	et	d ₁ rái	Jaa		weshin	†d ₁ iv,
12	wet	klí ₁ a ₁ Z		te	d ₁ raai	en	v	we ₁ shin	dee ₁ ,
13	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ Z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráai	Ja		we ₁ shin	dee,
14	wet	tlí ₁ é ₁ Z		te	d ₁ ráai	et	t'	weshen	dee,
15	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ Z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráai	uv	v	weshin	dee,
16	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ Z		te	d ₁ ráai	Jaa		weshen	dee,
17	wet	klí ₁ a ₁ Z		te	d ₁ ráai	Ja		weshin	dee,
18	wet	klí ₁ a ₁ Z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ r ^o áái	Jaa		weshin	dee,
19	wí ₁ it	klíáz		te	d ₁ rái	uv	v	weshen	dee,
20	wet	klíevz		te	d ₁ r ^o éi	o)t'		weshen	dee,
21	wet	klíevz		ta	d ₁ rái	on	v	weshin	dee,
22	wet	klí ₁ evz	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráai	uv	v	weshin	dee ₁ v,

12. 1	waal)t'	ket'l	we	bóovlin	fe)t'	tíiv,	v	Jan
2	whâil)d'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o	tíiv,		Jaa
3	wháail)t'	„	„	„	„	„		„
4	wáil t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilín	fer)t'	tii,		Ján
5	wáil t'	ket'l	we	bóilín	fer)t'	tii,		Jaa
6	[wháail)t'	ke ₁ t'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
7	wháail)t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíiv,		Jaa
8	whal	„	„	„	fe)t'	tíi,		„
9	whal)t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fer)t'	tíiv,		Jaa
10	wháail t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r)t'	tii,		Jaa
11	tíl t'	†kí ₁ et'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	†tíiv,		Jaa
12	wháail t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
13	wháail t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o	tíiv,		Jaa
14	wháail)t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁	tíi,		Jaa
15	wháail)t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fe	tíi,		Jaa
16	wháail)t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
17	et t' táaim et t'	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
18	wháail)t'	ket'l	wéz	bóila ^o n	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		Jaa
19	et t' táaim et t'	ketel	wéz	bóilén	fer	tíiv,		Ja
20	whén)t'	ket'l	wáz	bóilén	fer ^o)t'	tii,		Je
21	whé'il dhe	ket'l	wéz	bóilén	fə ₁ r ^o	tíi,		JE'
22	whé'il dhe	ket'l	wéz	bóila ^o n	fer	tíi,		Jen

1		faan	briit		ɪftɛn'ɪən	i sumb,	nobet
2		fáain	br'ɛiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán,		nobet
3		"	"	"	"		"
4	r'æl	fáin			af'tɛrnuun	i su ₀ mer,	
5		fáin	briit	su ₁ mer	ɛftɛrnuun		nobet
6			br'ɪit	su ₁ mə ₁ r	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán		nobet
7			br'ɛiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r	ɛftə ₁ r'n'ɪán		nobet
8			br'ɪit	"	ɛftə ₁ r'n'ɪúun		"
9		fáin	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r	ɛftə ₁ r'n'ɪən		nobet
10		boni	br'ɪit	su ₁ mə ₁ r	ɛftə ₁ r'n'ɪən		nobet
11		fáa ₁ in		su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r'n'ɪán		nobet
12			br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán		nobet
13		fáa ₁ in		su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán		nobet
14			br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán		nobet
15	[w _u in]	fáain	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán		nobet
16		fáain	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ n°n'ɪán		nobet
17		fáa ₁ in	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán,		nobet
18		fáain	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mə ₁ r°	ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪán,		nobet
19		fáin	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mer	ɛftɛr'n'ɪən		nobet
20		féin	br'ɪiit	su ₁ mer°	ɛftɛr°n'ɪən		nobet
21		fé'in			ɛftə ₁ r°n'ɪúun		nobet
22		fé'in	br'ɪit	su ₁ mer	ɛftɛr'n'ɪ'ɛn		nobet

1	v	wiik	sɪn	kum)t'	nekst	thozde.
2	v	wéiik	sen	ku ₁		thu ₁ r°zdi.
3	„	wéiik	„	ku ₁ m	nesht	„
4	en	ɪt)'l	nobet	bi v	wik v	thə'rzde.
5	v	wik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	thə'rzde.
6	v	w'ɪik	se ₁ n	ku ₁ m	ne ₁ kst	thə ₁ r°zde.
7	v	wéiik	s'ɪn	ku ₁ m		thə ₁ rzde.
8	„	w'ɪik	sen	„	ne ₁ st	thə ₁ rzde.
9	v	w'ɪiik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	thə ₁ rzde.
10	v	w'ɪik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	thə ₁ rzde.
11	v	†w'ɪɛk	†s'ɪɛn		†n'ɪɛkst	thə ₁ r°zde.
12	v	w'ɪik	sen	ku	nekst	thu ₁ r°zde.
13	v	w'ɪik	sen	ku		thə ₁ r°zde.
14	)v	w'ɪik	sen	kü	n'ɪist	thə ₁ r°zde.
15	v	w'ɪik	sen		v	thu ₁ r°zde.
16	v	w'ɪik	sen	ku ₁ m	n'ɪist	thə ₁ r°zde.
17	v	w'ɪik			nekst	thə ₁ r°zde sen.
18	v	w'ɪik	sen		nekst	thu ₁ r°zde.
19	v	w'ɪik		kom		thə ₁ rzde sen.
20	v	wiik	sen		niist	thə'rzde.
21	v	wik	se'in	ku ₁ m	ne'ist	thə'rzde.
22	v	w'ɪik	gon	ku ₁ m		thu ₁ rzde.

13.	1 en	noo je,	béeen?	et	a	níve	líicnt	nòut
	2 en	du ₁ s)te	nhaa?	ái		nyvə ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o d	nóut
	3 „	„ „	„	áai		ní ₁ ver ^o	líier ^o nd	„
	4 en	sii je!		a		niver	árd	e thi ₁
	5 en	d)je	naa?	a		niver	laarnd	eni
	6 en	du ₁ s)te	naa?	aa		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nd	nóut
	7 en	du ₁ s)te	nhaa?	a		ní ₁ və ₁ r	híiə ₁ rd	nóut
	8 „	„ „	„	aa		„	laar'nd	„
	9 en	dii)je	naa?	aa		ní ₁ və ₁ r	laar ^o nt	eni
	10 en	de)je	nhaa?	aa		niver	laarnd	nóut
	11 en	†d ₁ es)te	naa?	aa		†ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	hí ₁ ə ₁ r ^o d	eni
	12 en	du ₁ s)te	noo?	a		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nd	nóut
	13 en	des)te	noo?	e		ní ₁ bə ₁ r ^o	haar ^o d	nóut
	14 en	des)te	nhaa?	e		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	haar ^o d	nóut
	15 en	des)te	nhoo?	a ₁		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	ga ₁ t te hí ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	nóut
	16 en	des)te	tnhoo?	aa		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	haar ^o d
	17 en	du ₁ s)te	noo?	e		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nd	
	18 en	du ₁ s)te	noo?	aa		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nt	nóut
	19 en	du ₁ s)te	noo?	a ₁		niver	larnd	níve
	20 en	di)ji	noo?	e		niver ^o	fan út	óut
	21 en	di)je	ken?	ái		ní ₁ və ₁ r ^o	hí ₁ ə ₁ r ^o d	
	22 en	di)je	'noo?	áa ₁ i		nyver	lí ₁ 'ernd	

1 ne	méeer	en	dhis	e	dhat	diid	up
2 ni	maar ^o	e	dhis			biznis	
3 „	„	„	dha ₁ t			biz'ní ₁ s	
4			ebóut	it			
5	míár	an	dhis	ev	dhat	biznis	
6 ni	mee ₁ er	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
7 ni	mí ₁ ár	nə ₁ r	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
8	„	ne	„	ebá ₁ ut	„	„	
9	mí ₁ ár			ebá ₁ ut	dha ₁ t	biznes	
10 níe	míár	nə ₁ r	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	t'	kensaarn	
11	†mí ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	dha ₁ n	dhis	e	dha ₁ t	djob	
12 ni	meeə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
13 ni	mee ₁ r ^o	ne	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
14 ni	maar ^o			abá ₁ ut	dhis	ma ₁ t,tə ₁ r ^o	
15 ni	meer ^o			e	dhis	djob	
16 ne	soo nóut ni	meer ^o	ne	dha ₁ t	ebá ₁ ut	tis	djob
17 eni	meer ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	e	dha ₁ t	djob	
18 ni	meer ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	e	dha ₁ t	djob	
19	meer	ner	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dha ₁ t	biznes	
20	méeer ^o			ebùt)'t			
21	meer ^o	e			dhis	djob	
22 eni	méeer	e			dhis	djob	

1	tiv tel	tədəeɐ,	ɐz	síɪer	ɐz	mí	náim)z
2	whel	tədəe,	ɐz	síúuə₁r°	ɐz	máí	níá₁m)zs
3	„	tədəe,	„	„	„	máai	„ „
4	tíl	tədəe,	ɐs	t ríuu	ɐz	dí)s	standin
5	ɐp tɐ	dhís dee,	ɐs	síúer)z		máí	níám)z
6	└wháaíl	tədəe₁,	ɐz	síúuə₁r°	ɐz	mí	níá₁m)z
7	wháaíl	tədəe¹,	ɐz	síúuə₁r	ɐz	máai	níám)z
8	whəl	„	„	sí;úuə₁r	„	máaᵢ	„ „
9	ɐ₁p t'í	nú₁u,	ɐz	síúuer	ɐz	mí	níá₁m)z
10	wháaíl	tədəe,	ɐz	síúuer	ɐz	máai	níem)z
11	†t'í₁el	tədəe,	ɐz	†s'í₁ə₁r°t'n	ɐz	máaᵢ	níem)z
12	wháaᵢl	tədəe₁,	ɐz	s'íúuə₁r°	ɐz	mɐ	níá₁m)z
13	whel	tədəe,	ɐz	sh'ú₁uə₁r°	ɐz	máaᵢ	níé₁m)z
14	whel	tədəe,	ɐz	síúuə₁r°	ɐz	mí	níé₁m)z
15	whel'	tədəe,	ɐz	síúuə₁r°	ɐz	mí	níá₁m)z
16	whel	tədəe,	ɐz	síúuə₁r°	ɐz	mí [·máai]	níá₁m)z
17	whel	tədəe,	ɐz	sy₁ə₁r°	ɐz	mí	nía₁m)z
18	t'í	tədəe,	ɐz	shəúr°	ɐz	máí	nía₁m)z
19	ɐ₁p tel	tədəe,	ɐz	shuu₁r	ɐz	má₁í	níám)z
20	tíl	tədəe,	ɐz	s'í₁uer°	ɐz	méí	níem)z
21	ɐ₁p tíl	tədəe,	ɐz	sy₁úə₁r°	ɐz	mE'í	níem)z
22	ɐ₁p tɐ	tədəe'ɐ,	ɐz	sh'ú₁uer	ɐz	mE'í	ní₁em)z

1	:dʒúwen	:shíped,	ɐn	aa	dís)nt	want	tɐ díe
2	:dʒa₁k	:shýpə₁r°t,	ɐn	)i	du₁t	wa₁nt	tɐ nhaa
3	:dʒwú₁en	:shípə₁r°t,	„	áai	du₁)net	want	„ „
4	íer,		ɐn	áí	dónt	want	tɐ íer
5	:dʒúen	:shíperd,	ɐn	áí	dúent	want	tɐ naa
6	:dʒoni	:shípə₁r°t	ɐn	áaᵢ	doont	wa₁nt	
7	:dʒú₁en	shípə₁rt,	ɐn	áaᵢ	du)net	want	
8	„	„	„	aa	„	„	tɐ nhaa
9	:dʒon	:shípə₁lrd,	ɐn	aa	doont	want	t'í
10	:dʒoni	:shépə₁rd,	ɐn	áai	dúet	want	
11	:dʒa₁k	†:sh'ú₁epə₁r°d,	ɐn	áaᵢ	díent	want	
12	:dʒa₁k	:sh'ípə₁r°d,	ɐn	a	du₁)net	want	
13	:dʒa₁k	:sh'ípə₁r°d,	ɐn	a	du₁net	keer°	tɐ h'í₁ə₁r°
14	:dʒa₁k	:sh'ípə₁r°t,	ɐn	a	du₁net	want	tɐ nhaa
15	:dʒwú₁en	:sh'ípə₁r°t,	ɐn	a	du₁)ent	want	tɐ nhoo
16	:dʒon	:sh'ípə₁r°t,	ɐt	du₁dᵢ	ny₁t [nu₁t].		
17	:dʒú₁a₁n	:sh'ípə₁r°d	ɐn	aa	doó)nt	want	
18	:dʒwú₁en	:sh'ípə₁r°t,	ɐn	aa	dúent	want	
19	:dʒwɔn	:shíperd,	ɐn	a	dúuent	want	
20	:dʒon	:sh'íper°d,	ɐn	v	dív)nt	want	
21	:dʒoni	:sh'ípə₁r°d,	ɐn	áí	dív'n	keer°	tɐ ken
22	:dʒon	:sh'íperd,	ɐn	áai	dínst	want	

- 1 dhíiv nuu dhenz!
 2 needhə₁r^o, máa'inds)te 'dha₁t nú₁u!
 3 needhə₁r^o.
 4 ne m'íer abóut it, en se dhen!
 5 eeder, dhíer nóu!
 6 nec₁dhə₁r^o.
 7 nee₁də₁r, sü)dhu 'dhí₁ár náu!
 8 ne m'íár vbú₁ut it.
 9 nec₁də₁r, ny₁t ái.
 10 nec₁də₁r. súe nú₁u dha₁n!
 11 níe₁də₁r^o.
 12 óu₁də₁r^o, máa'ind ji 'dha₁t nú₁u.
 13 vbú₁ut it éi₁də₁r^o.
 14 nóu₁də₁r^o, 'dhí₁iə₁r^o nú₁u.
 15 nóu₁də₁r^o, sí₁ 'dhí₁iə₁r^o nú₁u!
 16
 17 óu₁də₁r^o, se 'dhí₁iə₁r^o!
 18 óu₁də₁r^o, sí₁u^o 'dheer^o nú₁u!
 19 náu₁de₁r!
 20 nóu₁de₁r^o, 'dhí₁i₁er^o nu!
 21 meer óudhə₁r^o, 'dhí₁ə₁r^o nú₁u!
 22 óudher, 'dhí₁i₁er nú₁u!

14. 1	en see	aa)z	gan'in	jam	te mi	supe.
2	en sí ₁ á ₁	ái men bi	gáaen	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
3	„ „	aa)z —	gaan	[h'í ₁ á ₁ m	„ —	„
4	en se nóu	ái)z	ga)in	jàm	te mi	super.
5	an súe	ái)z	gaan	jam	te)t'	super nóu.
6	en náu	aa)z	gaan	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
7	en síá	a)z	gaan	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
8	„ „	áa <i>í</i>)l	ewee'	„	„ t'	„
9	en sí ₁ á ₁	aa)z	gaan	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
10	en nú ₁ u	aa)z	gáaen	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
11	en síe 'nú ₁ u	aa)z	gaan	h'í ₁ em	te)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
12	en sí ₁ ie	a)z	gaan	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
13	en sí ₁ e	a)z	gaan	h'í ₁ é ₁ m	te)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
14	en sí ₁ é ₁	aa)z bi	maken of	h'í ₁ a ₁ m	te get mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
15	en nú ₁ u a men bi		gaaen	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
16	en sí ₁ e	aa)z	gaaen	h'í ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
17	en sí ₁ á ₁	aa)z	gaan	h'í ₁ a ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
18	en sí ₁ a ^o	aa)z	gaan	h'í ₁ a ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
19	en súue	a)z	gaan	jam	tel mi	su ₁ per.
20	en	â)z	gân	jem	te mi	su ₁ per ^o .
21	en sí ₁ e	ái)z	gân	h'í ₁ em	fə ₁ r ^o	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
22	en nú ₁ u	áa <i>í</i>)z	ga ₁ nen	h'í ₁ em	te mi	su ₁ per.

1	gúvd	niit,	en	dinet	bi	se
2	gud	néiit	te	dhu, en thiik on n _u u et dhu iz'nt si		
3	„	„	—	— „ — — — — du)net	bi	se
4	g _u vd	nit,	en	dònt	mak	se
5	súe	g _u vd	niit,	en	doont	bi kwáit
6	gud	n _i iit	en	du)net	bi	se
7	s _i a	gud	néiit,	en	du)net	bi
8	—	„	„	„ „	„	„
9	gud	n _i iit,	en	doont	bi	se
10	gud	n _i iit,	en	dúet	bi	se
11	gud	†n _i et,	en	dunet	†b _i e	si
12	gud	n _i iit,	en	du)net	bi	se
13	gud	n _i iit,	en	du)net [duut]	bi	si
14	gud	n _i iit,	en	dunet	bi	se
15	gud	n _i iit	te	dhu, an máa,ind et dhu iz'nt		sa
16	gud	n _i iit,	en	dunet	bi	se
17	gud	n _i iit	en	du)net	bi	se
18	gud	n _i iit	en	dúent	bi	s _i a ^o
19	g _u vd	n _i iit	en	dúuent	bi	s _i e
20	g _u vd	niit,	en	div'nt	bii	s _i e
21	gud	nit	en	div'n	bi	se
22	gud	n _i iit,	en	dinet	bi	si

1	shaap	te	kréek	óu)er	e	bodi	agécen, win i
2	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o aa	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	egcen, when e
3	r ^o y ₁ di	„	„	„	„	„	„ „
4	mitj gam			ev	e	bodi,	wen i)s
5	sharp	t'	kraa'in	úer	e	bodi	egán, wen i
6	shaa ₁ rp	te	kraa	óu ₁ r	e	bodi	egcen, whe ₁ n i
7	shaarp	et	kraaen	óu ₁ r	e	bodi	egcen, when e
8	„	„	kráa	„	„	„	„ „
9	shaarp	et	kraa'in	óur	e	bodi	egcen, when „
10	shaarp	te	kraa	óur	e	bodi	egen, when i
11	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o aa	óur ^o	ja ₁ n		eg ₁ en, when
12	fást ez	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ án, when)e
13	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ án, when)e
14	whik	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ án, when)e
15	r ^o y ₁ di en u ₁ d ₁ r ^o	taa ₁ im	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi, when)i
16	k'it'l	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ án, when)i
17	ru ₁ di	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ án, when)i
18	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o oo	óur ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ án, when)i
19	ru ₁ di	te	kroo	áur	e	bodi	egán, wen)i
20	r ^o u ₁ d ₁	te	kr ^o oo	óur ^o	jen		eg ₁ en, when
21	whik	te	kr ^o aa	óu ₁ r ^o	e	bodi	eg ₁ en, when
22	shaarp	et	kroo'in	óur	e	bodi	eg ₁ en, when)i

1	tóok's	e	téebn	en	tídhv	tháq.		
2	TAAKS	ebá ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	tu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
3	„	e	„	„	e	tu ₁ dher ^o .		
4	TELĀn		is	táel	enudher	táim.		
5	took's		dhís	dhat	en	tu ₁ der.		
6	TAAKS	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ dherə ₁ r ^o .		
7	TAAKS	ebáut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	tu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
8	„	e	„	„	ə ₁ r	„		
9	JAM	TAAKS	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	en t' tu ₁ də ₁ r ₁ .		
10	took's	e	tis	ta ₁ t	en	tu ₁ də ₁ r.		
11	dhá ₁ u	taaks	ebá ₁ ut	†dhíes	dha ₁ t	en †tú ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
12	TAAKS	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
13	TAAKS	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	e	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
14	TAAKS	e	dhís'n	dha ₁ t'n	e	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
15	telz dhv	ebá ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	e	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
16	TAAKS	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
17	took's	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ d ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
18	TAAKS	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o)t'	tu ₁ də ₁ r ^o .		
19	took's	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	er	tu ₁ d ₁ er.		
20	JEN)z	took'en	ebút	óut.				
21	JEN	ta'ks	e	dhís	ə ₁ r ^o	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	dh)u ₁ dherə ₁ r ^o .
22	TAAKS	ebá ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	dh)u ₁ dher.		

15. 1	it's	e	wéek	fíel	et	pra ₁ tez
2	híi)z	nobet	e	week	fíul	ed pr ^o a ₁ t'lz
3	hi)z	—	„	week	fíul	at pr ^o aats
4	i iz	e		fíul	et	tòks
5	it's	e	púer	fuul	et	praats
6	híi)z	nobet	e	wée ₁ k	fí ₁ ul	et TAAKS
7	híi)z	nobet	e	WEE ¹ k	fí ₁ ul	et TAAKS
8	it's	„	„	„	fíul	„ pr ^o ee ¹ ts
9	híi z	nobet	e	week	fí ₁ uel	et pr ^o íá ₁ ts
10	hi)z	nobet	e		ma ₁ flín	et took's
11	híi)z	e	wíek	swá ₁ et	ev e	bodi et taaks
12	hi)z	e	wée ₁ k	fíul	et	pra ₁ t'lz ewee ₁
13	híi)z	nobet	e	wée ₁ k	fíul	et TAAKS
14	it's	nobet	e	va ₁ r ^o v sili [WEEK]	fíul	et ra ₁ m'lz en TAAKS
15	it's	nobet	e	WEEK	fíul	et pra ₁ t'lz i sek e WEE
16	it's	e	WEEK	fíul	et	tja ₁ t ₁ r ^o z
17	it's	nobet	e	sili	fíul	et TAAKS
18	it's	nobet	e	wéek	fíul	et t'ks
19	hi)z	e	week	fí ₁ ul	et	tja ₁ terz
20	hi)z	e	week	fí ₁ ul	et	br ^o agz
21	it's	bet	e	py ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	sili	fí ₁ ú ₁ el' et tja ₁ t ₁ r ^o z
22	it's	e	WEEK	fí ₁ el	et	TAAKS

1	edhuut	oni ríiez'n.	séev nun, dhen, dhat)s ma last
2	wíthú ₁ ut	r ^o íiezen.	en dha ₁ t)s AAL ái)v gít'n
3	wídhú ₁ ut	sens,	„ „ máai lást wu ₁ r ^o d.
4	wí ₁ óut	sens.	en s ₁ úe JƏ kən mak jer best
5	wí ₁ óut	ríiez'n	end dhat)s mí last wərd.
6	wí ₁ á ₁ ut	se ₁ ns,	en dha ₁ t)s mí lást wərd.
7	wí n ₁ á ₁	sens.	en dhat)s AA áai' gíten
8	wídhú ₁ ut	„	„ „ mí lást wu ₁ rd.
9	wí n ₁ á ₁	r ₁ íiez'n,	en dha ₁ t)s AA aa)v gíten
10	goomly ₁ s	maapment.	en dha ₁ t)s oo ebú ₁ ut ít.
11	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	r ^o íiezen,	en s ₁ úe dha ₁ t)s aa et áai' gíten
12	wí ₁ ú ₁ ut	r ^o íizen	en dha ₁ t)s AA a)v gíten
13	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	sens.	en dha ₁ t)s t' en'd on)t.
14	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	óudh ₁ r ^o	r ₁ áaim v r ₁ íiz'n. en dha ₁ t)s AA v)v
15	wí ₁ ú ₁ ut	óudh ₁ r ^o	r ^o aa'im v ^o r ^o íiz'n. en dha ₁ t)s t'
16	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	nhooen wha ₁ t for ^o .	en dhá ₁ t)s mí last
17	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	sens, en dha ₁ t)s	oo ebú ₁ ut ít [mí lást wu ₁ rd].
18	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	sens, en dha ₁ t)s	mí last wu ₁ r ^o d.
19	edú ₁ ut	r ₁ íiz'n.	en dhat)s mái last wərd.
20	wí ₁ dú ₁ ut	sens.	en dhat)s oo a)z gán te see.
21	wídhú ₁ ut	óudh ₁ r ^o	wít ə ₁ r ^o wízdem. en dha ₁ t)s mí
22	wídhú ₁ ut	sens.	en dha ₁ t)s mí last wu ₁ rd.

1	wod.	féev je wil, gafe.
2	te see.	s ₁ á ₁ gud néít te dhe.
3	— —	— „ „ — —
4	on)t.	gu _o d nít.
5		gu ₁ d nít.
6		gud n ₁ ít.
7	et SEE ¹ .	s ₁ á gud néít.
8	— —	„ „ „
9	et see.	s ₁ á ₁ gud n ₁ ít.
10		gud n ₁ ít.
11	et SEE ebú ₁ ut ít.	s ₁ úe gud t'nút.
12	te see ₁ .	s ₁ íie gud n ₁ ít.
13		s ₁ úe gud n ₁ ít te dhe.
14	gít'n te SEE.	gud n ₁ ít.
15	en'd on)t.	gud n ₁ ít te dhe.
16	wərd ^o .	gud dee.
17		gud dee.
18		gud n ₁ ít.
19		gu ₁ d bóí.
20		gu ₁ d nít.
21	va ₁ re lást wu ₁ rd.	s ₁ úe gud dee.
22		gud n ₁ ít.

Notes to No. 2, Muker, Yo. D 31, Vi,
p. 563.

0. *what*, the (a_1) represents a sound between (a , a); see p. 539. The (wh) is fully sounded.—*for*, the (r°) is a “stiff-tongued” and hence “untrilled” (r); see p. 542.—*John*, the (d_1) is labialised in anticipation of the following (a_1), for which see p. 291 and p. 540.—*has*, the aspirate distinct, fully (nh), the vowel certainly (ϵ), not (e).—*no*, the great peculiarity of the fractured vowels is the distinctness with which each element of the fracture is pron., and the evenness of the stress upon each, though both seem to be short, as the (i_1) is one of the series (i , i_1 , e^1 , e), its sound is so intermediate in character, that JGG. often wrote (e , e^1) for it, and it was only after many trials that I decided to use (i_1) to shew that the sound gave me more the feeling of (i) than of (e); the last vowel (a_1) is another intermediate for which see p. 539, and for a long time I wrote it as (ϵ). This fracture ($i_1 a_1$) therefore seems comparable to the Ags. EA.—*doubts*, the ($u_1 u$) is a fracture quite like some of the fractures of (i); it begins with (u_1) which has the stress, and glides quickly on to fine (u), the latter being often lengthened; hence it tends to sound as ($\acute{o}u$) as JGG. often wrote it, and this rapidly passes into ($\acute{o}u$), and is therefore the precursor of the ($\acute{o}u$, $\acute{a}u$, $\acute{a}u$) forms of U. The speakers of ($u_1 u$) believe that they say (uu), a sound which in fact is extremely difficult for their organs. To my ears ($u_1 u$) is totally different from ($\acute{a}u$), which begins with a higher and not a deeper sound, though, as we have seen, that also leads to ($\acute{a}u$), but it has likewise a tendency to (iu , $y_1 u$), which is not the case at all with ($u_1 u$). The distinction between ($u_1 u$, $\acute{a}u$) must be noted. It will be hopeless for any one who does not hear ($u_1 u$) constantly from native organs to acquire its accurate use from mere indications like this: even JGG. did not always quite satisfy native ears.

1. *well*, argumentative, in two distinct syllables indicated by the long first vowel to the diphthong. JGG. got the variant ($u_1 u$ dhan) now then.—*neighbour*, the ($\acute{e}i$) has a distinct (i), not like London ($\acute{e}i$), where i is not distinctly reached, the vowel (\acute{o}) is very difficult, see p. 541. JGG. appreciated

it differently at different times, but finally as (\acute{o}) or French *eu* in *peu*, which is of constant use in the Icelandic final *-ur* (see Part II. p. 548*b*). But as I heard a decided leaning from (\acute{o}) to (u), I use (\acute{o}) to shew a difference from the true French sound. This sign (\acute{o}) is used on p. 146 for one of the peculiar w.Sm. forms of O'. There is probably a difference which I cannot formulate. JGG. says he regards the sound as being intermediate between (e) and (u). Those who find a difficulty in conceiving (\acute{o}) final may content themselves with ($\acute{o}r^\circ$) or (\acute{o}). Thus few Londoners, even after many hearings, would distinguish this word *neighbour* from their own (*ne'jbu*).—*ye*, the diphthong ($\acute{e}i$) or ($\acute{e}i$) differs in two particulars from ($\acute{e}i$) in the preceding word. In the first place the lengths of the elements are reversed, and in the second the last element is pure (i) and not (i). Natives think they say *jii*. This shortening of the first and lengthening of the second element leaves the impression of the second vowel in the mind.—*him*, (h) always well sounded.—*laugh*, the vowel is as deep as in (*wha,t*), but much shorter. This very short (\acute{a}_1) is the sound given in Swaledale to *a* in all such words as *staff*, *ask*, *lath*, *chance*, which have (*aa*) in London, but see for Edenside, p. 539.—*at this news of mine*, variant (*et t' níúuz et áúy gíten*), at the news that I've got.

2. *it's few of*, variants (*nut, nyt si maú*), not so many.—*that*, *ed* for (*et*) = that, by attraction of the following (*d*).—*because*, variant (*bikoz*).—*we*, (*wi*) weak, (*wii*) strong.—*know*, the initial voiceless (*nh-*) for *kn-* is very strong.—*now nún'*, the exact value of this (*y*) is difficult to determine, see p. 510. I leave (*y*), which Mr. Melville Bell identifies with *e* in *houses*, but what that is when accented it is difficult to say.—*likely*, JGG. finds the final vowel to lie between *i*, *i*, and it might be written (*i^l*), but it is so near *i* that with this caution *i* is used.

3. *these*, etc., variant (*úts dpu₁st h'úú₁r' n'ú₁u*), it's just here now.—*friend*, here the (*y*) signifies a slight variant of *y*, which I cannot precisely define.—*while*, variants (*wháil*, *whél*, *t'l*); this use of *while* for *until*, occurs in many other specimens, but is strange to s. ears. A schoolmaster is reported to have said to a noisy class

(ái kan)et bigín wháil ʒe'ɾ^o wháiʒet), which sounds like 'I can't begin *while* you're quiet,' but meaning was *until* you are quiet.—*hear'st thou*, meaning *listen*, as we often say 'do you hear?' an interrogative for imperative. Variants (laɪdhu nái'u), probably 'look thou now,' and (láaíst)v listest thou, the (t) of the second word being lost after the preceding one.

4. *I'm certain*, etc., variant, thought to be better (ái)z síúuɾ^o ɛd)í híúɾ^od) tɛm tel—tel on—ɛbái'ut it), I am sure that I heard them tell—tell on—about it.—*say*, here (se) is quite unaccented, the stress falling on the following (sí'ái).—*that did I*, variants dhat ɛd ái did, dhat ɛd did í, where the meaning of (ɛd), which should be unaccented *that*, is not clear, see also the end of par. 5. Observe (i) JGG.'s (i) for unaccented *I*, several times in this par.

5. *great*, var. (gr^oíiet).—*father's*, observe the absence of the possessive 's in the dialect.—*squeaky*, var. (sk^oéíeki).—*and I would trust*, etc., var. (ɛn ái)l ɛp^od)ím, hí)l' nɛt léíi), and I'll uphold [= warrant] him, he'll not lie.—*any*, var. (ani).—*that would I*, the meaning of (ɛd) is not apparent, see par. 4.—var. (ái wíl 'dha)ɪt nái'u), I will *that* now.

6. *body*, var. (wámɛn).—*any*, var. (ani).—*without*, var. (widhái'ut).—*much*, var. (mitɪ).—*if you'll*, etc., var. (ɛn as)ɾ^o an [one] ask her, where an =if, is supposed to represent 'an one,' that is, 'if one'; this is a peculiar idiom of the district, and being indefinite, would be preferred.

7. *any*, var. (ani).—*she shouldn't*, this was meant to be emphatic (shéi), but the courtesy of the district finds the emphasizing of a personal pronoun invidious. People will even avoid *thou* in speaking, as too personal. A mother will prefer saying *she* (shí) unemphatic even when addressing her daughter.—*wrong*, var. (w'ra)q) among the older people, (ra)q) among the younger, the final (q) often prolonged emphatically.

8. *she would*, the vowel in the word (shu) is due to the attraction of the following (w), the people themselves feel this effect.—*found the drunken*, observe (d') coronal suspended before (d) alveolar, the tongue is felt to slip forward in passing from the first to the second. The Dale form is (d'ɾ^ou)qk'n), at Barnard Castle (12 nw. Richmond)

they say (d'ɾ^ou)k'n).—*beast*, var. (fele).—*husband*, var. (hu)zɛn'd).

9. *coat*, var. (klí'ái)z) clothes.—*close by the*, var. (haar^od bisáaíd'd'), hard beside the.—*door*, the sound of (y₁) differs very slightly if at all from French (y), but the real sounds heard for this word were difficult to appreciate, and were in fact differently appreciated by JGG. at different times and from different speakers. He has lately heard the Swedish *y*, and thinks this nearly identical with it. Whether the sound was exactly the same as the (y₁) of D 10, 11, 19, is not quite certain.

10. *roaring*, var. (whánd)ɛn) whingeing, compare Salesbury's *evynge* (supra, Part III, p. 763a), also heard at Rothbury, Nb.—*away*, in Cu. and We. (ɛwée'), with a much deeper sound.—*world*, distinctly in two syllables.—*that had got sadly frightened*, there is no dialect phrase equivalent to 'tretting.'

11. *son's wife*, omitting the possessive 's, var. (do'u)ɾ^o)i)laa), daughter-in-law.

13. *business*, var. (d)ɔb).—*Jack*, var. (:d)ɔɛvɛn).—*don't*, the (n) omitted, compare D 29, var. iib, p. 461: this word sounded to me more like (doot), and JGG. said that it forcibly reminded him also of (doot) at first hearing, especially when lengthened in singing. Observe that *doubt* would have been (dái'ut), and hence quite distinct.

14. *home*, the aspirate sounded here to me as (sh).—*think on* is always used in the north-west for 'remember' and 'remind,' as 'I can't think on, you must think me on't.'—*that thou art not*, var. (dau)ɪt bí), don't be.

15. *without reason*, var. (widhái'ut) and var. (wí nái'ái) sens), with no sense.—*all I've got to say*, var. (mí last wuu)ɾ^od), my last word.

Notes to No. 3, *Hawes*, Yo. D 31, V i, p. 563.

2. *nobody*, variant (tíúu fúú)ɛk) few folk.

4. *sure*, var. (saar^ot'n), certain.

5. *bairn*, var. (sa)ɪn).

9. *saw him*, var. (séíid)ím), see'd him.

11. *hanging out*, old people say (áut).

Notes to No. 4, *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, La. D 31, V iib, p. 563.

0. *John* or (:d)ɔk').

1. *Jim* or (lád).—*thee*, used as in

s.La., as explained in Notes to West Houghton, p. 337.—*cares*, TH. leaves the (r) unmarked throughout.

2. *because they're*, variant (wí bɪjɪn).

3. *however*, TH. writes (húvɪ'vər), but we should have expected (hóvɪ'vər).

4. *I heard the same folk say as knew it all*, a various reading by the informant who has generally abridged the text.—*all* (AA) or (oo).

5. *rate*, var. (táim), time.

7. *in a thing of this sort*, var. (əbóut ɪr aən ʊzben), about her own husband.

8. *drunken beast*, possibly (bíást) or (slók, slɛmp). TH. uses (u) for U partially throughout this region, see p. 554.

9. *saw* or (síid).—*lying at full reach*, (sɪ'fɛɪt ɔt íu:l lɛnθ), stretched out full length.—*best* or (su:ndɛ) Sunday.

10. *for all*, (AA) or (oo).

13. *and so then*, or (nóu dhɛn') now then.

15. *he is a fool*, etc., or (ɛnɪ jæn'z ɪ ɪául tɪ tʌk [took] wɪ ɔt rɪz'nz), any one's a fool to talk without reasons.

Notes to No. 5, Coniston, La. D 31, V iib, p. 563.

3. *matter*, or (kíás) case.—*quiet*, Miss Bell had heard only one old man use this form, gen. (kə'áint).—*done*, Mr. Bowness wrote *down*, implying (dám), which Miss Bell did not know. Mr. Ellwood thought *deán* (dɛn) better.

4. *I is*, Mr. Bowness wrote *I'm*, which Mr. E. says is not known as part of dialect.—*folk*, Mr. B. wrote *fivoke*, which older form (fivook) Miss B. did not recognise.—*enough*, no form of *enow* known to Miss B.

5. *father tongue*, Mr. Ellwood says the possessive 's is not usually omitted.—*to speak*, so written, and so Miss Bell, see Intro. to V iib, p. 550.—*that I would*, Mr. B. added (ðat wɔdɪ), which Miss B. did not know.

6. *now*, Mr. B. wrote *noo*, which was repudiated both by Mr. E. and Miss B., but as Coniston is so near the s. hoose line 6, no doubt many (núu) speakers are heard there.—*too*, this is generally replaced by (ɛn oo), and all.—*won't she*, (wɛntʃɛ at full contracted into (wɛtʃɛ) according to Miss Bell.

7. *over*, this was Miss B.'s pron.

8. *beast* or (ru,bɪʃ, tɛstrel, rubbish, taistril, the last a n. country word for

a scoundrel.—*calls*, Mr. B. wrote *cooas, ewooas*, which both Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated.—*husband*, (ma) more usual.

9. *eyes*, Mr. B. wrote *een eos*, but Miss B. only knew (áiz).—*ground*, Mr. B. wrote simply *grund*, the sound was difficult to catch, but it came to me from Miss B. like (grɛnd, the (ɔ) is frequent before (r) according to JGG, in D 31, and I seemed to recognise it in Miss B.'s (nɔ:t, grɛnd) not. ground. It is probably the same sound which occurs in No. 10, and there marked (ɣ), see Intro. to No. 10, p. 560.—*door stone*, or threshold, Mr. B. wrote *duer*, and Mr. E. preferred *dewer*, hence probably (diuɛr) or (diúur) may be heard from older people, as in Nos. 6, 7, 10.—*down*, here again Mr. B. wrote *down*.

10. *hairn*, Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated the form (beern).—*frightened*, suggested by Miss B., Mr. B. wrote *in a frɛd* 'in v frɛt).

11. *out*, Mr. B. wrote *oot*.—*to dry*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.—*washing*, Mr. E. gave (wéishɪn), it will be seen that this does not occur in D 31, but is found in D 30.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. B. wrote *afternoon*. Mr. E. preferred *afternoon*, Miss B. gave (nuum) here, but (n'ɛn) in the cwl.

13. *more than*, Mr. E. preferred (meer dhɛn).—*John*, in this place Miss B. admitted (d:ɔjuən), but not in the title.—*either*, Mr. E. admitted dental or rather alveolar (dɛr), Miss B. did not employ them, but TH. says their use is quite prominent.

14. *I is going home*, Mr. B. wrote *I'm gūn heām*, I follow Miss B.—*at crowing*, written *t'craun'*, with variant *tu crau*, it seems as if Mr. B. used *at crowing* to escape *at crow*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.

15. *poor fool*, Mr. B. gave as a variant *fuil*. Mr. E. says that *peur feul* are not heard here.

Notes to No. 6, Custer-ton for Kirkby Lonsdale, We. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

5. *I'd trust him at speak*, observe *at* for *to*. Var. (áaɪ)l ɛpɔ:dɪm hɪ'ɪl spɪ'ɪk), I'll uphold him, he'll speak.—*any* (ɛnɪ) is an older form than (onɪ).

7. *wrong*, Mrs. Wilson could not remember (w'raɪŋ).—*thing* or (póint).

8. *telling thee*, or (see₁en) saying.—*man* or (hazbend).

13. *until to do*, the hiss of (wh) in *while* is weak.

14. *so sharp to crow*, so sharp at crow, would be more natural, but the dialect is rather mixed at Casterton, see par. 11 *at dry*, and par. 15 note *at say*; also p. 550.

15. *that's my last word* or (dha₁t)s AA ái)v giten vt see₁) that's all I've got to say.

Notes to No. 7, *Dent*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) was fully trilled.

3. *is the (ist)*, the German form, is occasionally used for *is*, without any contraction of *is it*. In this case it was perhaps due to the following (t'), and perhaps (is't faks) would be more correct.

7. *shouldn't*, observe the unusual form (sad'nt), comparable with (wad'nt) would not.—*wrong*, remembered (w'raq), but (raq) given as a variant.—*what dost thou*, and then Mr. Partridge added (ubáat it dhísel'?), about it thyself, which was not in the original.

14. *at erowing*, this must be the sense as it stands, but it looks as if it were meant for (vt kraa) *at crow*.

Notes to No. 8, *Sedberg*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

In these notes the variants of the Cautley version are referred to by C. prefixed; the text gives only the Sedberg version.

0. *John*, C. (:dɪwáu₁en).

1. *thee*, C. (s₁i).—*at this news of mine*, C. (et t' níunz vt ái)v giten te tel je), at the news that I've got to tell you.—*cares*, C. (kí₁á₁z te 'dhat), cares for that, obs. omitted (r).—*neither*, C. (nēdhə₁r).—*there*, the form (dhí₁a₁r), like (mí₁a₁r), par. 13. is peculiar to the s. side of the rocky backbone of the Lake District. JGG. says "the geological formation of the country in part determines the dialect by determining the kind of pasturage which the various kinds of people followed."

2. *few*, or (tíu men), C (it's fíu₁ fwa₁k vt du₁z'nt líiv laq vt eí₁t₁r dhə₁r láft at) it's few folk that does not live long at-after they're laughed at. "At-after" is a regular s.We. and n.La. phrase. Mr. Peacock in his Lonsdale Glossary compares Danish

efterat.—*we know that*, C adds (wí₁il unu₁l) well enough.—*make*, or (mí₁á₁k), C (mak em dí₁i).—*it is'nt*, C (it's ny₁t) it's not—*is it*, JGG. writes (i₁izs)t here, and C (i₁zs)t.

3. *these are the facts of the case*, var. (áai)l tel dhə AAl ebú₁ut it) I'll tell thee all about it.—*prithce*, C (dɪ₁st) just.—*my lad*, C (fry₁nd).—*while*=until, C (wháil).—*done*, C (du₁n).—*hark thou*, C (lis'n nú₁u), listen now.

4. *I am certain*, C (áai)z síúur) I am sure.—*heard*, C (hí₁rd).—*say so*, C (tel ebú₁ut it).—*job*, C (thi₁q)—*from the first*, C inserts (varə).—*that did I safi enough*, C (ái iz 'dhat síúur unu₁t) I am that sure enough.

5. *youngest lad*, C (ju₁qist baarn).—*nine*, C (náin).—*old* C (AAl).—*tongue*, C (vóis).—*all*, C (AAl).—*squeaking*, C (skwí₁iki).—*and I'll uphold it*, *he's a lad*, etc., C (en ái)d upo₁d)t, 'n₁i)l ug₁t lí₁i) and I'll uphold it, *he'll not lie*, or C (ái d 'try₁st)im vt sp₁ik) t' t₁riúth en₁ DEE, ái)j) wad 'dhat nú₁u), I'd trust him at (=to) speak the truth any day, aye, I would *that* now.

6. *woman*, also C (bodi) = person, singular of folk or people.—*straight*, C (s₁t₁rek).—*any*, C (mit₁).—*any bother*, Sedberg inserted here (what-i₁və₁r), which it was not convenient to insert in the text.—*I'm sure*, this emphatic pron. of 'sure' is stated to be common among old people all over the country, but chiefly in Swaledale, We. and e.Cn., the first (s₁) is very short, and is followed by the (:) check closure of the vocal chords, which explode suddenly on an intensified (·m). This is not given in the C version, which has C (áai)j) 'wad'nt shə₁?, aye, *wouldn't she?*

7. *she told*, C (shə₁ teld).—*I*, C (i).—*times*, C (táimz) without nasality.—*did she*, C (·dhát did shə₁).—*shouldn't*, Sedberg, or (wad'nt) wouldn't.—*wrong*, S with (·r), C (faar raq) far wrong, with inserted *far* and (ra).—*this*, C (dhis'n).—*what dost thou think about it*, C (what dəjə 'thi₁q?).

8. *very well*, C (wáaijə).—*then*, C (dhen).—*as I was telling*, C (vz₁i wez see₁en).—*would tell thee the same*, C (wed tel dhe), with 'the same.'—*she*, C (shə₁).—*drunken*, C (d₁ru₁k'n).—*husband*, C or (ma'n).

9. *she*, C (shə₁).—*with*, C (wi).—*lying*, C inserts (laq s₁t₁rí₁á₁kt) long stretched.—*atop the ground*, C restores (etop v₁t' gru₁nd) atop of the ground.

—*best*, C (gud).—*coat*, C (kwáun₁et).—*close beside*, etc., C reads (l₁naard bisáid)t', or (khwáun₁es t₁jt' diúner ev iz aan l₁hú₁us) hard beside, or close to the door of his own house.—*in the*, C (et t').—*lane*, C (lwáun₁enín).

10. *says she*, C (sh₁ séd) she said.—*little petted lass*, C (láil lās et w₁z sadl₁ frá₁it'nd), little lass that was sadly frightened.

11. *her daughter-in-law*, C (l₁AA), or (t' su₁n wáit), the son's wife.—*side*, C (sáid) without nasality.—*at dry*, C either (et) or (te d₁rái).—*one*, C (ev e).

12. *while*, C (wháil).—*for the*, C (fur).—*one bright*, C inserts (fáin).—*come*, C (k₁), and omits *next*.—*Thursday*, C (thu₁rzd₁).

13. *dust*, C (d₁es) weak.—*never learned*, C (ny₁v₁r l₁naard) never heard.—*more*, C (mee₁'er) certainly more modern than (m₁'ar).—*job*, C (bizny₁s) business.—*while*, C (wháil).—*sure*, C (síun₁r), see par. 6.—*John* or (:d₁oni), C (:d₁owáun₁en)—*Shepherd*, C (:sh₁y₁p₁rt).—*and I*, C (un₁i).—*want*, etc., C ('want needh₁r, máinds'te dhat ná₁u), want neither, mindst thou *that* now? the interrogation form of imperative, see p. 596, l. 4.

14. *I will away*, C (ái₁z gaan).—*to the*, C (te m₁).—*night*, C (ní₁it).—*so*, C (sí).—*at erow*, C (et kraain) evidently a 'correction' by the informant.—*again*, S or (eg₁'á₁n).—*t'other*, C (t₁u₁d₁h₁r).

15. *it's*, C (l₁h₁'í₁z).—*fool*, (fíúul) is the pron. of the old, (fú₁ul) of the younger men, C (fú₁ul).—*my last word*, C also (Aal á₁v git'n et see), all I've got at (=to) say.—*night*, C (ní₁it).

Notes to No. 12, *Kirkby Stephen*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

3. *those are the facts of the case*. It would come more natural to a speaker to say (hod₁i i ! it)s d₁u₁st h₁'á₁r₁ ná₁u !) hold ye, it's júst here now.

6. *she would (do) that*, or (wad'nt sh₁?) wouldn't she?

7. *what dost thou think?* or (what de 'á₁i think), what do 'ye think?

11. *back yard*, or (ba₁k sáaid) back part or side.

13. *job* or (bizny₁s) business.

Notes to No. 13, *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

9. *good Sunday coat*, or (bet₁t₁r₁m₁ kl₁'é₁z) better-more clothes.

13. *and I do not care*, or (un)i dau₁t k₁e₁r), with (i) for (a) I, and (dau₁t) for don't.—*either*, more usually (óu d₁r₁°).

14. *sharp*, or (ry₁d₁) ready.—*when he* (when₁), or (when₁i).

15. *only a weak fool*, or (nob₁t v dáft un) only a daft one.

Notes to No. 14, *Temple Sowerby*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

1. *neighbour* or (neeb₁r₁°).—*tale* or (níúuz) news.

2. *few folk die* or (fwá₁ek du₁z't d₁i), folk don't die.—*we know that*, here Mrs. A. inserts *gaily well*; *such as we die indeed*! (geel₁ wí₁il, sek vz 'hu₁z d₁i end₁i'd!), where observe (hu₁z) emphatic for us, the s. Scotch say 'haz), the only word to which they prefix an unauthorised (h).—*that is it not*, but the 'that' has the weak form (et) strengthened.

3. *man*, (m₁n) is a diminutive, and is used in a depreciatory or familiar manner, (try₁n'd) is much more dignified.

4. *say so*, either (se 'sí₁'é₁) with the emphasis on the second word, or ('see sí₁'é₁) with emphasis on the first.—*whole thing* or (bizny₁z) business.

5. *nine*, both (ní₁in, náain) are used.

7. *ought not* or (sod'nt) should not.—*wrong* (w'raq) with old people still.

9. *see'd him* or (saa im) saw him.

10. *says she*, (she sh₁i) so dictated, the s of *say* becoming assimilated to the following (sh).—*world*, the form (waar'd'l), which was so dictated, reminds one of the Dv. (wárd'l), but I have not met with it elsewhere.

11. *and that* or (dhis AA) this all.—*son wife* or (dóat₁r₁° i l₁AA) daughter-in-law.

12. *come next* or (ku₁m)t' come the.

13. *know* or (tu₁h₁AA), this was perhaps more exactly Mrs. A.'s pron.

Notes to No. 15, *Milburn*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *gaily well*, introduced apparently from Mrs. Atkinson.—*that do we*, the (·et) emphatic, but retaining the (u) sound, or else (d₁met we ?) don't we.—*what should make them die?* or (wha₁t iz)te in l₁á₁fin te ma₁k v bodi d₁i ?) what is there in laughing to make a body die? The (iz)te stands for (iz dh₁r₁°), the (dh) changed to (t) by the influence of the preceding (z),

the (r^o) omitted and consequently the (ɔ₁) falling into the usual (ɐ).

3. *however* or (vɔwvɔɔ₁r^o).—*case* or (mætɔ₁r^o) *matter*.—*hold thy* or (had tɪ) which dh assimilated.—*my lad* or (tɪ^oin'd) with (i) and not (y₁).—*got done* or (dɔ₁n) *done*, or (gɪt'n mɪ niúuz telt, mɪ kraks dɔ₁n wɪ), *got my news told, my cracks—talk—done with*.—*list ye*, or (las)te nɪ₁u, la₁dhu ú₁u), *list thou now*.

4. *heard the folk* or (haar.d dhem) *heard them*.—*enough* or (ɛnɪ₁f).

5. *nine years old* or (nɪ₁n ɔ₁r^o ool'd).—*and I would, etc.*, or (ɛn)ɐ wad tɪ₁r^ouɪst 'hɪm tɛ spɪ₁k)t' tɪ₁r^oiúuth ɛni dɛɛ, ɛɛ'i mɔ₁r^oi wadɪ), and *I would trust him to speak the truth any day, aye, marry, would I*.

6. *old* either (AA'd) or (ool'd).—*too* or (tɪv).—*nickle bother* or (mɪtɪ vɔ₁u) *much ado*.

7. *she told me so* (sɪ₁v, sɪ₁i, sɪ₁a₁)—*and I'm sure that she, etc.*, or ('shɪ₁i) *emphatic*.—*wrong* or (vɪ^oaq' w'ɪ^oaq').—*what do you think* or (what dɛ ɹɐ 'θɪŋk ɛhú₁ut it?), *what do you think about it?*

8. *saying* or (tɛlɛn o)ɹɐ) *telling of you*.—*too* or (tɪv).—*old* or (ool'd).

9. *with her* or (wɪ(d)ɔ₁r^o).—*long stretched*, or (AA iz laq lenth) *all his long length*.—*in his best Sunday coat* or (ɛv iz bɛtɔ₁r^omɛ klɪ₁z), *in his better-more, i.e. better clothes*.

11. *son wife* or (dɔ₁uɔ₁r^o i lAA) *daughter-in-law*.—*back side* or (fool'd) *fold*.—*hanging* or (hɪq'ɛn).—*washing* or (wɛshɛn).

12. *of Thursday* or (kɪ nekst θuɹ₁r^ozde), *come next Thursday*.

13. *know*, (nhoo) is used by old people.—*job* or (biznɹ₁s) *business*.—*until* (wɪel, tɛl, t'l).—*John* or (:dʒɔ₁k).—*do not* (dɔ₁vɛnt) *does not occur* in any other example I have obtained. Compare Nb. (dɪv'nt).

14. *tells thee* or (tAAks).

15. *fool* or (fi₁l).—*prattles* or (tʃɔ₁tɔ₁r^oz) *chatters*.—*without* or (wɪ₁dáut).

Notes to No. 16, *Langwathby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *not*, sometimes (nɹ₁t), but (nu₁t) was adopted as general.—*know*, (nhoo) was usually dictated (tnhoo), as in Mrs. Atkinson's case, No. 14, merely an emphatic utterance of (nhoo).

3. *my lad* or (fɹy₁nd) *friend*.—*done* or (dɔ₁n).

4. *thing* or (biz'ny₁s) *business*.—*enough* or (ɛnɪ₁f).

5. *him* or ('hɪm).

6. *too* (tɪv) or (tɪ₁v₁).

9. *swore*, but (swɪ₁á₁r^o) as in No. 15, is the common form of the district.—*nook* or (nɪ₁v₁k) *nook*.

10. *says she*, see No. 14, and note on par. 10, p. 599.

11. *daughter-in-law*, (t' sɔ₁n wá₁ɪf), the son's wife, the 's regularly omitted.—*washing*, with either (-ɛn) or (-ɪn), the two forms of participle and verbal noun are therefore confused.

12. *Thursday*, JG.G. thought he heard Miss Powley once say (θuɹ₁r^ozde), and believes that both forms are used.

14. *so*, both forms (sɪ₁v, sɪ v) are used.

Notes to No. 17, *Ellonby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

4. *tell about it*, the usual expression, but sometimes (SEE) *say*.

5. *I would trust him*, in such a case as this the emphasis would most likely be laid on the verb; if laid on the pronoun, it becomes ('hɪm).—*aye I would*, old people would say ('ɛt wá₁dɪ).

6. *that will she, my blood! but won't she!* 'my sang' is my blood, a mild form of swearing; or (wɪl shɔ₁ nɛt) *will she not?*

7. *when I*, (whɛn)ɐ) marked however as (whɛn)á^o), where (á^o) is an obscure sound, reminding the hearer of (a) without quite reaching it, and again (dhɪsá^on sɛɛá^on) and in all participles, for which (á^o) I write (ɐ) simply, as the sound was by no means certain.

8. *man* or (hu₁zb'nd).

9. *loning* or (lonɪn) = lane.

13. *job* or (biznɹ₁s) *business*.

Notes to No. 18, *Keswick*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

1. *who*, this (whoo) is a mere towu form.

2. *know*, the form (nhoo) not remembered, (naa) is used in Borrowdale, the long narrow valley running s. from Derwentwater, from 4 to 7 s. Keswick.

3. *so*, the (á^o) marks a faintly indicated sound of (a₁), (sɔá^o) in Borrowdale; it would be difficult to distinguish (á^o, ɐ), and (á^o) may be only a personal peculiarity.—*friend*, in the same way (ɛ^o)

represents a sound of (e) rendered indistinct.

4. *through*, this (v'u) may have been really (a'u).

5. *for all it was so*, or with a different emphasis (tu₁r_o oo t)waz se) for all it was so.

6. *old*, Borrowdale (aald).—*much*, also (mikəl).

7. *two or three* (twi'a₁thr'o'i₁) without 'or,' Borrowdale.—*wrong*, almost (wra₁q'), old people said (w'r^oa₁q).

Notes to No. 19, *Clifton*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *what*, the (wh, w) vary from person to person, (w) is more common near the Solway Frith, the (a) was distinctly not (a₁), indeed, had I not throughout these es. adopted JGG.'s conception (p. 539) that (aa, a) are always fine, I should have written it (a¹), but as here (a₁) is used as the deep sound in German *mann*, which must be written (ma₁n), although I should generally write (man) simply, the use of (a¹) would be too great a contrast to (a₁). Perhaps JGG. would have written the sound (a) as an advanced (a). On the whole, I consider it safer to use (a) only.—*for*, the (r) was trilled by Mr. Hetherington very distinctly when final or before consonants; whether this is a general habit, I cannot say; very possibly not so.—*John*, the (dʒ) was distinctly labialised even to the eye.—*doubts* was (dauts), and neither (dau₁ts) nor (dau₁ts). But (u₁u) occurs as in *now*, par. 2.

1. *neighbour*, the broad (EE) is used here and elsewhere by the older people only, the younger use (ee).—*neither*, distinctly (di), not at all labialised to (di); in the last syllable, and generally, I could not detect any difference from the common final (er).

2. *know*, not with (nh) or (tn).—*should*, (sud) is becoming gradually replaced by (shud).

3. *however*, this form is common and not exceptional, (hu₁wi'vur, hewi'vur) are both new forms.—*hold thy*, (tr) is the older and rarer form, (dhi) newer.—*done* or (diän).

4. *I's*, (aa) is used only when emphatic, otherwise (a).—*those folk*, here I heard what seemed like (a₁), and in (fwook) the (t) was distinctly labialised, the inflation of the upper lip, which is characteristic of (w), being clearly seen, as Mr. II. pronounced the word.

5. *knew*, (ken) when there's recognition, Fr. *connaître*; (noo) when there's knowledge, Fr. *savoir*; thus (a ken im) I know him, but (a¹ noo at hi'z gaan hi'a¹m) I know that he's gone home.

7. *told me it*, the older construction is (telt it mi'i) told it me.—*when*, Mr. II. says he never heard (wh) in *when*, but always in *who*, *which*, *where*.—*wrong*, if (w) precede, it is not distinct, at most (braq, 'raq).

8. *found*, usually (fu₁nd not (fand), and the (d) is heard, as also in (gru₁nd) ground.—*husband*, (man) is common.

9. *eyes*, both (i'jin) and (ai:z) are used by the same people.—*coat* (kliaz) clothes, would be better.

10. *whinnying*, (w) here more common than (wh); (u₁ul) yowl is used for either an adult or a child.

11. *the daughter-in-law*, *her* would not be used, only *the*, similarly 'he and the son-wife,' not 'he and his son's wife.'

14. *home*, this (ram) is the commonest form, but (h'am) is also used.

15. *good bye* seldom used, and so is also (farwe:l). I doubt the form (bói), although Mr. II. wrote it distinctly in glossic [baoy].

Notes to No. 20, *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) is very faint, no proper trill, very different from the Scotch, although Mr. Ellwood considered it to be the same. I could not identify it with the London (r_o), and hence I adopt (r'), which I have used in so many previous versions.

1. *that*, I did not notice (a₁) here or elsewhere, but I cannot be certain.—*here there*, I did not notice (i'ji), only (i'j₁). Mr. E. wrote simply ee = ii).

2. *know*, Mr. E. considered it was (tnoo), but, as I heard him, he said simply (noo).

6. *much*, (mik'l) also used, not (mítj).

10. *crooning*, Mr. E. says "it is usually used in the dialect for the whining noise made by a cow, also by a drunkard, or any whining sound. It is much more expressive for the sound of a drunkard than our word *whine*."—*pet*, a common word.

11. *her*, it is possible that the sound was really meant for (hær), but it came to my ear exactly like a broad (har),

and Mr. E. compared it to the pron. of the biblical name *Hur*.—*son's wife*, much commoner than (dɔu'tɛr in LAA) daughter-in-law, which is also used.

Notes to No. 21, *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, V i, p. 563.

5. *kent* or (kɛn'd) knew.
6. *woman* or bodi body.
7. *wrong*, with a slight vowel initial or (w'raq).
8. *goodman* or (hu₁zbu'n'd).
9. *swace*, the (y₁) represents (y) spoken with a peculiar widening of the pharynx, which makes the sound somewhat different from any form of (y₁). The sound noted may, however, have been only Mrs. A.'s attempt to imitate the true sound, and even that may have been an individuality: but JGG. states that he has heard it from other old people.—*lying* or (lɑi'en).—*on the* or utop v dhu; atop of the.—*good Sunday coat* or bet,tɔr^cmɔr^c kl₁uz^c bettermore clothes.

10. *in a fright*, not 'in a fret' as was intended, but the word does not seem to be used in the dialect.

11. *son's wife* or (dɔu'tɛr^c ɪn LAA).

13. *job* or (mɑ₁tɔr^c, bizny₁s) matter, business.

14. *going* or (gɑ₁qɛn) ganging.—*night*, Mrs. Anderson remembered (ne/'kɪlɪt.—*quick-crow*, or (krou).

15. *poor*, similarly (dy₁ɔr^c, sy₁ɔr^c, my₁ɔr^c, fly₁ɔr^c) door, sure, moor, floor; but a 'form' to sit on is (toor^cm) with *o* in *swore*, but (tɔr^cm) at Milburn. We.—*wisdom*, or (r^ci₁z'n) reason.—*word* or (wɔr^cd).

Notes to No. 22, *Knaresdale*, Nb.

D 32, V i, p. 563.

1. *both* (bi¹ɛθ), misprinted with (i¹) on p. 564, last line. JGG. writes (i¹) in place of (i), as a general rule. I do not distinguish these two sounds, but of course (i₁ i, i¹ i₁, i i¹) form a series for ears capable of distinguishing the sounds, and probably the difference is very perceptible from native speakers in conversation, though it evades analysis. However I retain JGG.'s symbol. The (ɛ) is quite distinct.

3. *till I be done*, the use of this *be* is very suspicious.

10. *world*, JGG. wrote (wɔr'ld), as in par. 3 he wrote (tɔərst). In revising with me he introduced the sign (ɔ₀), this like (ə₀) was one of the signs for this vowel affected by (r) which we agreed afterwards to write (ɔ₁), which is the symbol I retain. He says that with regard to all these sounds "there seems to be a gradual glide from (u) with an i₁ tongue point through pure (u) to (ɛ^u). That is to say, the (u) position is held from first to last, but at first the point of the tongue is raised to the (i) position, and afterwards the natural vowel (ɛ) is sounded through the same position on to the buzzed (r⁰). This remark applies, I think, to all the queer anomalous group with altered (y, ə) that I have come across in nw. Yo., in Cu., and We."

11. *day* (dɛɛ'v), a trace of this form is heard in Cu., producing a kind of tired effect; it is not the rule in Cu., and is only found in the pause.

TRADITIONAL NAMES OF PLACES IN EDENSIDE.

The above is the title of a paper read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society by Mr. J. G. Goodchild, at Peurith, in January, 1881, which with his permission I reproduce from the Transactions of the above Society almost at length, but differently arranged. Owing to his connection with the Government Geological Survey, JGG. had to spend many years in this neighbourhood in the most out-of-the-way places, and amidst the rocks and hills that there abound, all of which have traditional names, which the orthography generally used fails to convey. JGG., who commonly used palæotype to express sounds, employed it in this paper to represent these names as spoken, and this gives an additional reason, if one were wanted, for introducing it in this book, for which pal. has been mainly invented, extended, and familiarly used. JGG. says: "The researches of philologists have made it clear that it is

unsafe to hazard an opinion upon the etymology of these place-names. Within the hydrographical basin of the Eden, or what, for convenience sake, it would be well to call by the name EDENSIDE [D 31, Var. iv, p. 555], we have evidence that there have been in use an unknown form of Iberian speech; the form, or forms, of Celtic current in the old kingdom of Strathelyde, also practically unknown; the various dialects of the Angles, which were probably as diverse in their day as are the dialects of the parts the Angles came from, at the present day; unknown forms and dialects of a more decidedly Scandinavian character; and, lastly, superposed upon the foundation formed by these diverse elements, forms of the literary English of every period from the earliest times to the present day. Under these circumstances it becomes difficult for any man to decide, in the present state of philological knowledge, what words are corruptions of words of known meaning, and what are veritable relics of former speech, now all but lost. I am not so sanguine as to believe that the view that the traditional names of places are the original forms and their literary forms their corruptions will meet with general acceptance. . . . Acting on this principle I have thought it best to lay before the Society simply a collection of facts, just as they were received from the dialect-speakers themselves. The plan I have adopted is to place on record the pronunciation of every place-name, where this differs in any way from its literary form as expressed on the Ordnance Maps, and to record all names not on the maps that are spelled with approximate correctness, when these names serve the purpose of shewing that a particular termination exists in various names throughout the length and breadth of Edenside. A large proportion of the names in the list is from my own notebook, but I have gladly availed myself of the aid of others. Amongst these are the late talented Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath [see p. 561], who collected many words with a view of bringing out a list jointly with myself; Miss Powley, of Langwathby, Mr. J. Bainbridge [see p. 562], Mrs. Graham, and Mr. Wm. Birket, of Penrith; Mr. Dover, of Woodfoot [see p. 560], Mr. John Robinson, of Milburn, and lastly, Mr. William Atkinson, [then] of the Science Schools, South Kensington, who has placed his knowledge of the subject entirely at my disposal. Other helpers, too numerous to particularize, have taken more or less interest in the subject."

Localities and Arrangement.

JGG. has generally, not always, assigned a "locality" as he terms it, to the name, and has also generally, not always, given the usual spellings of the names of the places mentioned. In order to save space I here give a list of these localities in alphabetical order and numbered, and subsequently I refer to them by these numbers.

JGG.'s arrangement is generally (there are a few exceptions) by the sound in which the names end, and these form the "original categories," which have been left undisturbed, and numbered i. to xl. But the names in each category have been re-arranged according to the number of the locality in which it occurs.

When several names are referred to the same locality, the number is repeated before each one. The order is always: first, the number of the locality; next, the name of the place in pal.; and then in the ordinary spelling in italics when given by JGG., and if not so given, by a dash —. Sometimes the localities are very vague, as simply 21 Cu. and 74 We. Sometimes two or more localities are assigned to the same name. In this case generally the number of the other locality is added in [] to each, and the name is given under each locality. The reader will thus be able to find the pron. of all the names here given for any locality. But very frequently no locality is named, generally, says JGG., because the name referred to is not recorded on the Ordnance Maps, and then the number 0 is used. Sometimes "various localities" are assigned to a name, but not written. In this case they are numbered 00. Sometimes one locality is given, and others unnamed are said to occur. In this case + is added to the number of the locality actually given.

The particular form of pal. used after discussion with JGG. is given on p. 539, as explained by himself in this paper.

0 No locality assigned. 1 Ainstable. 2 Appleby. 3 Ash Fell, We. 4 Bampton. 5 (given in error). 6 Barton. 7 Bewcastle. 8 Blencarn. 9 Blenco. 10 Broadfield. 11 Brougham. 12 Caldbeck. 13 Calthwaite. 14 Carlisle. 15 Carrath. 16 Carrick. 17 Colby. 18 Croglin. 19 Crossfell. 20 Crosby Ravensworth. 21 Cumberland. 22 Dacre. 23 Dent. 24 Dutton. 25 Edenhall. 26 R. Glenderaterra. 27 R. Glenderamackin. 28 Greycarth Fell. 29 Greystoke. 30 Hawes Water. 31 Heskett Newmarket. 32 Howgill Fells. 33 Ivegill. 34 Kaber. 35 Kendal. 36 Keswick. 37 King's Meaburn. 38 Kirkby Stephen. 39 Kirkby Thore. 40 Kirkland. 41 Knock. 42 Langwathby. 43 Lowther. 44 Mallerstang. 45 Mardale. 46 Martindale. 47 Melmerby. 48 Mickel Fell. 49 Milburn. 50 Milburn Grange. 51 Morland. 52 Mungrisedale. 53 Orton, We. 54 Ousby. 55 Penrith. 56 Penrith side of Eamont Bridge. 57 Penriddleck. 58 Plumpton. 59 Pooley. 60 Rose Castle. 61 Saddleback. 62 Shap. 63 Skelton. 64 Skiddaw. 65 Skirwith. 66 Sowerby Row. 67 Stainmoor. 68 Stenkrith. 69 Temple Sowerby. 70 Thirlmere. 71 Tirril. 72 Troutbeck. 73 Ullswater. 74 Westmorland. 75 Whinfell. 76 Wilbert Fell, We. 77 Winstill. 78 Yorkshire. 00 various unnamed localities; a + added to the number shews that other localities are mentioned but not named.

List of Names.

i. Names ending in (e). 8 stu¹be n¹uk *Starba Nook*. 12 whelp^e *Whelpa*. 21 skide *Skiddaw*. 21 kaade *Caldaw*. 21 tor¹pene *Torpenhow*. 22 u¹lkite *Ulcot Row*. 39 loo a¹be *Low Abbey*. 41 bu¹r¹ne *Burney Hill*. 41 flegde *Flagdaw*. 46 b¹de *Beda Fell*. 49 wh¹a¹ite —. 55 baar¹ke *Barroc*. 55 tha¹ke bek *Thackay Beck*. 55 wate *Wolfa*. 57 stu¹de *Stoddah*. 64+ kaave *Cabra*. 67 du¹me kr¹a¹g *Dumma Crag*. 67 plu¹ke *Plucka Tarn*. 67 w¹u¹ufe *Woufa*. 69 nh¹utse *Houtsay*. 70 sta¹me *Stanah*. 74 ryd¹lse *Riddlesay*. 74 r¹odhe *Raithay*. 74 t¹obe *Tebay*. 00 p¹aa¹ke —. 00 gr¹ime kr¹a¹g —. 00 br¹ume —. 00 rispe —.

ii. Names ending in (she). 32+ r¹heer¹she *Hareshaw*. 32 bu¹she *Bushaw*. 49 nh¹iq¹she *Hanging Shaw*. 00 wetshe —. 00 lo¹she —.

iii. Names ending in (r¹e). 1 ska¹r¹e *Skarrow Hill*. 8 mu¹r¹e *Moray Hill*. 18 da¹ir¹e —. 21 ska¹r¹e ma¹n¹rik *Skarrowmunnick*. 49 silv¹r¹e ba¹nd *Silver Band*. 73 eer¹e t¹u¹a¹r¹s *Trey Force*. 73 sha¹r¹e bee *Sharrow Bay*. 74 muz¹gr¹e *Musgrave*. 74 ba¹r¹e *Barrow Moor*. 00 dok¹e —. 00 se¹t¹r¹e *Settrah*.

iv. Names ending in (ske). 2 [with 17] m¹nske —. 17 m¹nske —. 21 nha¹ske *Harescough*. 21 [with 72] l¹ske —. 21 [with 72] flu¹ske *Fluskew*. 21 nor¹ske *Northscough*. 21 ba¹ske *Baroc Dyke*. 37 baar¹nske *Burnskew*. 38 gr¹a¹mske —. 41 koske *Cosca*. 47 [with 54] mu¹ske *Muska*. 49 th¹i¹yske —. 54 [with 47] mu¹ske *Muska*. 55 sku¹mske *Scunscough*. 71 nh¹uske *Houghscar*. 72 [with 21] l¹ske —. 72 [with 21] flu¹ske *Fluskew*. 00 fla¹ske *Flasco Fluskew Fluskew*, etc.

v. *Names ending in (h).*—0 br^oa₁dle *Bradley*. 8 gr^oa₁mple *Grumpley Hill*. 21 r^oosle *Rosley*. 30 [with 36] wale *Wallow Crag*. 31 hhaatlē *Haltcliff*. 32 kaatlē *Cautley*. 36 [with 30] wale *Wallow Crag*. 41 [between this and 30] kóuzle —. 47 melke bek —. 48 finle kas^l —. 49 kaar^ole ba₁nd —. 49 kaar^ole —. 50 [between this and 41] kóuzle —. 51 nhezle *Hesley*. 54 kokle *Cocklock Scar*. 54 nha^osle máa₁r^o *Hustley Mire*. 56 kemple *Kempley*. 73 p₁u₁le *Pooly*. 74 b₁le *Bela*. 74 nhaar^otle, nhaar^okle *Hartley*. 00 s₁le —.

vi. *Names ending in (uth).* 0 kr^oig^outh *Creagarth*. 0 sileth *Silloth*. 36 a₁r^ombeth *Armbeth*. 69 skáa^og^outh *Skygarth*.

vii. *Names ending in (wyth).* Compare xi (weth) —. 0 sa₁ndwyth —. 12 láa₁nwyth *Linewath*. 57 skitwyth bek *Skitwath*. 74 [above 41] nhelwyth —.

viii. *Names ending in (r^oyth).* 21 [or 55] p₁yr^oyth *Penrith*. 21 + sk₁r^oyth *Skirwith*. 74 stenkr^oyth steqkryth *Stenkreth*. 74 ka₁r^oyth *Carath*. 78 gr^oegr^oyth *Greygarth Fell*. [With the (r^o).] 12 [a mine] dr^oig^oyth —.

ix. *Names ending in (um).* Usually spelled with either final *holme* or *ham*; but many of the names are applied to places that never can have had any claim to either of these terminations. 0 br^oig^oem ba₁qk *Brigham Bank*. 7 sp₁ydydem *Spadeadam*. 21 n₁usem *Newsam*. 21 seb₁r^oem *Sebergham*. 26 br^ou₁ndem bek —. 38 a₁qgr^oem *Angerholme*. 43 ba₁kem *Buckholme*. 74 a₁skem *Askham*. 74 br^ou₁um *Brougham*. 74 flitem *Flitholme*.

x. *Names ending in (em).* 0 bektel^oiken *Beckfellican*. 9 t₁mp₁r^oem —. 21 [with 74] i₁á₁m₁n br^oig *Eamont Bridge*. 21 la₁q₁mbi *Langwathby*. 21 k₁r^oog^olen *Croglin*. 29 g₁lkAA^om₁n *Gilcambon Beck*. 36 setenba₁r^oien —. 38 mAAsten *Mallerstang*. 45 m₁iz₁en bek *Measand Beck*. 49 lé₁t₁r^oem l₁ud₁ —. 53 su₁nbig^oem *Sunbiggin*. 55 seb₁r^oem *Celleron*. 62 kaar^onhu₁ren —. 67 óusenth^o *Oventhwaite*. 69 óusensta₁nd *Ovenstand*. 73 nha₁len kra₁g *Hallin Crag*. 73 glenrid^oem *Glenridding*. 73 du₁nmaa^olen *Dunmallet*. 74 [with 21] i₁á₁m₁nbr^oig *Eamont Bridge*. 74 k₁r^obi stebem *Kirkby Stephen*. 74 a₁k₁r^oem ba₁qk *Acorn Bank*. 74 gaar^oth₁r^oem *Gaythorn*. 00 n₁biken *Newbiggin* [3 or more places].

xi. *Names ending in (weth).* Compare with the names given under vii (wyth). 0 wáa₁d₁w₁th *Widewath*. 12 láa₁n₁w₁th *Linewath*. [above 41] nhelw₁th g₁l —. 57 skitw₁th *Skitwath Beck*.

xii. *Names ending in (ten).* These are commonly regarded as mere mispronunciations of the final syllable *-ton*; but I have thought it safer to record the facts, be their significance what it may. 0 baar^oten *Barton*. 0 AASTen *Alston*. 0 mAAsten *Mallerstang*. 0 ú₁usten *Uverston*. 2 nhelten *Hilton*. 2 m₁r^oten *Marton*. 2 du₁ften *Dufton*. 2 bóuten *Bolton*. 21 r^oaakicht₁en h₁éid *Raughton Head*. 21 plu₁nten *Plumpton*. 21 br^oa₁nten *Brampton*. 55 stenten *Stainton*. 62 ba₁nten *Bampton*. 74 wor^oten *Orton*.

xiii. *Names ending in (thet).* 0 r^oú₁umth^o *Rounthwaite*. 0 kr^oosthet *Crossthwaite*. 0 skaath^o rig —. 0 k₁r^oth^o *Curthwaite*. 0 ba₁s^onth^o *Bassenthwaite*. 0 a₁p^ol^oth^o *Applethwaite*. 0 thAA^on^oth^o *Thorntwaite*. 0 want^oth^o *Wanthwaite*. 0 shóul^oth^o —. 0 óuth^o —. 0 nh₁i^oth^o kas^l *High Head Castle*. 21 [with 74] lóenth^o *Lownthwaite*. 21 kAAth^o *Calthwaite*. 21 sú^oth^o *Southwaite*. 24 bl^oth^o *Bluthwaite*. 33 smaath^o *Smallthwaite*. 33 br^oeeth^o *Braithwaite*. 36 omth^o *Ormthwaite*. 36 lóath^o *Louthwaite*. 74 [with 21] lóenth^o *Lownthwaite*. 74 óusenth^o *Oventhwaite*. See xxvii.

xiv. *Names ending in (fet).* 0 wor^of^ot *Overthwaite*. 2 sa₁p^of^ot *Sandford*. 34 dóusen^of^ot *Dolphin Seat*. 38 la₁d^of^ot *Ladthwaite*. See also (a₁d^om^of^ot, gr^oiz^ol^of^ot, setuf^ot).

xv. *Names ending in (b₁r^oen).* This ending is exceedingly common in many parts of the north-west of England; and it is applied occasionally to the heaps of loose stones cleared off the surface of the land. 17 b₁r^oenz nhil —. 20 nhaarb₁ren *Harberwain*. 20 máeb₁r^oen máib₁r^oen *Meaburn*. 36 wáa₁b₁r^oen *Wythburn*. 39 b₁r^oenz —. 49 b₁r^oen —. 55 síu₁bor^oenz *Seuboricens*. 62 wáa₁b₁r^oen *Wyeburne*. 74 kl₁b₁r^oen *Cliburn*.

xvi. *Names ending in (ber^oe).* 0 kelber^oe —. 0 thor^onber^oe *Thornbarrow*. 6 k₁r^okber^oe *Kirkbarrow*. 9 wh₁ber^oe —. 57 k₁r^okber^oe *Kirkbarrow*.

xvii. Names ending in (el, yl). 0 pe₁t₁r^oel River *Petteril*. 55 t₁r^oel *Tirril*. 00 n_hu₁q₁rel n_hu₁q₁r₁yl *Hunger Hill*.

xviii. Names ending in (skyl). 0 winskyl [more often] winskel *Winskyl*. 0 lonskyl *Lonscale Fell*. 21 enskyl —. 21 n_hu₁d₁skylz *Hudscals*. 55 sku₁skyl *Skirsgill*. 57 swáainskylz *Swainscales*. 60 geetskyl *Gaitsgill*. 61 b_ouskyl *Bowscale*. 62 r^ooskyl *Rosgill*. 73 bonskyl —. 74 n_ha₁v₁r^oskylz —. 74 ga₁skyl tarⁿ —. 74 geetskyl *Gaitsgill*. 74 thr^ou₁skyl *Thruskgill*.

The principal vowel (v) in the terminations given above is usually regarded as a slovenly substitute for one or other of the better recognised sounds. The group of place-names given next below will suffice to prove that the (v) in the words given below is not due to careless utterance. The same speakers that employ this (v) use also the "clear" vowels, and sound them, if anything, more distinctly than one is accustomed to hear in ordinary received English.

xix. Names ending in (bi). Uniformly sounded (bi) as (a₁p¹bi, k₁r^obi, kr^oosbi), etc. [So written but probably (bi¹) or (bi) was meant, see p. 540.]

xx. Names containing or ending in (iq). 0 liqstu₁bz *Ling Stubbs*. 0 la₁m₁bekiq₁ *Lumbecking*. 0 liqkewel —. 44 iq₁n_hil *Ing Hill*. 49 daa¹iq —. 58 piq¹ *Plumpton*.

xxi. Names ending in (sit, sid). 0 n_haa₁ksid *Hawkshead*. 0 a₁m¹sid *Ambside*. 3 r^oeesit *Rayscot*. 16 swáamsit —. 17 swáamsit —. 21 neepsit *Knapside Fell*. 41 swáamsit. 44 swáamsit. 45 selsit *Selside*. 67 l^oisit *Ley Seat*. 74 or^omsit *Ormside*. 74 kr^oosbi rí₁á₁v^onsit *Crosby Ravensworth*. 74 l^oisit *Ley Seat*. 74 tú^ousit *Towcet*. 74+ selsit *Selside*. 74 a₁n₁bsit REEK *Annaside Rake*. 75 l^oisit *Ley Seat*. 00 jaar^oisit *Yarlside*.

xxii. Names ending in (sáaid). 42 skaar^osáaid —. 47 n_haar^otsáaid —. 55 ket^olsáaid —. 00 felsáaid —.

xxiii. Names ending in (r^oik, r^oyk). 0 ka₁r^oik *Carrock Fell*. 11 we₁d₁r^oiks *Weatheriggs*. 12 keelbr^oyk *Calbrack*. 21 n_hiu^oik *How Rigg (School)*. 21 n_hiu^orik *Hung Rigg (Quarries)*. 45 du₁d₁r^oik —. 54 ba₁te₁r^oik gr^oeenz —. 62 bu₁t₁r^oik *Butterwick*. 73 n_hur^oyk wud —.

xxiv. Names ending in (ik). 0 kezik *Keswick*. 0 ska₁r^oema₁n₁k *Scarromanwick*. 0 gr^oeeetik *Greystoke*. 0 má₁ur^odivik *Moor Divock*. 0 kú₁m₁v^oik *Cumdivock*. 21 wa₁t₁r^o ml₁k *Water Millock*. 21 pen^ou₁d^oik *Peurdivock*. 61 dod₁k *Doddick*. 73 n_holik n_hou —. 73 sa₁n₁k *Sandwick*. 73 bl^ow₁ik —. 74 spu₁d₁k *Spurrig End*.

xxv. Names ending in (in). 0 sokin^ober^o —. 0 br^oekin^osla k *Brackenslack*. 0 la₁q₁ maar^otin *Long Marton*. 0 taakin tarⁿ *Talkin Tarn*. 2 kr^oekin^othr^op *Crackenthorpe*. 13 br^oekin^obru^of —. 41 ska₁b₁n^o da₁b —.

xxvi. Names ending in (i^o) or (i). 0 ma₁n₁sti *Manesty*. 2 kéisli *Keisley*. 58 br^ookli má₁ur^o —. 74 r^oezli *Reasley*. 74 est^or^oi —.

xxvii. Names ending in (whit, wheet, whet). 0 br^oekenwhit^o *Brackenthwaite*. 0 aar^omwhit^o *Armathwaite*. 29 gr^oi₁n₁wheet *Greenthwaite Hall*. 36 walwheet *Walthwaite*.

xxviii. Names ending in (kyt). 0 threlkyt *Threlkeld*. 73 spaar^okyt *Sparkhead and Sparket*. 00 b₁r^okyt *Birket More*.

xxix. Names ending in (lyk lík). 67 geelyk —. 67 m₁udhlyk *Mouthlock*.

xxx. Names ending in (thr^op). 0 n_ha₁kthr^op *Hackthorpe*. 0 melkinthr^op *Melkinthorpe*. 2 kr^oekinthr^op *Crackenthorpe*. 23 and 35 m₁lthr^op *Milthorpe*.

xxxi. Names having distinct (u) in combination. 0 skíat n_hi^oid *Seugh Head*. 0 skíuf dáaik *Seugh Dyke*. 0 la₁mskíuf *Lambseugh*. 0 míd^olskíuf *Middleseugh*. 0 n_hu₁d^olskíuf [older pron. -skiuk^oh] *Huddlesceugh*. 0 k₁r^obi *Kirkby Thore*. 0 kr^oi₁guth *Creegarth*. 0 n_heg^olíut *Heggle Foot*. 0 ka₁ur^o n_hiuf [older pron. -híuk^oh] —. 12 n_hu₁t^on skíuf *Hutton Seugh*. 21 [with 74] n_hu₁t^on r^ouf *Hutton Roof*. 24 bl^on^othet *Blunthwaite*. 25 skíuf —. 47 tíuf píuf *Fairy Pool*. 49 kr^oíukt^owáaiz. 55 líum *The Lham*. 73 glen^ok^orn *Glencoin*. 73 kr^oíukidáaik —. 74 [with 78] líum *Lune*. 74 díuked^ol *Duckerdale*. 74 [with 21] n_hu₁t^on r^ouf *Hutton Roof*. 78 líum *Lune*.

xxxii. Names having distinct (i₁a) in combination. 0 k₁a₁b₁r^o *Kaber*. 0 i₁a₁m₁en *River Eamont*. 0 skí₁a₁lz-n_haa *Scales Hall*. 0 né₁d₁r^oskí₁a₁lz *Netherscales*. 0 stí₁a₁ngílz *Stougill*. 19 laal dí₁a₁l *Little Dale*. 21 brí₁a₁ dtí₁íld *Broadfield*. 21 lí₁a₁dhz *Laiths*. 22 dí₁a₁k₁r^o *Dacre*. 38 ní₁a₁t₁bi *Natchy*.

49 ú₁ud'l d₁a₁l —. 55 d₁a₁lm₁a₁n *Dalmain*. 62 t₁a₁lb₁r^t *Tailbert*. 66 wh₁a₁l g₁l *Whale Gill*. 74 t' nh₁a₁l *Hale Field*. 74 sl₁a₁ks *Slakes*. 74 wh₁a₁l *Whale*. 74 kr^oosbi r^oi₁a₁v'nsit *Crosby Ravensworth*. 78 t₁a₁zd'l *Teesdale*.

xxxiii. Names ending in (iie) or (iie). 14+ r^oi₁e^o *Wreay*.

xxxiv. Names having a distinct (ú₁a₁) in combination. 0 jú₁mk₁a₁s *Ewen Close*. 0 nh₁eg^l l₁a₁n₁n *Heggle Lane*. 14 k₁a₁t' nh₁il *Cote Hill*. 16 m₁a₁zd'l —. 22 d₁a₁n₁bi *Johnby*. 29 á₁ik^l l₁a₁n₁n. 41 kl₁a₁s nh₁a₁s *Close House*. 41 k₁a₁t' sá₁ik *Coatsike*. 55 k₁a₁t' kl₁a₁s *Coll Close*.

xxxv. Names having a distinct (óu) in combination. 0 bó₁ga₁p *Hutton Grange*. 21 ó₁zhi *Ousby*. 55 fó₁as *Fowrass*. 55 bó₁ skaar^o *Bow Scar*. 74 bó₁t'n *Bolton*. 74 kó₁bi *Colby*.

xxxvi. Names having distinct (iuu) in combination. 0 ku₁mr^omu *Cumrew*. 0 ní₁utem *Newton Reigny*. 2 bí₁uul^l kas^l *Bewley Castle*. 55 sí₁u₁bor^ouz *Scowborcous*. 73 tí₁uzd'l —. 73 bí₁uul^l (— or (lu)] *Boulah House*.

xxxvii. Names ending in (b₁r^t). 45 t₁a₁lb₁r^t *Tailbert*. 55 sok₁b₁r^t *Sock-bridge*. 74 wil₁b₁r^t fel *Wildboar Fell*.

xxxviii. Names ending in (m₁r^o). 0 r^oa₁gm₁r^o mos *Wragmire Moss*. 0 sta₁nm₁r^o —. 0 s₁m₁r^o taarⁿ —. 0 du₁dm₁r^o *Dudmire*. 36 the₁lm₁r^o *Thirlmere*. 41 ka₁t'lm₁r^o taarⁿ *Cattle Mire*. 49 oom₁r^o —. 52 ré₁dm₁r^o —. 67 bla₁km₁r^o —. 67 w₁mm₁r^o *Windmoor End*.

xxxix. Names ending in (wath). 21 stog^lwath *Stockdalewath*. 74 w₁ndem^lwath *Winderwath*.

xl. Addenda and Miscellaneous Names not reducible to any of the above categories. 0 nh₁u₁lw₁a₁t₁r^o *Ullswater*. 0 dofⁿbi *Dovenby*. 0 dofⁿbi *Dolphinby*. 0 ensteb^l *Minstable*. 0 su₁dh₁r^ombi *Southernby*. 0 wes₁p₁r^olend *Westmorland*. 0 ku₁m₁r^olend *Cumberland*. 0 ma₁k₁chenbi *Maughanby*. 0 ba₁nest *Bannest Hill*. 0 b₁asked^lik *Bascoyke*. 0 ba₁r^oik *Barrock Park*. 0 kas^l ka₁r^oik *Castle Carrock*. 0 nh₁i₁ br^{ig} *High Bridge*. 0 st₁il jet *Steelgate*. 0 eek^t jet *Aiket Gate*. 0 k₁u₁m^oig. 0 ga₁r^osne₁p *Grass Knop*. 1 br^oa₁m₁r^oi —. 2 bre₁kn₁b₁r^o *Breckenbur*. 6 tho₁or^p —. 10 á₁at'nf₁i^ld —. 13 eek₁ba₁qk *Oakbank*. 14 war₁ik *Warwick*. 21 u₁k^llb₁r^o skaar^o *Oglebird Scar, Temple Sowerby*. 21 w₁li bú₁u₁r^o skaar^o *Wildboar Scar*. 21 wil₁ben^lik *Willyboucer Nook*. 21 mel₁r^obi *Melmerby*. 21 ga₁mez₁bi *Gamblesby*. 21 lal sa₁f^l *Little Salkeld*. 21 g₁r^ot sa₁f^l *Great Salkeld*. 21 la₁q₁mbi *Langwathby*. 21 ba₁ste bek —. 21 r^oo bek *Roe Beck*. 21 blen₁ka₁rⁿ *Blencairn*. 21 k₁r^oku₁z^ld *Kirkoswald*. 21 [and 74] kodbek *Coldbeck Caldbeck*. 21 bl₁iz^l *Blaze Fell*. 21 meng^oaa^lz^l *Mungriscdale*. 21 waan^l *Wan Fell*. 21 sk₁ip^{ig} —. 24 nh₁aasti₁dz *Hallsteads*. 27 gr₁aa^lz^lbek —. 36 [with 67+] bor^oed^l *Borrowdale*. 36 fon^onsyt —. 38 skels^o *Skelcies*. 40 aar^l nh₁i^l *Ardale Head*. 41 nh₁ar^ow₁r^oi bek *part of Swindale Beck*. 43 wh₁ipsti₁dz *Whitby Steads*. 47 sh₁l grⁱⁿ *Shield Green*. 51 leed^{he} —. 52 nhez^lln₁ust —. 54 nh₁aa^{ik}ep *High Cap*. 55 Aal₁bi *Albby*. 55 la₁q^{sh}iz *Milestone House*. 55 nheem^z *The Queen's Hains*. 55 bra₁m^oi —. 55 la₁nt^os *Landsfoot*. 55 nh₁i^oig *Highrigg*. 57 ber^ow₁r^o n^lz *Eycott Hill*. 57 beks^o *Bekcies*. 57 wal₁w₁ *Walaway*. 58 sk₁ilz *Skrels*. 58 skr^oa₁time skaar *Scratch Mill Scar*. 58 bró₁m₁r^oi —. 59 wal₁h₁us —. 61 ba₁ndel *Bannerdale*. 63 rig^oik *Rigdyke*. 67+ [with 36] bor^oed^l *Borrowdale*. 67 ba₁r^os — *Station*. 67 b₁r^o ke pas^or^o —. 72 a₁skr^oig —. 72 s₁u^lthet^l —. 72 ba₁ndel *Bannerdale Fell*. 73 ben^ot nh₁i^l *Bennethal*. 73 tlosh^{geet} —. 73 tho₁or^p —. 74 d₁il^{en} bú₁u₁r^o *Julian Bower*. 74 r^oys^{ndel} *Ravenstomedale*. 74 nh₁aa^{ik}eb^l *High Cap Gall*. 74 skaa^l fel *Scabl Fell, Dufton*. 74 nhel^oek *Hillbeck, Brough*. 74 m₁a₁r^olen *Morland*. 74 kr^oyn^l dá₁ik *Cringle Dyke*. 74 nhok^l pá₁ik *Knock*. 74 nheem^l kr^oft —. 74 eek^l bek *Medburn*. 74 los^ouz *Loscars*. 74 bró₁m₁r^oi *Bramery*. 76 dolfⁱⁿ stá₁i *Dolphin Sty*. 77 r^oob₁bi *Roborby*. 00 nh₁aa^s horse, hause, etc.

[Names of places are always more altered than other words. We have abundant examples of such alterations in received speech. Hence such changes cannot be relied upon for general dialect pronunciation. But the above list is the most complete of its kind that has been drawn up, and I feel much indebted to JGG. for this opportunity of presenting it to my readers.]

SEWARD'S DIALOGUE FOR BURTON-IN-LONSDALE, YO.,

otherwise called Black Burton, nearly on the border of La. (13 ne.Lancaster, 3 w.Ingieton). The stalactite Yordas Cave (as the name is usually written) is near Ingleborough Hill, 56 yards long, 13 wide, and 16 high, Thornton Force or waterfall is also close by. There is a rare book, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte possesses a copy, that he allowed me to inspect and partly copy, entitled: "A Tour to Yordes Cave, by William Seward, Burton-in-Lonsdale, accompanied by a Shepherd from Thornton Force, Price one Shilling to Subscribers, Kirkby Lonsdale, printed by A. Foster for the Author, 1801," Svo. in half-sheets. The Visit occupies pp. iv. 1-30. Then follows on half-sheet E. second leaf, "An attempt to illustrate the Dialect spoken in Burton-in-Lonsdale and its Vicinity in a familiar dialogue." When JGG. was in this neighbourhood on Geological Survey Duty, in 1876, he made the acquaintance of Mr. John Powley (:pú,ulí) of the post office, Burton-in-Lonsdale, a contemporary and fellow-townsmen of the author, William Seward, and from his dictation pal, a translation of this dialogue, which JGG. considers to be "one of the best specimens [of dialect] within his knowledge, and to present more than any other a nearly complete conspectus of the structure and phonology of the dialect of that part of Craven." I have therefore taken great pains to give JGG.'s writing with accuracy, and we have gone over the whole together vivá voce. The cwl. which follow will be a further guarantee of the faithfulness of this representation of the speech current in these primitive rural districts. For the convenience of comparison I give the original orthography and the phonetic translation interlinearly. The original is an excellent specimen of dialectal spelling as usually found. It would have been totally impossible for a stranger to guess at the sounds used. Hence I put the translation first, which ought to be legible enough to those who have read so far, and add the original verbatim and literatim, with all its strange punctuation, use of capitals, and misprints, in the next line. The speeches are numbered as separate paragraphs for ease of reference, and a few notes are added at the end. As to the custom of sweethearts visiting at night, it must be remembered that it is thoroughly established, and suggests no impropriety.

"A Dialogue between Harre and Malle. Enter Harre."

1. *Ma₁li*. náu, [háu i₁z]te tenéit?
1. *Malle*. Naw haw iz ta ta nete?

2. *Ha₁ri*. geelí, [háu)z 'táu tenéit?
2. *Harre*. Gaily, haws taw ta nete?

3. *M*. ái nha)net [háu)í)í)z. ái sa₁t u₁p se laq' íes,tá₁rnæ'ít et)
3. *M*. I knannat haw e iz. I sat up sa lang yesternete at

ái)ken [haardl'í [hod m'í éin op'n.
I can hardly hod my ene oppen.

4. *H*. wat dí)dt)te sí)t u₁p vbáut, m'í las?
4. *H*. what did ta sit up about, my lass?

5. *M*. ku₁m, sí)t)te dá)w, en)â)z tel)ðhe. m'í mu₁(d₁r)z)í)bed,
5. *M*. Cum, sit ta dawn an iz tell tha, mi mudder's e bed,

en)hez bí)n dh'ís [hòf áu₁r. w'í [hed)v káu et fard v
and hez been this hofe aur. We ad a Cow at fard a

koovín, en ái sa₁t be)mí₁sel' omest a' néit.
 covéin, an I sat be me sel ommast o nete.

6. *II.* dháudez 'wéil te)see 'omest. ái ku₁m bá*i* íáu₁r díu₁r
 6. *II.* Thau duz weel ta say ommast. I com by yaur dure

ebáut ía₁n v)klok, an ái sà v t*ɔ*ap v su₁m ma₁k sí₁ten unenst)te.
 about yan a Clock, an I sa a chap a sum mack sittan anenst ta.

7. *M.* oo, dhat wez nobet :tom, et kaad te líuk et)t' ka'f, en
 7. *M.* Ho, that waz nobet Tom at code ta linke at cofe, an

í₁t waz)nt kAAVd, en sí₁E í)kla₁pt)í₁m dáum v)t' stúl, en fel
 it wazzent cov'd, an sea he clap'd him dawn ath stule an fell

eslíp. en sí₁E eft1r v wháil í₁ wa₁k'nt, en bí₁ga₁n v)telen)me
 a sleep, an sea efter a while he wackened an began a tellin ma,

et)í₁'d) bín (driemén.
 at e ad been dreaman.

8. *II.* wat did)í₁ (driem ebáut, pre)dhe) náu?
 8. *II.* what did e dream about pray tha naw?

9. *M.* í₁ (driemd sí₁k v (driem ez mon)í₁ fook ní₁v1r 'hârd. í₁
 9. *M.* E dream'd sic a Dream az monny foke niver hard, e

tháut et áu₁r ka₁t wez báund te plee v)t' ba₁gpáips, en)et
 thaut at our Cat waz bawn ta play ath Bagpipes, an at

(háu)et)í₁t)ed gi₁t'n v par)v shúun, en ít stud s)trek u₁p en
 haw at it ad gitten a par a shoon. an it stud streck up and

sháut)í₁d: "ma₁k rúum f1r)t' ra₁t'nz!" en eft1r v wháil v
 shauted mack roum for Rattans, an efterawhile a

g1rt drov ku₁m, en she w1rí₁d)em 'AA, en 'et)em sha₁qk
 girt drove com an sha worry'd am O an it am shank

en)ra₁qk.
 an rank.

10. *II.* ái ní₁v1r sa sí₁k v (driem ez tat! b1t (hez)t' ka'ú kAAVd?
 10. *II.* I never sa sick a Dream az tat, bat hezt Caw cov'd?

11. *M.* nee, bet)t' ka₁t)s 'kí₁t'l'd.
 11. *M.* Nay bat Cit kittled.

12. *II.* (háu mon)í₁ kí₁tlí₁nz dí₁d she kí₁t'l?
 12. *II.* Haw many kitlins did sha kittle?

13. *M.* ba₁n, shí₁)d nobet tw1í₁E, en dhe1r ez láik)t' aal'd ka₁t
 13. *M.* Barn shead nobbat two an theare az like thauld cat

az twí₁a₁ brú₁d₁r_z, en dhé b'í₁a₁th sáuk.
 az two Brudders an they beath sauk.

14. *H.* í₁t)s wéil et)te)z sí₁ geelí₁ tunéit. á₁í)l sí₁t v bí₁t
 14. *H.* Its weel as tas sea gailey ta nete, Ile sit a bit

na₁r)dhé.
 nar tha.

15. *M.* í₁eí me sí₁t ez ní₁er ez í₁í₁ ·wí₁l, en je wí₁l bet |hod of
 15. *M.* Ye ma sit az near as ya will, an ya will but hod of

me.
 ma.

16. *H.* what? wí₁l)te ta₁k)v kí₁s?
 16. *H.* What will ta tack a kis?

17. *M.* á₁i lâik nóut v)t' ma₁k. rí₁a₁k)t' bàrz, en ma₁k v léit.
 17. *M.* I like nout ath mack reak bars, an mack a lete.

18. *H.* ·áaí)l ma₁k ne léit. wu)kén) tAAk v)t' dark, bet en)te)l
 18. *H.* Ile mack na lete we can toke ith dark, but an tle

gí₁)me)v kí₁s, á₁í)l gí₁)dhé)v rí₁bun et :bu₁rten feer.
 gimma a kis, ile githa a Ribbin at Burton Fair.

19. *M.* áaí)l gí₁)dhé ·ni₁n. bet)dhé)me) ta₁k í₁a₁n, en)te ·wí₁l.
 19. *M.* I le githa nin bat thau ma tack yan an ta will.

[Sabtes her.]

20. *H.* dháu nhaaz á₁i lâik dhe ez wéil ez)í₁ ·ka₁n díu. en)te
 20. *H.* Thau knaes I like tha az weel az e can du anta

hed'nt v fàrdi₁n, á₁i wad he)dhé v fú₁er oní₁ ut ·í₁v₁r)í₁
 hedent a fardin I wad hetha afoar onny at iver e

saa)í₁)mí₁ lâif.
 sa emy life.

21. *M.* fook sud lâik í₁a₁n)enu₁d₁r réit wéil wen)dhé)r gaan te
 21. *M.* Foke sud like yanaudder reight weel when thar gangan ta

wed, fer)v déil v fook fAA áut et Ef)t₁r.
 wed, for a dele a foke foes aut at eiter.

22. *H.* á₁i wu₁n)d₁r wat dhe fAA áut vbaút!
 22. *H.* I wonder what tha fo aut about!

23. *M.* á₁i wad'nt wí₁sh te nhaa. á₁i |hóop ·wí₁)z bí₁ thí₁k ez)
 23. *M.* I wadent wish ta kna I hoap wees be thiek az

laq)ez we báaid tegí₁d₁r. en dháu néid gí₁t nóut ugee'n
 lang as wa bide tagidder, an thau need git nout again

ḥáuskéipín. mī₁ mu₁(d₁r el gī₁)mē v déil v₁ odments, en
 hausekeepin mi Mudder al gimma a dele af odments, an

AA ma₁ks)v stu₁f i₁z so díier et wē)mēn s'á₁v AA)t' bras wē
 O macks a stuf's sooa dear at we man seave oth brass we

·ka₁n. ža₁n nhaaz nóut wat wē)z wa₁nt, en dháu sud bi₁gī₁n
 can. yan knaes nout what wez want, an thau sud begiu

su₁m (treed wi₁d)d' bi₁t)v mu₁ni₁ et)wē)·hev.
 sum trade wit bit a munny at wa hev.

24. II. ḥáu mī₁tj bras ḥēz)te s'á₁v d, :ma₁l ?

24. H. Haw mitch brass hez ta seav'd Mal ?

25. M. ái)v nobet v₁báut ža₁n)en)twenti₁ paund; ·háu mī₁tj ez ·táu ?

25. M. I ev nobbut about yan and twenty pound; haw mitch az tau ?

26. II. ái ḥēv'nt ez mī₁tj. ái nobet v₁báut ten er)lev'n, wē)i

26. H. I av not az mitch I nobbut about ten ar alevn, when e

peed)t' shú₁uma₁k₁r, bet dháu nhaaz i₁t)l bi₁)v gee déil
 paid Shoemaker, but thou knaes ittle be a gay dele

wē)i₁t)s AA pu₁t tegi₁d₁r.
 when its O put tagidber.

27. M. ·ma₁rī₁, net ·i₁t. wat (treed el)te bi₁gī₁n ? ái thi₁qk v

27. M. Marry nat it, what trade al ta begin ? I think a

·ba₁d·d₁r)z best.
 Badger's best.

28. II. ái wad'nt bi v ba₁d·d₁r, en)ta)wēd gi₁)mē)t' best st'á₁t

28. H. I wodent be a badger an ta wad gimmath best steate

i₁ :bu₁rten ! ái)d ree d₁r bi₁ v kol₁d₁r d₁r) v t₁i₁mle swēip₁r.
 e Burton, I ed raader be a Colyard er a Chimley sweeper.

žá₁n mē)si fook ku₁ršín)t' bad·d₁r)z i₁v₁erī₁ dee, en soov dhá'z
 Yan ma se foke cursant Badgers ivery day, an soa thaus

síu₁r et dhe kaant díu wéil ·laq'. ba₁d·d₁r)z wants tē ma₁k
 sure at tha can't du wele lang, Badgers wants ta mack

hu₁z bi₁léi)v et wi₁d)v feelen krop iv :iqlund, bet ái nhaa
 az believe at wead a faleau crop iv Ingland, but I kna

et)i₁t)s nóut et)AA bet s'ik d₁r)z ez)tem et kla₁mz AA)t'
 at its nout at O bat sick dirt az tem at elams oth

ku₁ntri₁ : stu₁f)ed bi₁ laa i₁n₁uf, en wi₁ hed'nt s'ik swaarmz
 countrey; stuff wad be law enuf an wa hedent sich swarms

on)em. but, 'kom, fotj)ez su₁met te d₁r₁qk, :ma₁l₁!
 on em, bat cum, fotch az summat ta drink Malle.

29. *M.* mi₁ mu₁(d₁r)z wak'n ái deer see, bu₁t ái)l' fotj' íe)v su₁p)v
 29. *M.* Me Mudders wacken I dar say, bat ile fotch ya a sup a

tj₁rn m'illhk.
 Chirn Milk.

30. *II.* ái)l' l₁hev n₁a₁ s₁ik blaishment! i₁t ma₁ks mi bel₁ waark.
 30. *II.* Ile hev nea sick blishment, it macks me belle wark.

31. *M.* mun)i ma₁k)íe v s₁ú₁ep v t₁éi?
 31. *M.* mun e mack ya a sup a Te?

32. *II.* w₁aar en w₁aar, i₁t)s nóut bet slaa pu₁z'm. let mi₁ hev
 32. *H.* war an war, its nout but slaw Puzum, let me hev

v g₁rt pu₁d₁n, et)s m₁ád i₁n)v p₁ú₁ek, en top ful v síú₁i₁t.
 a girt puddin ats mead in a Poak, and top full a suit.

33. *M.* i₁t)s gud enuf et)v n₁ún, bet en hu₁z wi₁min mu₁d'nt
 33. *M.* Its good anuf at a nune, but an huz wimmen muddent

l₁hev v s₁ú₁ep v t₁éi, wi₁ med bi₁ hu₁q₁rd.
 hev a sup a Te we mud be hungard.

34. *II.* wáai₁ bu₁t en)íi₁ wad'nt d₁r₁qk se m'íj on)t, íe tj₁ks
 34. *II.* Wia bat an ya wadent drink sa miteh ont yer cheeks

wed béi v déil ryd₁r, en)íe)wed léiv v déil l₁aq₁r. bu₁t
 wed be a dele redder an ya wad leve a dele langer, bat

ái)v g₁t'n su₁m ku₁ps en saas₁rz for)dhu, dheel diú ag₁n)t'
 l a gitten sum cups and sacers for tha theel du aganet

wed₁n. dháu nhaaz i₁t)s nobet ebáut v mu₁nth tu₁l náu.
 weddin, thau knaes its nobbat about a munth tull naw,

mu₁n wi₁ bi₁ Ekst et k₁rk, ₁r)wi₁)mun wed 'tu₁d₁r wee?
 mun we be ext ith Kirk ar we mun wed tudder way,

35. *M.* wi₁)l t₁ak ebáut 'dha₁t su₁m néit els, wat sez)ti₁ fa₁d₁r
 35. *M.* Weel toke about that sum nete else, what sez te Fadder

en mu₁d₁r ebáut i₁t?
 an Mudder about it?

36. *II.* mi₁ fa₁(d₁r)z rée₁rl₁ pl₁ézd, en sez et v)l 'gi)ms
 36. *H.* Me Fadder's rarely pleas'd, an sez at heel gimma

thr₁í káai, en áai)z g₁t 'AA eft₁r)í₁ 'déiz. en mi₁ mu₁d₁r
 three Ky, an iz git O efter he dees an me Mudder

sez: "líuk et jv b₁á₁th p₁ú₁u t)í₁a₁ wee, en kéip dhí₁sel'
sez luke at ya beath poo tea way, an keep thesel

fre)t' íel'us, en 'dhen íu)l' 'díú." wat sez)ti₁ mu₁d₁r?
fraith Eales, an then yeel du; what sez ty Mudder?

37. *M.* shu)w₁ez ní₁n s₁v wel pl₁é₁zd et á₁)z gaan te lí₁ev)á₁r.
37. *M.* Shoes nin sa weel pleas'd at iz gangan ta leave er,

dhá₁u sé₁z á₁)z AA)t' baarnz sh₁í₁ 'hez b₁á₁th ru₁f en smú₁ndh;
thau siz iz oth Barn sha hez beath ruí an smooth;

mu₁n she lé₁v wí₁)us?
mun sha leve with az?

38. *II.* á₁i)í₁ sí₁ú₁r, v₁z laq v₁z sh₁v)wí₁l. w₁)men gí₁t feev₁r wí₁)t'
38. *II.* Eigh sure as lang az sha will, we man gith favver ath

aal' fook, á₁r wí₁)z gí₁t 'nó₁t. en á₁)l tel)dhe 'wat á₁ w₁z
ald foke er wese git nout, an ile tell tha what I waz

thí₁qken te m₁)sel' et á₁ w₁d ta₁k)v lu₁mp v la₁nd s₁m
thinkan ta me sel at I wad tack a lump a land sum

we₁r ebá₁t :bu₁rtan, en gí₁t s₁m bí₁es, en sel í₁t AA í₁ ní₁u
whare about Burtan, an git sum Beas an sel it O E new

mí₁llhk, en)w₁)ken paart wí₁ w₁r bu₁tt₁r et on₁í₁ prá₁is.
milk, an we can part we wer Butter at onny price.

39. *M.* wat? men)wí₁ sel AA)t' ní₁u millhk, en t₁á₁r₁n tí₁ú? fook
39. *M.* what mun wa sell oth new Milk, an ehirn tu, foke

w₁d sí₁u₁ see et w₁ sel'd mí₁llhk en wat₁r. á₁)d sel')t'
wad suue say at wa sold milk an watter. I wad selth

bí₁es v₁ú₁r á₁ w₁d hev sí₁kv ní₁ám.
Beas afoar I wad hev sie a neam.

40. *II.* á₁ sud'nt lá₁ik fook te t₁ak bí₁hí₁nt mí₁ ba₁k, bu₁t v 'dél
40. *II.* I suddent like foke ta toke behind me back, bat a dele

v fook 'keerz)nv₁t, en)dhee dí₁)bet 'gí₁t bras, há₁u í₁t ku₁m.
a foke caresent an tha du bat git munne haw it come.

41. *M.* á₁ rek'n nó₁t v bé₁)n rí₁tj. í₁t nobet ma₁ks í₁an gré₁dí₁,
41. *M.* I reekon nout a bein rich it nobbat macks yan greede

en í₁an nhaaz nó₁t [há₁u laq í₁an [hez te stee wí₁)í₁t. fook
an yan knaes nout haw lang yan ez ta stay wete foke

dé₁z fast í₁ :bu₁rtan 'ná₁u.
dees fast e Burtan naw.

42. *H.* hod)tu₁ 'tu₁q' pre)dhv náu! dháu fleez mē wi tAAkin vbaút
 42. *H.* Hod te tung preathanaw, thau flays ma we tokin about

deí)in. wi sud hev v déil v baarnz vfúu₁er wi₁ thi₁qk v déi)in.
 dein we sud hev a dele a barns afoar we think a dein.

43. *M.* 'su₁d wē? 'dha₁t)s AA)t' felvz 'thi₁qks on, gi₁ti₁n v
 43. *M.* sud wa? that's O at Fellas thinks on gittin a

háusful v baarnz fe wi₁mi₁n fook te ta₁k keer on! en dháu)l'
 hauseful a Barns fort wimmen ta tack ceer on, an theyl

h₁ap'n ru₁n te)t' i'el)es, en baarnz rúu₁eren en skr'íemen
 happen run tath ealas ant barns roarin an screamon

fi₁t te bri₁st.
 fit ta brist.

44. *H.* du₁st)te bi₁léiv et ái)l díú sí₁á₁?
 44. *H.* Dusta believe at ile du sea?

45. *M.* nee áiv v gə₁rt vpi₁ni₁n et dháu)l' díú vz)te 'sud díú, en
 45. *M.* Nay I ev a girt apinyan at taul du az ta sud du, an

dhen baarnz)l' díú vz ní₁á₁ hu₁rt. ía₁n vd bettə₁r ee twí₁á₁
 than Barns al du az na hurt, yan ad better a two

baarnz en íaa d₁ru₁k'n fele i₁)t h₁áus.
 Barns an ya drucken Fella ith hause.

46. *H.* á'i)í, en ái)l tel dhe wat)s vz ba₁d tíú—v gəsepen
 46. *H.* Eigh an ile tel tha what's as bad az tem—a gossapan

wáif, et ga₁qz ti₁t'l' ta₁t'l' fre h₁áus te h₁áus wi₁ v láil baarn
 wife, at gangs tittle tattle fray hause te hause with a lile Barn,

en nhaaz AA)t' níúz i₁)t táwn, en líevz v h₁áus láik v
 an knaes oth news ith Tawn an leaves a hause like a

swáain kúu₁et.
 swinecoat.

47. *M.* wáai)ve dháu néid'nt fiú₁r et ái)l' bi ía₁n)v dhem. ái)l
 47. *M.* wia thau needent fear at ile be yan a them, ile

kéip mi₁sel' tíú mi₁sel', en dhen ní₁á₁bodi₁)l' fi₁nd faat
 keep me sel ta me sel, an then neabody al find fate

wi₁)mē.
 wimma.

48. *H.* ái húu₁ep dháu)l' bi v gud)en, bet ái men vwee te 'bed.
 48. *H.* I hooap thaul be a gud an, bat I man away ta bed.

49. *M.* wen)'I tɛ kʌm ʊgeen?

49. *M.* When at ta cum again?

50. *II.* tɛ)máʌ,ʊrn ɛt nɛit.

50. *H.* Ta morn at nete.

51. *M.* máaɪnd tɛ díû. gud nɛit tɛ)dhɛ!

51. *M.* Mind ta diu. gud nete to tha.

52. *II.* gud nɛit tɛ)dhɛ, dʒói!

52. *H.* Gud nete to tha, joy!

Notes to Seward's Dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale.

1. *Molly.* Final *y*, or *e* as Seward writes it, is here always (*i*₁) with the deeper variety of (*i*) used for the simple (*i*) in all cases. JGG. had sometimes written simple (*i*), but as he thinks it was an inadvertence, I have written (*i*₁) everywhere.—*now, how*, although Burton-in-Lonsdale is essentially the same variety of D 31 as Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, yet it lies s. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and the primitive (*u*) which there was (*ú, u*), has passed into (*áu*) here. This Seward represents by *aw*, and hence has no sign but *o* for (*áa*), see par. 7.—*how*, the aspirate is always very faint.—*art thou*, the (*dh*) of (*dháu*), when the word is unaccented as (*dhɛ*), becomes usually (*t*) after (*z*) as here, and (*d*) as in par. 4, and (*t*) par. 5. 'I is, thou is, he is,' are the regular constructions.—*to-night*, the regular form of long (*ii*) is (*éi*) beginning with short (*e*) and ending with medial (*i*), both with stress. JGG. had sometimes written (*éi, éii*), but he considers that this was mere hesitation, and that the vowel was always of medial length. The people themselves consider that they say pure (*ii*), hence the original spelling *nete*, but this is a sound they have much difficulty in pronouncing.

3. *know not*, with initial (*nh*).—*how I am, I* enclitic becomes (*i*), but *he* becomes (*i*₁) or (*v*).—*yesternight*, JGG. says that initial (*ʒ*) is usually replaced by a brief vowel, here written (*i*) throughout, the accent on the following vowel being then omitted, as (*i*) sufficiently indicates both glide and subsequent stress. The vowel (*e*) varied much as (*ɛ*) in JGG.'s writing, and he thinks there must have been a reason for it in Mr. P.'s pron. In some words, as (*hɛz, ɛt, tɔ r*), the use of (*ɛ*) is regular. Hence JGG.'s writing is

followed for (*e, e, ɛ*); the last syllable (*nɛit*) for (*nít*) is quite abnormal, why Mr. P. here used (*nɛit*) is unknown, it may have been an inadvertence.

5. *I shall*, 'I is' not only represents the present, but 'I shall or will' in the immediate future, here 'come sit thou down and I will tell thee directly.'—*mother*, the dental (*d, t*) before (*r*) are never represented by Seward.—*e* for *in*, Seward was apparently afraid of using *i* lest it should be taken as (*ái*).—*half, calving, all, and calf*, in par. 7, observe Seward's helpless use of *o* in these words, see par. 1, *now*.—*fared or went, began*.—*almost*, becomes (*omɛst*) by mere absorption of (*l*).

6. *come for came*, regular.—*of some make*, of some kind.—*anɛnst*, opposite to.

7. *so* (*sí, ɛ*), this form is used again immediately, but (*sí, a*) or (*sí, a*₁) is the regular form.

9. *boun*, the translation (*báund*) seems to be an error for (*báun*) boun or going.—*and that how that it had got a pair of shoes*, the first 'that' depends upon 'dreamed,' the second 'that' depends upon 'how,' and would not be used in rec. sp.—*rats*, 'ratten' or 'raton' is the regular word for 'rat' in the singular.—*an atɛ them*, possibly (*ɛt*) is an error for (*i, t*).

13. *two*, first (*twí, ɛ*) as (*sí, ɛ*), par. 7, and then (*twí, a*), which looks as if the first form had been an inadvertence.

14. *nearer*. (*nar*) is the comparative of (*núer*) in par. 15.

15. *hold off me*, keep from touching me.

21. *at after*, the Danish *efterat* thereafter.

23. *we shall*, immediate future.—*thick*, close friends, undivided.—*odds*, odds and ends, the French

termination *ment* has been quite incorporated in the dialect.—*all makes of stuff*, all kinds of food.—*we shall want* immediate future.

26. *I nobbat about*, I have only about, the have omitted idiomatically, so immediately 'when I paid' for when I have paid. JGG. says that this omission is general in the north of England.—*together*, clearly 'tagidber' was a misprint in the original for 'tagidder.'

27. *badger*, travelling cornfactor, see introduction to Orton es., D 31, No. 11. These men are constantly held in disrepute, and are actually charged with increasing the price of corn, see par. 28, where Harry represents a very general feeling.

28. *state*, estate or farm holding, a 'statesman' is a yeoman possessing the land he farms.—*a collier or a chimney sweeper*, as symbolising dirty trades.—*us*, here Mr. P. has used (*hu z*) the emphatic form, but as the original has *ta muck uz*, it is evident that Mr. Seward meant (*te mak uz*) unemphatic, as indeed the whole context shews it should be. The aspirate to *us* in emphatic form, as (*hɔz*) is found in D 33.—*stuff*, corn: in rec. sp. we talk of 'bread stuffs,' i.e. bread materials, and here 'bread' is simply omitted.—*clam* starve, and *fetch* 'fotɪ', these two words extend as far as Cautley-by-Sedberg (for Cautley, see introd. to es. No. 8, p. 559), and are not used further north, where *clam* becomes *hunger* as in par. 33. On the range of *clam* see THL's *Four Dialect Words*, published by the E. D. Society.

29. *my mother shall* (i.e. will) *wake*, probably meaning that she would have to go through her mother's room and waken her.—*charm milk*, buttermilk; observe the introduced (*lu*).

30. *blashment*, to blash is to splash or paint, hence applied as a substantive to rubbish or weak liquor, blashy and blashment are both used; observe the *-ment* as in *oddment*, par. 23.—*work*, simply ache, applied also to teeth.

31. *sup* was (*su p*) in par. 29.

32. *worse and worse*; *it's nought but slow poison*, to which JGG. thought that *isn't tea* (*iz'nt tɛi*) should be added.—*a poke*, a bag or tied-up cloth.

33. *a noon* or midday meal, dinner, *Mittagsessen*.—*might be*.

34. *I have got*, in the original 'I'

is misprinted 'I'—*they'll do for the wedding*, the 'they' is Mr. P.'s word, the original has *theel*, i.e. thee will, or thou wilt; the *against* must then mean 'until,' that is, you'll do as you are till the wedding; but the passage is obscure and possibly faulty.—*a month* from then *till now*.

36. *kine*, cows, of which *ky* (ags. *cy*) is the proper plural, *kine* being formed by adding the plural *n* to the pl. inflection.—*I shall get* certain future.—*Athouse* with (*i*) prefixed as frequently occurs.

37. *She was* is Mr. P.'s alteration, to make (*shu*), as usual, result from the attraction of (*w*); but Mr. S. wrote *shoes* (*shuɔz*), she is, using the *shoo*, which is frequent enough in m. and s. Craven, and s.Yo. This is then a pure *shoo* (*shuɔu*) as in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (see cwl.), uninfluenced by a following *w*.—*going*: here again Mr. P. has (*gaan*) and Mr. S. (*gaen*); both are used.—*all the bairns*, Mr. P.'s word for *all the bairn* which last is better.—*both rough and smooth*, probably bearded and non-bearded, that is, male or female.

38. *get favour with the*, this is Mr. P.'s version, the original spelling shews that Mr. S. meant (*gɪt t'fævər wɪt*) get the favour of the, with a different pron. of *favour*.—*some beasts*, that is, cows.

40. *brass*, the original has (*muɪni*) money.

43. *that's all the fellows think on*, but the original has 'that's all that fellows thinks on,' meaning all that men (not the men) think about.—*for women folk to take care of*, the original has 'for the women to take care of,' *the* being used before women, implying (*tɔrɪt*); *care* should be (*kɪ ər*) according to the spelling.—*thou'lt perhaps run to the ale-house*, here Mr. P. has made a serious change of (*dhee*) they will, into (*dhɪu l*) thou wilt, which is certainly a mistake, as the whole context and next two paragraphs shew.

45. *at thou'lt*, should be (*ət tɔu*)l as shewn by the original.

46. *as bad too*, the original has (*ɛz bad ɛz tɔu*) as bad as them = they are.

47. *myself to myself* is, in the original, *myself to* (*tɔ*) *myself*, with unaccented *to*.—*nobody will find fault*, JGG. thinks should be 'nobody will find no fault' (*nɪ faət*).

WEARDALE AND TEESDALE dt.

Of the 4 dt. which I have received for this region, all in io., it seems best to give only one, with such variants in the notes as seem of importance. They all point to a practically identical pron., but as regards the U' words there is the same trouble as for the St. John's Weardale cwl. The exact value of it cannot be determined, but it cannot be widely different from (a'u). The 4 dt. were:—

1. *Heathery Cleugh* (kl'it), nearly at the head of Weardale, the last houses passed on going from Weardale to Allendale, Nb. (9 w.Stanhope), written in 1879 by Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), Rector of Edmondbyers (16 nw.Durham).

2. *Stanhope* (13 w-by-s.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, bookseller, of Stanhope, but a native of Upper Weardale, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show*, and her *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*. This was accompanied with very full notes and explanations, and is therefore here adopted as the most trustworthy. It uses, however, pure (ii, uu) and not (i'i, u'u).

3. *Bishop Auckland* (9 ssw.Durham), written in 1879 at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long, by Mr. John Wild, master of the Union Workhouse at Bishop Auckland, described by the vicar as "a man of considerable knowledge of the dialects of the district, and one who has made language his study."

4. *Easington* (9 e.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the Rector, who had lived chiefly at Hart (4 w.Hartlepool), where the pron. seems to be the same.

These dt. cover the whole ground of Weardale in s.Du., the Wear itself passing into n.Du. just w. of Bishop Auckland and going to Durham and Sunderland, which belong to D 32.

For Lower Teesdale, Mrs. Alfred Hunt, novelist and wife of the artist, b. in the neighbourhood of Durham, who had, however, acquired her knowledge of the dialect in Lower Teesdale, in Jan. 1876 kindly dictated to me a es., and gave me a lw. for that district, but her recollections were not precise enough for me to print it at length. Her version adopted pure (ii, uu), and was very like the Middleton-in-Teesdale cwl. with, however, an occasional tendency to an (u'u) form.

STANHOPE dt.

1. wái a see, lads, jɛ sii nuu ed aa)z ríit ubuut jon lít'l las kum̃n fre jon skíel.

2. shí)z gañn duun)d' loñn dháer, thruu)d' riid jít on)t' left hand sáid v)d' rood.

3. sháer anáef, t' beern)z g'ien s'tráit up t'i)d' dúuer v)d' raq huus,

4. weer shí)l mebi fínd dhat d'ruk'n diif shruqk'n fele, v)d' n'iem v :tomí.

5. wí aal naa)m vare wiil.

6. wínet t'aad fele s'ien l'ern er nat te di)d egien, púuer thiq !

7. læk ! iz'nt it t'ráu ?

Notes.

The references to Nos. 1, 3, 4 are to the Heathery Cleugh, Bishop Auckland, and Easington versions respectively. see above.

1. *well*, the *so* would not be used in this place, the (wái) answers to our well; *so* would be (sii) or (si) as in (nat sí gad) not so good.—*I* is always (a, aa), No. 4 writes *oi*.—*lads*, mates is imported (given in No. 4, *marrows* in No. 1), fellow-workers in lead mines are (shuudher fellez) shoulder fellows,

but speak to one another as 'lads.'—*ye*, superiors and elderly people are generally so addressed.—*now*, especially said to rhyme to *too*, *do*, *loo*. The

following are all the words of this kind in the specimen, with their mode of treatment in Nos. 1, 3, 4.

	No. 1.	No. 3.	No. 4.
1. <i>now</i>	<i>noo</i> , rh. boot	<i>now</i>	<i>noo</i>
<i>about</i>	<i>aboot</i>	<i>about</i>	<i>about</i>
<i>down</i>	<i>doon</i>	<i>down</i>	<i>doon</i>
2. <i>through</i>	<i>throo</i>	<i>through</i>	<i>throw</i>
3. <i>sure</i>	<i>seer</i>	<i>sure</i>	<i>shower</i>
<i>door</i>	<i>door</i> , rh. boor	<i>doover</i>	<i>dower</i>
<i>house</i>	<i>hooss</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>hoose</i>
5. <i>poor</i>	<i>power</i> , poor	<i>power</i>	<i>power</i>

All written with *oo* in No. 2.

Mrs. Hunt also dictated to me (*puur*) = power, and (*póor*) = poor. It is evident therefore that the general s.Du. pron. cannot be pure (*uu*), and probably not pure (*úu*), but has some sound which suggests (*óu*), for which JGG. in despair wrote (*vúu*) in St. John's. See also D 32, the dt. from near Lancheater and notes.—*that*, there is a fondness for a (d) termination, (*əd*) for (*ət*).—*I* is, *I* are, *he* be, *we*'m, *you*'m, *we* you they is, do not occur; *am* is not used.—*right*, "r trilled as in Scotch," this (ii) is against the St. John's owl, said to rhyme *fleet*, *meet*, *beet*; probably the (ii) is not quite pure; written *reet* in Nos. 1, 2, 3, but left as *right* in No. 4.—*you* used for something at a distance.—*little*, probably *bit* would be added, or else used alone, as 'little bit lass' or 'bit lass'; No. 1 has *smaw*, *bit*, *wce*.—*coming*, the part. and vb. noun are not distinguished.—*the*, (*t*, *d*) are both used, see rule at end of these notes.—*school*, I believe (*skíul*, *skí'el*) was intended; Mr. E. writes *skewil*, is inclined to *skeäl*, but used 'plí'ace fí'ace mi'ad hi'am,' etc., in Betty Podkins, and says that 'moon bone again done gone tume' have all the same vowel, and adds that '*-licit* in *Juliet* is very near our *leait* late,' No. 1 *skewool*, No. 3 *skule skyul*, No. 4 *skule*.—*yonder* is used in the form (*oondhur*); but (*índer*, *dhondhur*) are both unknown.

2. *down*, rhymes to soon.—*through* rhymes to 'too.'—*red*, rh. *weed need creel*, Nos. 1, 2, 3 have *reed*, No. 4 *red*.—*gate*, both (*jit*, *jet*) used, (*op'n*)d' *jit*, *t' jet*s *op'n*) open the gate, the gate's open; No. 1 *yet*, No. 3 *gate*, No. 4, *gate*.—*left hand side*, No. 1 has

left neaf side, rh. leaf, meaning 'left fist side,' and says it is common, but not particularly so.—*road* and *lane* and also *way* are used with a difference, as in the examples (*hi*)z *díust gíun duun*d' *lonen*; *má'nd end kíip v'd' rood*, what *wce is*)te *ganen?* a *thiák a*'l *gan t'* *hii wce*, or *riit duun*)d' *rood*, he's just gone down the lane; mind and keep on the road; what way art thou going? I think I'll go the high way, or right down the road; No. 1 writes *wāā*, No. 4 *way*, Nos. 2 and 3 change the word.

3. *enough* (*emú*) is sometimes used; Nos. 1 and 4 have *neugh*, No. 2 *eneuf*, No. 3 *ceuyuff*.—*has*, here contracted to (*z*), he has it (*hi hes*)t; conjugation affirmative (*a hee*, *hev*, *wi ji dhe hee*, *dhuu hi hez*), negative (*a hev'nt henut hene*, *wi ji dhe henut*; *dhu hi hez'nt*).—*straight*, No. 1 *stríght*, No. 2 *stryte*, No. 3 *sthríte*, No. 4 *straight*.—*house*, aspirated.

4. *drunken*, No. 1 *drookn*, Nos. 2 and 4 *drucken*, No. 3 *dhrucken*.—*name*, No. 1 *nay-um*, No. 2 *neaim*, No. 3 *n'yam*, No. 4 *neeam*.

5. *all*, No. 1 *a*, *owe*, No. 2 *avll*, No. 3 *all*, No. 4 *arll*, the last explained as (*aal*).—*know*, No. 1 *ken*, No. 2 *knaw*, No. 3 *ken nau*, No. 4 *knouse*.

6. *won't*, No. 1 *won-et wun* as *won*, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 *winner*.—*old*, No. 1 *ol*, rh. toad, Nos. 2 and 3 *awd*, No. 4 *ard*, explained as (*aad*).—*to do it*, No. 1 *t' d' ad*, (*dce*)*ad*, No. 2 *te did*, No. 3 *te dí'd*, No. 4 *t'deet*; on the contraction (*dí*)*d* see note, p. 619, on the 'Differences, etc.'

7. *look*, No. 1 *lecook*, No. 2 *leuik*, No. 3 *leuk*, No. 4 *lukstho*.

Differences between Stanhope and St. John's.

Mr. Egglestone recognises only the following :

	<i>all know won't old, too, do</i>
<i>Stanhope.</i>	(aa'l naa wɪnət aad, ti, di).
<i>St. John's.</i>	(oo noo wɪnət ood tɪe dɪe).

In Mr. Moore's version of the Song of Solomon into St. John's Chapel dialect made for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says: "At East Gate [2 w. Stanhope] and Stanhope the words *didst thou do it* and *will thou do it* are pronounced *dɪd te dɪd* and *will te dɪd*, while at St. John's Chapel they are *dud tu dud* and *wull tu dud*." Mr. Egglestone says he has often heard (dud te du)d, or dhu (dud'nt du)d? at St. John's, but more for the sake of the sound or repetition of (dud) than general usage. *Do* at St. John's is (dɪe) sometimes (dɒv), *do it* is (di)'d or (dii)d, the *it* becoming (d), and the (i) being lengthened (dud te du)d is used, but the others are more common at St. John's. Also (tu)d is used for 'to it,' as (h'ɛr, :djak, gan ti)d hors! ái, a'l gan tu)d, here, Jack, go to the horse! aye, I'll go to it.

The definite article (d', t').

I. In commencing a sentence and after all breaks, (t') is used.

II. If the preceding verb end in a voiced consonant, (d') is used; if in a voiceless one (t'). But verbs ending in (d) require the art. (t').

III. Verbs ending in (l, m, n, r) may be followed by either (t' or d').

The pronoun *it* is governed by the same laws. Examples:—

(whii)l	rɛb)d'	hors.	a)l	rɛb)d.	[I will rub it].
" "	shuu)d'			shuu)d	[shoe it].
" "	gag d'	" "	" "	gag)d.	
(let)s	galɛp)t'	horse.	a)l	galɛp)t.	
" "	tak)t'	" "	" "	tak t.	
" "	ʒook)t'	" "	" "	ʒook)t.	
" "	trot t'	" "	" "	trot it.	
" "	fiid' t'	" "	" "	fiid it).	

Var. i, form a. NORTH CRAVEN cwl.

This should be compared with Dent and Howgill, Var. iii.

- B Burton-in-Lonsdale or Black Burton (13 ne.Lancaster), see introduction to separate specimen, p. 607. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Powley, there mentioned as having dict. the specimen. The slight differences between this cwl. and that spec. are probably all due to double uses, pronunciations, or appreciations.
- C Chapel-le-dale (19 ne.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Whernside Hills, through which runs Dalebeck, which flows into the Greta by Ingleton, and thence into the Lume, which passes by Lancaster. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Wm. Metcalfe, Esq., of Weathercote (1 me. of Chapel), who had been acquainted with the dialect all his life (different from the Mr. Metcalfe, of Dent).
- H Horton-in-Upper-Ribblesdale (21 ene.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Penyghent Hills. Pal. in 1877, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Jackson, of Studfold (:stʉ,dɪɛl'd) (a hamlet 2 s.Horton), b. about 1800, and acquainted with the dialect all his life.
- M Muker, etc., see p. 557, introduction to No. 2. This was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of E. Alderson and James Kearton, two of those from whom the es. was obtained, and the words are added here for comparison. The principal difference is the treatment of the U' words.

When no initial is prefixed, the pron. refers to all four places; when subsequently an initial is prefixed to a pron., it implies that this is a second pron. heard

in this place. Often only the points of difference are noted. Where only some initials are given, there is no information from the missing places.

Throughout (r) = (r^o).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b₁á k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 m₁á₁d. 7 s₁á₁k. 8 hev, M hee. 9 C b₁h₁á₁v, BHM -eev. 10 had. 12 BHM saa, C saa. 13 [M (nhaar'l) used]. 14 M d₁raa, d₁raa. 15 M aa. 17 BH laa, C laa. 18 k₁á₁k. 19 t₁á₁l. 20 l₁á m. 21 n₁á m. 22 t₁á₁m. 23 M s₁á₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 m₁á₁n. 27 BHM nh₁á₁v, C n-. 28 BH h₁á₁r, CH heev, M haar. 30 BH k₁á₁r, C keev. 31 l₁á t. 33 ree₁d₁r. 34 last. 35 [M (elsun) used]. 36 BC thaar, M thau. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(ka₁m) used]. 40 B k₁á₁um, C k₁á₁um, H koom [honeycomb, M (ha₁ni-k₁á₁m)]. 41 BM theqk, C e₁, H e, M a₁. 43 hà₁n'd. 44 l₁á₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l. 47 M wa₁n₁d₁r. B saq, BCHM a₁. 50 ta₁q'z, M teqz. 51 ma₁n. 53 BHM ka₁n. 54 want. 55 ás, M as. 56 wesh. 57 as, M as.

A: or O: 58 BM free, C e, H irem, M frev. 59 la₁m. 60 CM la₁q, BH a. 61 ma₁q'. 62 BH s₁t₁r₁aq', CH a₁. 63 C thraq', H a₁, M t₁ra₁q. 64 CM ra₁q, B r₁a₁q', M w₁ra₁q. 65 BH saq, CM a₁. 66 C waq, BHM wh.

A'- 67 M gaa, [& M (ga₁q) used]. 69 noo, M n₁á₁. 70 t₁á₁. 71 BCM w₁á₁, C woo. 72 C w₁á₁, B l₁wh, H whi₁v, M whá₁, whe. 73 BC s₁á₁, CH soo. 74 BM tw₁á₁, H t₁á₁, C óu. 75 s₁t₁r₁á₁k, M s₁t₁r₁oök. 76 t₁á₁d. 77 C M₁ord, H ó, B á₁v. 78 Maa [á₁t, and]. 79 aan, Maa'n'd. 80 ha l₁de, M -di. 81 l₁u en, M h₁oónin. 83 m₁á₁n. 84 BC m₁á₁r, H ee, M aa. 85 BC s₁á₁r, H ee, M aa. 86 BCM á₁ets [H (ka₁rn) used, M (ha₁v₁r₁o) used]. 87 kl₁á₁z. 88 kl₁á₁dh. 89 b₁á₁th. 90 blaa [pt. bliû]. 91 maa [pt. miû]. 92 nhaa. 93 snaa [pt. sniû]. 94 M kraa. 95 thraa, M t₁raa. 96 saa [pt. siû], M soo. 97 só₁d, M s₁á₁l. 98 nhaan. 99 thraan. 100 saa.

A: 101 ia₁k. 102 CH eks, BM as. 104 r₁á₁vd, M r₁oóvd. 105 r₁á₁d. 106 br₁á₁d. 107 l₁á₁f, C loof. 108 CH dó₁f, C d₁á₁f [B (p₁á₁st) used]. 109 laa, H ló₁. 110 M na₁t. 111 M ó₁t. 113 BCM h₁á₁l, H wh₁el. 115 h₁á₁m. 118 M b₁á₁n. 121 BCM g₁á₁n, H gon, M gaan. 122 CBM n₁á₁n n₁n. H n₁n [the two last as in 'none so bad']. 123 [M (ná₁t) used]. 124 st₁á₁n. 125 [(nob₁t) used]. 127 CH h₁á₁rs. 128 [d₁hem) used]. 129 C goost, H g₁á₁st [B (bog₁rt) used]. 130 H b₁á₁t. 131 M goot. 132 iét. 133 B ur₁á₁t, CM r₁á₁t, H r₁á₁t. 134 BCM i₁á₁th, H ooth. 135 kl₁á₁th.

Æ- 138 fá₁d₁r, M fá₁ddh₁r. 140 heel. 141 M neel. 142 CM sná₁l, BH ee. 143 M teel. 144 ugeen. 146 meen. 147 breen. 148 CHM i₁ev, B i₁e₁r. 149 B bl₁á₁z, H ee. 150 CH l₁á₁est, B i₁e. 152 wa₁t₁r. 153 se₁t₁r₁de.

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 r₁á₁v'n, B ee. 158 ef₁t₁r. 160 eg. 161 dee, M dee. 164 mee. 165 sed. 166 CH meed, M [l₁ás) used]. 167 d₁á₁l. 168 talv, M a₁. 169 BC wen, H when. 170 HM haarv₁st, C harest, B v. 171 CH baarli, B i₁. 172 CHM ga₁rs, B ga₁rs. 173 M waz. 174 C ee₁sh, BHM e. 175 fast. 179 BC wat, HM wh. 181 [M (t₁rod) used].

Æ- 182 BH s₁i. 183 C t₁á₁t₁r, B t₁á₁t₁r, H t₁á₁t₁r [hardly distinguishable]. 184 BC líed, H ee, M líed. 185 réid red. 186 bredth. 187 líev. 188 H neá₁ [C (wá₁n), B (whá₁n) used], M neá₁. 189 M wéá₁. 190 CM kee₁i, B ke₁ü, H ke₁i. 191 BH h₁á₁l. 192 B m₁é₁n, CH míien, M méin. 193 CH kl₁é₁n, B kl₁é₁n, M kl₁á₁n. 194 CH on₁, B on₁, M a₁ni ani. 195 B mon₁, CH mon₁, M ma₁ni mani. 196 BC war, H woor. 197 t₁é₁z. 199 bleet, B bl₁é₁t. 200 C wá₁t, H whá₁t, R i₁e, M wheit. 202 C héit.

Æ': 203 BHM speit₁. 204 déid. 205 threíd. 207 n₁á₁d'l. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 B wee, CH wh, M whee. 218 CM ee₁d₁r, B eedh₁r. 216 BH d₁á₁l, C d₁á₁l. 218 shá₁p. 219 slá₁p. 221 CH fúer. 222 B h₁é₁ar, H heev, C h₁á₁r, M haar. 223 H dh₁á₁r, C i₁e₁, B i₁e, M dhaar. 224 BCH waar, M wh-. 225 M flesh. 226 m₁á₁st. 227 wet. 228 CH swá₁t, B i₁e. 229 BHM breth, C bryth. 230 fat, M fa₁t.

E- 232 CM brú₁e'k, B i₁e', H éi. 233 CHM spú₁e'k, B i₁e', M spéik. 234 CHM ní₁e'd, B i₁e'. 235 CH wú₁e'v, B i₁e. 236 C f₁ev₁r, HM f₁i-. 237 M

tjál'bleen. 238 hɛdɪ. 241 reen. 242 H whiien, M twíj₁á₁. 243 [(leek) used]. 246 kwéin [queen], M whiien [quean]. 248 B meer, CHM múj₁r. 249 wíj₁r. 250 swíj₁r. 251 CHM múi'e't, B í'e. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 lɛ₁d₁r, M leddhə r. 255 wɛ₁d₁r.

E: 257 ɛdɪ [pl. ɛddjiz]. 259 wɛdɪ [pl. wɛddjiz]. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 BCH stɹɛ'it, M stɹé'it. 270 CHM bɛlis, B -us, CHM bɛli, B -i₁. 272 HM ɛlɛm [CB (hoom) used]. 273 men. 274 BHM biqk, CH ɛ. 276 CHM thiqk, B i₁. 278 M wentɪ. 280 ɛli'ev'n. 281 lɛqth, M lenth. 282 stɹɛqth, M stɹrenth. 283 CHM mɹi, B i₁. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 haɪrɛ. 287 bɛiz'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 íi i'v. 290 hɛi hi i'v. 291 dhɛi dhi dɛv. 292 méi mɛ'v. 293 wéi wi, B wu. 294 íid. 296 bílɛiv. 298 fɛil. 299 grɛin. 300 kéip. 301 híj₁r. 302 méit. 303 swéit.

E': 305 BH hɛi, C hɛ'i. 306 hɛit. 307 M náai. 308 néid. 309 spéid. 310 hɛil. 311 tɛn. 312 hɛj₁r. 314 BH hɛard, C hɛard, M hɛurd. 315 fɛit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gí'á.p. 320 M kaar. EA: 321 saa. 322 lɔf. 323 fout. 324 ɛ'it, M ɛ'it. 325 waak. 326 CB aal'd, C óul'd, H óud, M aad. 327 CH bóul'd. 328 CB kaal'd, H kóud, M kaad. 329 C íóul'd, H fóud. 330 hod. 331 [(sɛl't) used]. 332 [tɛl't) used]. 333 kaa'f. 334 haa'f. 335 CB AA, HM AAL. 336 CB íAA, HM íAAL. 337 wAA, M wAAL. 340 jərd, M jərd. 342 aar'm, M aarm. 343 waar'm, M waarm. 345 BC daar, H deer, M daar. 346 B íet, C íyt, H íet, M ía₁t [“distinctly different from (ja₁t), (gí'á.t), a road”].

EA'- 347 CHM hí'e'd, B íe [here in 350-6, 360, 361, etc., the (ɛ) is not certain in M, but becomes indistinct]. 348 éi [pl. (áin) C]. 349 H íú, BC íe'ù.

EA': 350 CHM díe'd, B díe'd. 351 CHM híe'd, B híe'd. 352 CH red, B rɪd. 353 CHM bríe'd, B bríe'd. 354 CHM shíe't, B íe. 355 CHM díe't, B íe'. 356 CH líe't, B íe'. 357 [(fɛr AA) for all, used]. 359 C nebə r, BH ɛ'i, M nee'ibə r. 360 CHM tíem, B íe. 361 CHM bíen, B íe. 363 CHM tjúep, B íe. 365 níu r. 366 gərt, M gríet. 367 CHM thrúie't, B íe. 368 CM díe'th, B íe', H deth. 369 CBM slaa, H slAA. 370 CB raa, H rAA. 371 stɹí'á.

EI- 372 BM ái'j, C ɛ'i, H ɛ'i₁. 373 dhɛe. 374 nee. 375 M reez. 376 beet. EI: 377 stí'á.k. 378 week. 382 CHM dhɛer, B dhɛə r.

EO- 383 C sɛb'n, BH v, M síev'n. 384 hev'n, M híev'n. 385 H bínieth. 386 íou. 387 BC níu, H ní'ú.

EO: 388 CHM míllhk, B i₁. 389 íook. 390 sud, H shud. 393 BHM bíjont, C bíjon'd. 396 waark. 397 BC sú₁rɪd, HM swərd. 398 staarv, M ái'z náai hu₁qərd tɛ díeth ɛn fɛer staarvd wí't' kaad [I am nearly hungered to death and fairly starved with the cold]. 399 bréit. 400 M íverníst. 402 CH bərn, B aa, M líern. 403 fəar. 404 stəar. 405 C haasten, BH ɛsten, M astin [=hearthstone, hearth not being used separately]. 406 M íverth. 407 faardín.

EO'- 409 BH bɛi bi, C bi. 411 BCH thréi, M tɹéi. 412 shéi shi shu, HM shu shú'u. 413 C div'l, B dev'l, HM dɪv'l. 414 BCM flá. 415 léi. 416 dúj₁r. 417 C tɹig, BH tɹɛ'nu, M tɹóu. 418 bríu. 420 BHM fóu₁r, C fAAə. 421 CM farti, B fortí₁, H forti.

EO': 423 théi. 424 ru₁t. 425 léit. 426 BHM fɛ'it, B fə'it, C fɛit. 427 M bɛi bi. 428 sɛi. 430 frynd. 431 búj₁r. 432 HM fóurt, B íouvt, C fooərt. 433 bry₁st, M brɛist. 434 B bet. 435 íú'u, M jóú ju ju. 436 tɹíu. 437 tɹíuth.

EY- 438 CM déi, BH dɛi. EY: 439 B tɹu₁st. CHM tɹy₁st.

I- 440 HM wéik, BC íi. 441 CHM sív, B i₁ [M has (síev) a rush, (sí'áiv) to save]. 442 CH áivín, B -i₁n, M háivín. 443 M fráidi. 444 HM stéil, BC íi. 446 BCH náin, M nɛin. 448 M dhu₁r. 449 CHM gít [gat gít'n], B i₁. 450 BCH tíuzde. 451 CH sɛ'u, B sə'u, M síu.

I: 452 C aaí, BHM ái [fenelitie, B (i)]. 454 CHM wítɪ, B i₁. 455 CH líg, B i₁. 457 CHM máit, B méit. 458 BM néit, C ní'it, H náit. 459 CB rə'it, H ráit, M réit. 460 M wéit. 462 BHM sɛit, C sí'it. 464 HM whítɪ, C w, B wí₁. 465 CH síɹ, C sík, B sí₁k, M sáik. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467

wáaid. 468 [(baarmz) used]. 471 CHM tíməɾ, B í. 473 C blin'd, BH í. 475 CHM wán'd, B í. 476 CHM bind [ban'd bɔ́n], B í. 477 CHM fín'd [fan'd fɔ́n], B í. 478 CH grɔ́nd [gran'd grɔ́n], B í, M grɔ́nd. 479 B wíɔ́n'd [wan'd wɔ́n], CHM í. 481 CH fíqəɾ, B í. 485 CHM thís'l, B í. 486 C ïest, M ïest, H ïest [B (baarm) used]. 487 C ïes'təɾde, B ïes't-, H ïes't-, M jís-.. 488 CH íyɔ́t, B ít, M jít.

I'- 490 C bí, báai, H bí, B bí. 493 C dráiv [dríáiv d'rov'n]. 494 táim. 496 áir'n. 498 C ráait, H ráit, BM eráit [eríáit erí't'n].

I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 nháif. 505 wáif. 506 wɔ́men. 507 CH wímín, B í, M wómín. 508 máil. 509 wáil, B wel. 511 wáin. 513 wáɔ́r. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem. 517 BC ínu, H žnu.

O- 520 BHM bóu, C búu. 521 BCH húl, M fu-. 522 op'n. 523 H hoop, C úv, B óv, M wháɾp. 524 BHM wor'l'd, C wəɾr'l'd.

O: 526 kof. 527 BCH bóut, M áu. 528 BCH thóut, M áu. 529 BCH bróut, M áu. 530 M eráut w'ráut. 531 BCH dóu'təɾ, M dáu-. 532 BCH kául, M kw-. 533 dɔ́l'. 534 BCH hául, M wh-. 536 BCH góud, M góuld. 537 móud. 538 BHM wad, C wud. 539 bóul. 540 CHM holín, B í. 542 bóut, M bolt. 545 hop. 547 búərd. 549 húərd. 550 BHM wáird, C wəɾrd. 551 C stor'm, BH staarm, M storm. 552 C kor'n, B kaarm, M kwəərm. 553 C hor'n, B haarm, M horn. 554 CHM kros.

O'- 555 BCH sháun, M shú. 556 te [at is not used for to in Var. i, only in Var. iii.]. 557 BCH túu, M tū. 558 B kúk, C lok, H lúuk, M lúuk. 559 mɔ́dɔ́r. 561 BH bláum, M bliam. 562 CH máun, B míun, M míun. 563 BCH mɔ́nde, M -di. 564 B síun, M síen, CH sáun. 565 BCH náiez, M nw-. 566 uɔ́dɔ́r.

O': 569 H búuk, C buk, B búuk, M bók. 570 H túuk, C tuk, B túuk, M tóuk. 571 gɔ́d. 572 BCH bláid, M bliud. 573 BCH flúid, M flíud. 574 BCH brúid, M briúid. 575 BCH stuíd, M stiúid. 576 BCH wed'nzde, M -di. 577 BCH búu, M biú. 578 BCH pláun, M plíu. 579 BH enúf, C inúu, M eníuf. 580 BCH túf, M tóuf. 581 M sáut. 582 CH kául, B kúl, M kíud. 583 CH túul, B tiúl, M tíul. 584 CH stául, M stiul. 585 B bráum, M bríum. 586 C diú, H dáu, M diu. 587 dɔ́n, B diún, M diun. 588 CH náun, B niún, M níun. 589 spáun, B spiún, M spíun. 590 CH flúərd, B íu, M fly'ur. 591 máuərd. 592 [BCH swíáɾ, M swaar sware, used]. 594 M bíut [also (te bíut) to boot]. 595 CH fáut, B fiút, M fiut. 596 M ríut. 597 CH sáut, B siút, M siut.

U- 599 BCH ebúv, M ebáin ebíun. 600 luv. 601 BH fórd, M fúul. 602 BCH sáun, M síu. 603 kuim. 605 suun. 606 CH dúərd, B íu, M y'u. íu. 607 bu'tərd.

U: 608 CH uɔ́glí, B í. 609 fíl'. 610 wául. 611 bɔ́lek. 612 suim. 613 druqk. 614 M hu'n'd. 615 M pu'n'd. 616 grɔ́nd. 617 M sáun'd. 618 BCH wáund, M wáun'd. 620 grɔ́n. 622 uɔ́ndərd. 625 tuq'. 626 huqərd. 629 suin. 631 thəɾzde, M thərdi. 632 uɾp. 633 kuip. 634 BCH thrúu, M trúu. 635 M wɔ́rth. 637 tuisk. 639 dɔ́st.

U'- 640 BCH káu, M káú. 641 BCH háu, M háú. 642 BCH dháu, M dháú. 643 BCH náu, M náú. 644 sáuk. 645 dɔ́v. 646 BCH báu, M báú. 647 CB ául, H huɾlert, M híulert. 648 BCH áur, M áúərd. 649 BCH tháuzend, M tháúz'nd. 652 kɔ́d. 653 bu't.

U': 654 BCH shuráud, M -áúud [the only word in which shr- = (sher-)]. 655 BCH fáud, M fáú. 656 ráun. 657 BCH bráun, M bráún. 658 BCH dáun, M dáún. 659 M táún. 661 BCH sháərd, M sháúərd. 662 'huɾz [emphatic]. 663 BCH háus, M háús. 664 BCH láus, M láús. 665 BCH máus, M máús. 666 huɾzend. 667 BCH áut, M áut. 668 BCH práud, M práú. 671 BCH máuth, M máú. 672 BCH sáuth, M sáúth.

Y- 673 HM mítɾ, BC í, M mík'l. 674 M did. 676 lí. 677 d'ráai. 678 CHM dín, B í. 679 BCM kəɾk, H tɔ́rtɾ, M tɔ́rtɾ. 680 CH bízi, B bízi, M bízi. 682 lál.

Y: 683 CH míddɾ, B í, M míddɾ. 684 CHM brig, B í. 685 M rig. 686 báai. 689 CH bíld, B í [M pp. (bíllht)]. 690 káaind. 691 máaind. 693 CHM sín, B í. 694 wəɾk. 696 bəɾth. 697 byri, M beri. 699 réit, M

eréit u'r-. 700 waars, B waar. 701 fə₁rst. 703 CHM pət, B i₁. 704 H viks'n.

Y'- 705 skáai. 707 thə₁rtéin. 708 háai₁r. Y': 709 fáai₁r. 711 láais. 712 máais.

II. ENGLISH.

[No words were given in this division from Chapel-le-dale except 737, 744, 746, 761, 767, 769, 778, 808.]

A. 713 ba₁d. 714 la₁d [compare M (lasi) not (la₁si)]. 715 M pa₁d. 716 M a₁d'f [to earn]. 717 BCH djæd, M jood [an old horse]. 718 M t₁reed. 722 BM d₁reen. 723 B dée₁ri, H deer₁, M deer₁. 724 baald. 725 s₁á₁l. 728 sha₁m. 729 fræm. 730 HM ka₁n₁t₁r. 733 [M (flee) v., (fleet) sb. used]. 734 daarn. 735 ma₁sh. 737 meet. 740 M weev. 742 BCH leezi₁, M -i.

E. 743 HM skrúem, B í₁E. 744 mez'l'z. 745 M t₁úet. 746 B bréidh, CH brúidh.

I. and Y. 753 [(HM kít'l, B i₁) used]. 754 M pig. 757 M téini. 759 H fít, B i₁.

O. 751 lí₁á₁d. 767 nóiz. 769 CHM móudiwarp, B i₁. 771 fon'd. 772 bí₁á₁n₁táai₁r. 774 BCH pó₁m₁i, M -i. 777 shop. 778 BCH ufá₁i₁r₁d, M efw-. 783 B páu₁t₁ri, H pa₁t₁ri. 785 B láund₁. 789 róu [but (v lóu₁ en róu néit) a calm, quiet, still night]. 790 H gáan, B góam, M gá₁un.

U. 793 hu₁g. 794 d₁u₁g. 799 H sku₁l. 801 ru₁m. 803 d₁u₁mp. 805 kru₁dz. 808 pa₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

[No words marked in this division for Chapel-le-dale.]

A.. 809 BM í₁a₁b'l, H eeb'l. 810 fí₁á₁s. 811 plí₁á₁s. 812 lí₁á₁s. 813 M beek'n. 814 mí₁á₁s'n. 815 M fa₁ks. 816 M feed. 817 B ra₁dí₁sh, H i. 818 ced₁. 819 red₁. 821 B dí₁lee₁, HM i. 822 mee. 824 t₁eer. 825 HM weef. 826 M áig'l. 827 íeg₁r. 828 H eeg. 829 M géen. 830 HM t₁reen. 833 B pée₁r, M pear. 835 M rúez'n. 836 M síez'n. 838 M tréit. 840 M t₁a₁m₁r. 841 BCH t₁ans, M a. 842 pla₁qk. 843 BCH brant₁ [M (bíu) bough used]. 844 t₁rensh. 845 M eenshent. 847 deend₁r. 848 t₁end₁. 849 st₁rend₁r. 850 BCH d₁ans, M a. 851 BCH ant, M ánt. 852 ap₁ren, M í₁a₁p'r'n. 853 HM baargín, B i₁. 854 ba₁rel. 855 ka₁ret. 856. pá₁rt. 857 kí₁á₁s. 858 M bree. 859 t₁a₁s. 860 pí₁á₁st. 861 tí₁á₁st. 862 sí₁á₁f. 864 B bikaz, M bikas. 865 faat. 866 pá₁u₁r.

E.. 867 t₁i. 869 HM víiel. 871 H egréi, BM gréi. 874 HM rúen, B íe. 875 BCH feent, M feent [as a vb. pres. (fant) gen. in the N]. 877 H eer. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 883 dandí₁láien. 886 M frú₁r. 887 H kl₁w₁r₁d₁i. 888 sart'n. 890 búest, B íe [M pl. (b'ís)]. 891 fúest, B íe. 892 M nevi. 893 B fláu₁r, H óu. 894 H dí₁séiv, B i₁, M dí₁séiv. 895 H ríséiv, B i₁, M ríséiv.

I.. and Y.. 897 H dláit. 898 HM náais. 899 HM n₁ís. 900 pree. 901 fáain. 902 BM máain, H ái. 903 B dáain, H ái. 904 B váaiet. 908 M edváas. 909 HM bráz. 910 B d₁áaist, H ái, M d₁áis. 911 H síust₁rn. 912 BM ráis.

O.. 913 BCH ká₁ut₁, M kw-. 914 B brá₁ut₁, M brw-, H oo. 915 st₁af. 916 HM a₁nien, B i₁. 917 roog. 918 H fí₁b'l. 919 óintment. 920 M póint. 921 M ekwent. 922 BCH bu₁shel, M bish'l. 924 t₁óis. 925 váis. 926 spóil. 927 t₁ru₁qk. 928 BCH áans, M á₁ms. 930 lóin. 931 B d₁u₁gl₁r. 933 fru₁nt. 935 kan₁t₁ri. 936 H font. 937 M kok. 938 BM korn₁r, H kaarn₁r. 939 BCH kl₁ús, M kw-. 940 BCH ká₁ut, M kw-. 941 BCH fúul, M fúul'. 942 bu₁tt₁r. 943 tu₁t₁. 944 B eláu, H elóu. 945 B váu, H vóu. 947 bóil. 948 [(baa, baal) used], M búul. 950 su₁p₁r. 951 ku₁p'l. 952 B ká₁rs, H áu₁, M kw-. 953 BM ku₁zín, H -en. 954 B whíshen, ku₁shen, HW whíshén. 955 BCH dáut, M dáut. 956 ku₁v₁r.

U.. 961 BCH gríu₁el, M -el [final (e) distinct, and so (kríu₁el) cruel, but (kríu₁l) crewel]. 963 BCH kwáai₁ut, M wh-. 964 H síu₁t, B -ut. 965 ól. 966 frúit. 967 síut. 968 óist₁r. 969 síu₁r. 970 d₁u₁st. 971 flúit.

(5) Var. i, form *b.* N.W. HORN OF Yo. cwl.

Written in io. by the Rev. W. R. Bell, Vicar of Laithkirk (20 nw. Richmond, Yo.), who gave himself much trouble to explain his symbolisation, but, as already remarked, p. 547, I was unable to interpret it satisfactorily. Fortunately JGG. had been able to see him personally, and had written the pron. of most of the words in the Wessex section of my cwl. from his dictation, assisted by an old parishioner. On comparing this with Mr. Bell's descriptions, JGG. and I felt that they agreed. Under these circumstances, considering the peculiarities of the style of speech, I give JGG.'s appreciation of the pron. The (r), as usual, must be considered as (r').

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bia₁k. 4 tia₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 mīa₁d. 7 sia₁k. 8 hev. 9 biHEE'v. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 draa. 15 aa. 16 daan. 17 laa. 19 tia₁l. 20 lia₁m. 21 nīa₁m. 22 tia₁m. 23 sia₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 mia₁n. 27 nīa₁v. 28 heer. 31 lia₁t. 32 beedh. 33 raa₁de₁r. 34 la₁st. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(ka) for *come* used]. 40 ké₁em. 41 tha₁qk. 43 ha₁n'd. 44 la₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'f. 47 wa₁de₁r. 48 sa₁q. 50 teeqz. 51 ma₁n. 54 want. 56 wesh. 57 a₁s. A: or O: 58 iree. 59 la₁m. 60 la₁q. 61 ema₁q. 62 s₁tra₁q. 63 thra₁q. 64 ra₁q. 65 sa₁q. 66 thoq [(whia q) commoner].

A'- 67 ga₁n. 69 nīa₁. 70 tīa₁. 71 waa. 72 whīa₁. 73 sia₁. 74 twīa₁. 75 strook. 76 tīa₁d. 77 lərd [see 85]. 78 aa. 79 aan. 80 ba₁li₁de. 81 ii. lonen. 83 mīa₁n moon. 84 mə₁r [see 85]. 85 sə₁r [described by JGG as *ö* in *könig*]. 86 īa₁ts oots. 87 klīa₁s. 88 klīid. 89 bīa₁th. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sā₁d. 99 thraan. 100 saan.

A': 101 īa₁k. 102 a₁ks. 104 rood. 105 rīa₁d. 106 brīa₁d. 107 līa₁f. 110 i. ná₁at, ii. no₁t. 111 á₁at. 113 jhīa₁l. 115 jhīa₁m. 118 bīa₁n. 121 gīa₁n. 122 nīa₁n. 124 stīa₁n. 125 [(nobet) used]. 127 hō₁rs [? see 85]. 129 goost. 131 goot. 132 het. 133 rīa₁t. 134 ooth. 135 klīa₁th.

Æ- 138 ra₁dher. 139 dree. 140 heel. 141 neel. 142 snā₁d'. 143 teel. 144 egīa₁n. 145 sleen. 146 meed. 147 breen. 148 feer. 150 lī₁st. 152 wa₁te₁r. 153 se₁te₁rde.

Æ: 155 thī₁k. 157 ra₁v'n. 158 e₁te₁r. 160 e₁g. 161 dee. 163 [(we₁z ligun) was lying, used]. 164 mee. 165 sed. 167 dia₁l. 168 ta₁g. 169 when. 170 haari₁st. 171 beerle. 172 gə₁ors. 173 wa₁s. 174 esh. 175 fa₁st. 179 wha₁t. 180 haa₁th. 181 peeth [(trod common)].

Æ'- 182 sēi. 184 kīid. 185 rī₁d. 186 brīid. 187 līiv. 189 wēe₁i. 190 kee₁i ká₁i káa₁i. 191 hēiil. 192 mēiin. 193 klēiin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 waaron. 197 tēiiz. 200 whēiit. 201 hēiidh'n. 202 hēiit.

Æ: 203 spēiit₁. 204 dāid. 205 thrī₁d. 206 red. 207 nēiid'l. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 wee. 215 taat tá₁at. 216 dēiil. 218 shēiip. 219 sklēiip. 221 fēiier. 222 heer. 223 dheer. 224 waar. 225 flesh. 226 mīa₁st. 227 wet. 228 swēiit. 229 breiith. 230 ta₁t.

È- 232 brēiik brik. 233 spēiik. 235 wēiiv. 236 fēiiv₁r. 238 he₁ddi. 239 seel. 241 feen. 243 pleē [(leek) also used]. 246 i. kwēiin. 247 [(spīa₁n) used]. 248 mēiier. 249 wēiier. 250 swēiier. 251 mēiit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

È: 257 ed'di. 259 wedd₁. 260 lāa₁. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 267 sēi'd. 268 eldist. 270 i. belus, ii. beli. 272 e₁'m. 273 men. 274 bə₁sh. 276 thi₁qk. 280 dēiiv'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 me₁ri. 284 thresh. 286 ha₁re. 287 bazum. 288 let. È'- 289 jāi i' jr. 290 hēiil hō₁ v. 292 mēiil mī mu. 293 wēiil wī wē. 294 tūid. 295 brēiid. 296 bō₁liiv. 298 tēiil. 299 grēiin. 300 kēiip. 302 mēiit. 303 swēiit. È': 305 hēiil. 306 hēiit. 307 nāa₁. 308 nēid. 309 spēiid. 310 hēiil. 311 ten. 312 hēiier. 314 haard. 315 fēiit.

EA- 319 gráip. 320 kaar. EA: 321 saa. 022 laf. 323 fáirt. 324 éeít. 325 waak. 326 aad. 327 báid'd. 328 kaad. 329 faad. 330 haad. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [(telt) used]. 333 kaaí. 334 haaf. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. waa. 340 i. JEERd. 342 EERM. 343 WEERM. 345 daar. 346 jaft. EA'- 347 héiid. 348 éii [pl. (éiin)]. 349 fíeu. EA': 350 dōiid. 351 léiid. 352 réiid. 353 bréiid. 354 shaaf. 355 déif dāif. 356 léiif. 357 dhoo. 359 náiber. 360 téim. 361 béin. 363 tūip. 365 náier. 366 gríit. 367 thréit. 368 déith, dēith. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 straa.

EI- 372 éeít. 373 dhEE. 374 NEE. 376 BEET. EI: 377 stíák. 378 we'ík. 382 dhEER. EO- 383 séiv'n. 364 héiv'n. 385 un₁nd_r. 386 jə'u. 387 níú. EO: 388 mīk. 390 sūd. 393 wōnt. 396 waark. 397 sōord. 398 staarv. 399 bréit. 400 jōornist. 402 laarn. 403 faa r. 404 staa_r. 405 haa_rth. 406 jōorth. 407 faa_rd'n. 408 níú. EO'- 409 bái. 411 thréi. 412 shéi shé. 413 déiv'l. 414 fléi. 415 léi. 416 déier. 417 tū'ū. 418 br.ū. 420 fōar. EO': 423 théi. 424 ruif. 425 léit. 426 fō'it. 427 béi. 428 séi. 430 frin'd. 431 béier. 432 fōuirt. 433 bréist. 434 bet béit. 435 jū₁ ju. 436 triuu. 437 t_riúth. EY- 438 déi. EY: 439 trū_rst.

I- 440 wéik. 441 séiv. 442 háaivn. 443 frō'ide. 444 stéiil. 446 nō'in. 448 dhōanz. 449 gít. 450 tíuuzde. 551 síú. I: 452 aa a e. 454 wítj. 455 lig. 457 méiit. 458 néiit. 459 réiit. 462 séiit. 464 whīk. 465 sáak. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 wáa'ild. 468 tūdded. 472 skrīqk [(ru₁n u₁p) used of woollen cloth]. 473 blnd. 474 rō'n'd. 475 wōind wind. 476 bīnd [pp. (bu₁nd)]. 477 fīnd [pt. (fa₁nd), pp. (fa₁nd)]. 478 grō'ind. 479 wān [pt. (wa₁n) pp. (wa₁n)]. 481 fāqer. 484 dhīs. 485 thrīs'l. 486 jūst. 487 jesterde. 488 jēt. I'- 490 báai bi. 493 drāaiv. 494 tō'in. 496 áaír. 498 rō'it. I': 500 lō'ik. 501 wō'id. 502 fáaiv. 503 lō'if. 504 nō'if. 505 wō'if. 506 wu₁men. 507 wu₁min. 508 máa'il. 509 whāa'il. 511 wō'in. 513 wāaír. 514 ó'is. 515 áaiz. 516 wīzdem. 517 jéu.

O- 520 béun. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 hā'up. 524 wōr'ld. O: 526 kaaí ká'u. 527 bā'ut. 528 thā'ut. 529 brā'ut. 530 wrāut. 531 dā'uter. 532 kool. 533 dūl [not (du₁l)]. 534 hool. 536 gā'ld. 537 mā'ld. 538 wad. 539 bā'ul. 540 holin. 542 bā'ult. 545 hop. 547 bōord. 548 fōord [(wath) common]. 549 hōord. 550 wōord. 552 kōorn. 553 hōorn. 554 krōs. O'- 555 shō'u shē'u. 556 tē [unacc.]. 557 tū₁ tū₁v. 558 lōk. 559 mu₁dher. 561 blūm. 562 máun. 563 mu₁nde. 564 sán. 565 nooz. 566 u₁dher. O': 569 bīk. 570 tīak. 571 gūd. 572 blū'd. 573 flūd. 574 brūd. 575 stīad. 576 wē'nzde. 577 béuu. 578 plū't. 579 enū't. 580 tūnt. 581 sā'ut. 582 kō'd. 583 tū'd. 584 stā'l. 586 dū₁ dū₁v. 587 dōun. 588 níun. 589 spīan. 591 má'uer. 592 swéier. 593 [(mu₁n, men) used]. 594 bíut. 595 íat. 596 ríut. 597 sūt.

U- 599 ubā₁n. 600 lu₁v. 601 féul. 602 séu. 603 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 dēuer. 607 bu₁ter. U: 608 ugli. 609 tū'l. 610 wā₁u. 612 su₁m. 613 dru₁qk. 614 hu₁n'd. 615 pu₁n'd. 616 gru₁n'd. 617 séun'd. 618 wéun'd. 619 fu₁n'd. 620 gru₁n'd. 622 u₁nd_r. 625 tuq. 626 hu₁qer. 629 su₁n. 631 thōrzdē. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 thrū₁u. 635 wōorth. 637 tū₁sk tū₁sh. 638 bu₁sk. 639 dū₁st [(stāuer) used]. U'- 640 kéuu. 641 héuu. 642 dhéuu. 643 néuu. 645 dū₁v. 646 béuu. 647 éuul. 648 éuur [also (uz) enclitic]. 649 théuuzend. 652 kō'd. 653 hu₁t. U': 654 shréuud. 656 réuun. 657 bréuun. 658 déuun. 659 téuun. 661 shéuur. 662 hō z. 663 héuus. 664 léuus. 665 méuus. 666 hu₁zbund. 667 éunt. 668 préuud. 671 méuuth. 672 séuuth sū₁u.

Y- 673 mīk'l. 674 did dūd. 676 léi. 677 drāai. 678 dīn. 679 kjōark. 680 bizi. 682 līt'l. Y: 683 mīd_r. 684 brīg. 685 rīg. 686 báai. 687 fléi. 689 bīl'd. 690 kō'ind. 691 mō'ind. 693 sīn. 694 wōark. 696 bō-orth. 697 berī. 699 réiit. 700 wōoars. 701 fōarst. 703 pīt. Y'- 705 skāai. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 thētēin. 708 háaier. Y': 709 fáaier. 711 lō'is. 712 mō'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet. E. 746 bréiidh. 748 fligd. O. 761 l₁a₁d. 770
 [(mā₁udi-waarp) used].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 réin. O.. 948 béuul.

VAR. *ii*a, NORTH LA. cwl.

Lonsdale south of the Sands.

This is made up from the following sources:—

Unmarked words. Heysham (:iisem), (4 w.Lancaster), from a partial wl. in io. by the Rector, Rev. C. T. Royds, who when sending it had had 12 years' acquaintance with the speech, conjecturally pal. by AJE. The (í₁i, ú₁n, ee, EE, er, e₁r) are uncertain in many words.

H wn. by TH., Lancaster, Cockerham (6 s-by-w.Lancaster), Hornby (8 ne. Lancaster), and Caton (4 ene.Lancaster).

The words from these several places not being enough to distinguish local forms, they are here collected in one list without any separation. It may be assumed that the whole of this ne.La., or Lonsdale s. of the Sands, has a similar pron.

The (r) is probably (r^o) throughout. TH.'s medial second elements of diphthongs and suspended final consonants, although constantly marked by him, have, in accordance with my general rule, not been indicated, either here, or in the next cwl., see pp. 316, 317.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tek, H tak. 12 soo. 14 droo. 20 leem, H leem. 21 neem. 24 sham. 31 H léet. A: 46 kan'l. 56 wesh, H wash. A: or O: 60 H raq. 61 e₁maq. 62 H s₁raq. 63 thraq. 64 raq. H raq. A'- 67 gee, H gu gáu. 76 túd. 87 kléez. 89 bieth. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. A': 101 jek. 106 H braad. 115 H ûem, úem. 117 jan, H wan. 121 giun, H ga'n. 123 [H (nóut) used].

Æ- 138 fa₁de₁r, H fa₁dher. 152 H wa₁te₁r. Æ: 155 thak. 167 diel. 172 gres. Æ'- 182 H sie. 190 H kje'i. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 218 shí₁ip. 224 H wíer.

E- 232 brék. — H e'it [to eat]. 251 H me'it. 255 we₁de₁r. E: 262 H wee. — hí₁ilz [fields]. 284 thresh. E'- 290 í₁i, H í₁i. 292 m₁í₁i. E': 305 H e'í. 312 H íer. 315 H íit.

EA: 326 H óud. 328 H kóud. 330 haad hod, H öd. 333 kaa₁f. 334 haaf. 336 faa. 337 woo waa. 346 H gje'öt. EA'- 347 híud. EA': 350 H díed. EO- 386 háu. EO: 395 ja₁q. 402 H lárn. EO'- 417 t₁íq. 420 H fóer fóuer. EO': 422 sik. 424 H ru₁f ru₁kh. 425 líit.

I- 440 H wíik. I: 458 níit. 459 réit riit. 468 H t₁í₁de₁r. 477 fínd. 478 grínd. 484 H dhís. I'- 492 H sáid. I': 502 H íáiv. 508 H máil.

O- 519 óuer, H o₁uer. 521 fóoil. 522 H op'n. O: 529 bróut. 532 kóoil. 534 hóoil. O'- 558 H læ'uk læk. 559 H mu₁dher modher. 560 H skuul. O': 571 gud, H gu₁d. 577 buu. 578 pluu. 579 H enu₁f. 586 H de'n du. 588 H nunn.

U- 600 lu₁v. 603 ku₁mæn, H ku₁m. 605 sèn. 606 H dúer dúuer. 607 bu₁te₁r, H bu₁te₁r. U: 608 uglí. 612 H su₁m. 613 H d₁ru₁qk. 622 H u₁cn₁de₁r. 626 uqger, H u₁qer. 629 sun. 632 H u₁p. 633 k₁ap. 639 du₁st. U'- 641 H áu. 642 dháu. 643 H náu. 648 wer [unaccented]. 650 H ebáut. U': 658 H dáun. 663 háus, H áus.

Y- 682 láil lít'l. Y: 684 H brig. 702 H wídh.

VAR. iib, FURNESS AND CARTMEL cwl.

Lonsdale north of the Sands.

This district I divide into three groups, C, U, and B. The information is derived from wn. by TH. in 1877 and 1881.

C Lower Holker (:òakur), and Cark (5 e-by-s.Ulverston), see also p. 558, No. 4. I reject the words of Mrs. Betty Butler, b. in 1797, near Grasmere, who had come to Cartmel at 6 years old, because the pron. seemed to be a mixture of Grasmere and Cartmel.

U Ulverston.

B Broughton-in-Furness (7 nw. Ulverston), see also p. 553, for a dt. from Broughton. The pron. here had not altered from 1861 to 1881. Together with High Nibthwaite (7 n-by-e.Ulverston), at the s. part of Coniston Water, and Coniston, from TH.'s wn.

E This belongs to the preceding group, but is taken from Mr. Ellwood's wl. for Coniston, Hawkshhead (3 e.Con.), Seathwaite (5 w-by-s.Con.), Torver (2 ssw.Con.), Ulpha (7 sw.Con.), Broughton-in-Furness, Kirby Lowick (7 ssw.Con.), and the higher parts of Colton (7 s.Con.), as read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, native of Coniston, introduced by Mr. Ellwood. The *r* final or before consonants is uncertain, probably (r^o). The dentality of *tr-*, *dr-* was so uncertain, and, if it really occurred, slight, that I do not mark it. The (íá) did not sound to me like (íá). Miss Bell belonged to the younger generation in pron. The vowel in 172 *gírse* = grass, seemed to be (i), but it was difficult to identify. I seemed generally to hear (ee) rather than (ee). No aspirate heard. The diphthongs (a'í, a'u) sounded to me most like (ái, óú), and the former seemed to become (ái) before voiced consonants, see No. 502 and 505, but Miss B. did not acknowledge any difference. The (óú) sounded at first like (á'u), but I found it difficult to determine, and have therefore used (óú).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 E bíak. 4 E tak. 5 C m'á'k. 6 E m'ád. 7 E síák. 8 E hev. 10 E haa. 12 E saa. 14 B d'roo, E draa. 17 B loo, E laa. 19 E t'áál. 20 C léem, E lém [?: (léem) *leam*]. 21 C néem, B n'ea'm *neem*, E n'ám [?: (néem) *neam*]. 22 E t'ám, written *team*. 23 E s'ám. 24 E sham. 25 E m'án. 27 E n'áv. 28 E jaar. 31 CB lét, E lát. 33 E recder. 35 E aal. 36 E thaa thóu [both used]. 37 E klaa.

A: 39 E kom. 40 E k'ém. 46 E kan'l. 47 E wander. 50 E taqz. 56 CE wesh.

A: or O: 58 E fre. 59 E lam. 60 C laq, BE raq. 61 E umaq. 62 E s'traq. 63 E thraq. 64 B roq, BE raq. 65 E saq.

A'- 67 C g'á'ín, UB gaan [going], E gaa. 69 n'á. 70 E t'áú. 72 E waa. 73 CB s'úv, E s'ía [and (s'úv)]. 74 C t'áú, E tuu [must be modern]. 78 E aa. 79 BE aan. 80 E alídv. 81 E lán lonín [but (l'áv) as in Mr. E's *loan* was known]. 82 CB jans. 84 B méer, E m'ár. 85 E s'ár. 86 C óts [E (aver) used]. 87 C tl'éz, E kl'áz. 89 C béeth bíá'th, E bíáth. 90 E blaa. 92 C naa. 93 E naa [(k'én) in sense of *connaître*]. 94 E kraa. 95 E thraa. 96 E saa. 97 E s'ól. 98 E naan. 99 E thraan. 100 E saan.

A': 101 E jak. 102 E eks. 104 CE r'úd. 105 E r'íád. 106 E br'íád. 107 E k'áf [(l'á,é) more common]. 108 [E paste (p'ást) used]. 109 laa. 110 E n'á,t [Mr. E. had written *nirt*]. 113 C úel, E jal. 114 E mool. 115 CUB jám, E j'ám. 117 C t'jév [the one], jà ee, B jàn. 118 bíán. 121 E gan [(gaan) going]. 122 CB n'év[n], C níu, B n'úv, E n'ín. 123 [E (nórt) used]. 124 B st'ea'n st'ém, E st'íán. 125 E [(nobb) used]. 127 E oos [so Miss Bell, but Mr. E. wrote *hoorse*]. 128 E d'hoor [used]. 129 E goost. 130 E búut. 131 E g'úvt. 132 j'át. 133 BE r'íá't. 134 E ooth. 135 E [(kl'óut) used].

Æ- 138 CU fadh'ér, CE fá d'úr. 141 E n'él. 142 E sn'ál. 143 E teel [obs. these last three forms]. 144 E v'geen. 148 E feer. 149 E bl'íez. 150

E liest. 152 CBE wa_{te}r [(t) uncertain from Miss Bell]. 153 CUBE se_{te}r_{de}, [the (t_r) uncertain from Miss B.].

Æ: 158 BE e_fte_r. 161 CUB dee, BE dee. 164 E mee. 166 [E lass used]. 167 B dèel, E dáal. 169 E wen. 170 E harst [Miss Bell had heard this only from an old farmer, generally (aavest)]. 172 CBE gars', E g_{ars}. 173 C waz wez, E woz. 174 E Esh. 179 E wat.

Æ'- 182 E sii. 183 E tíctj. 184 E liud. 187 E liev. 188 E nec. 189 E wéi. 190 E kéi. 191 E iel. 193 CBE tliin. 195 E mēni [Miss B. did not know (manⁱ)]. 197 E tjiiz. 199 E bliet, blick. 200 UBE wíet. 201 E eedh'n. 205 E thriud. 209 C niver. 210 E klee. 211 E gree. 213 E eeder. 215 [E (laarnt) used]. 222 E jaar. 223 E dhier. 224 UBE wår. 225 CE flesh [Mr. E. writes *fleysh*, *fleigsh*]. 226 C mía'lst, E míást. 227 E wet. 228 E swiet. 230 C fa_te_r [fatter].

E- 232 E brik [brak brok'n]. 233 C spíak B spiek. 234 E niud. — B we_de_r [weather]. 235 E wíev. 236 E feevur. 237 E bleen. 238 [E (dáv)k used]. 239 E seel. 241 BE reen. 243 [E (lek) used]. 247 E wíán [(spíán) also used]. 248 E míer. 249 E wíar. 250 E swier. 251 CU míet, E míet [probably (míat) was meant]. 252 E ket'l.

E: 260 E lig. 261 CE see. 262 U wee, E wee. 265 E street. 268 E eldst, aaldst [used indifferently]. 270 E belus. 272 E el'm. 278 E [not used]. 280 E el_e-b'n. 281 E lenth. 282 E strenth. 284 E thresh threesh [both common]. 287 E biiz'm.

E'- 290 BE i. 294 CU fiid. 299 B griin. 301 E ier. 302 E miit. 303 E swiit. 304 E biit'l. E': 305 C E'i, E éi. 306 E áit. 312 E ier. 314 BN árd ierd, E aad. 315 E fiit.

EA- 317 [E used only in the sense of frighten as a (flee-kraa), a scarecrow]. 319 E g_{ap}. 320 E k'ár. EA: 321 BE saa. 322 BE laf. 323 E fóat. 324 E éit. 326 CNB aad, CB áld, E aald ald. 327 E bóald. 328 C kaad kaad, E kaald. 329 E faald. 330 E od. 331 E seil. 332 B fóud, E telt. 333 C kof, E koof. 334 C AAV áf, E oof. 335 CBE oo. 336 E foo. 337 E woo. 342 E aarm. 343 CE wárm. 345 C a dár see [I dare say], E daar. 346 B g_{ject}, E j_{et}.

EA'- 347 CUBE ied. 348 E ái áiz [Miss B. did not recollect hearing (in)]. 349 E fiu. EA': 350 UE diud. 351 E lúed. 352 E r_{ed}. 353 E bríud. 354 E shíuf. 355 E diuf. 356 E lúf. 357 [E (for oo) for all, used]. 359 E neber. 360 E t_{em}. 361 E b_{en}. 365 C nar' nírdher [nearer]. 366 CB gart, E g_{art}. 367 E thret. 368 E d_{uth}. — C dá'ù [dew]. 369 E slaa. 370 E raa. 371 E stríe.

EI- 372 C ái á'i, E ee. EI: 377 E stíak. 378 E week. EO- 383 E se_b'n. 386 E jóu. 387 CBE nú. EO: 388 E milk. 393 E e_{ont}, bi_{ont}. 396 E waark. 397 E súerd. 399 E brít. 402 CUBE lárn. 405 E aarth. 406 E e_{arth} [probably]. 411 CBE thrii. 413 E dívil. 414 E lii. 415 E lii. 417 E t_{jeu}. 420 BE fóuer. EO': 423 E thii. 424 E r_{uf}. 425 E lit. 426 C fe'it, E f_{et} [no (i) heard, but Mr. E. wrote *feight*]. 428 CE sii. 430 E frínd. 432 E fóart. 433 E brest. 434 E biut [also (breet) brayed used]. 435 B j_u. 436 B t_{ru}, E t_{ru}. EY- 438 CUBE dii [Miss B. inclined to (d_i), but in other words I did not hear (i), and hence leave (i)].

I- 440 E wik. 442 E áivi. 444 E stii [Miss B, Mr. E. added (-l)]. 446 E ná'n. 449 E g_{it}. 451 E soo. I: 452 E ái a. 455 E lig. 458 CB nít, E nít. 459 B réit, E rít [so Miss B., written *reet*]. 460 E wéit. 462 E sít. 464 E wít_p. 465 CE sík [Mr. E. (sek)]. 466 [E (bàrn) used]. 471 E tímar. 472 E shríqk. 475 CE wínd [Miss B. added (-d), Mr. E. omitted it]. 477 E fínd [as 675]. 478 E gr_{an}. 481 E tíqer. 485 E this'l. 486 E j_{et}. 487 B _{os}te_rde, E _{est}erde. 488 C j_{it}, E j_{et}.

I'- 491 E sái. 492 C sáid. 493 E dráiv. 494 E táim. 496 E áirn. 499 E biit'l. I': 500 E lák. 501 E wáid. 502 C fáiv. 503 E láif. 504 E náif. 505 E wáif [but (wáivz) nearly, and so for five, knives]. 508 E máil. 509 B wáil, E wáil. 511 E wáin. 513 E wáir. 514 E áis. 515 E wáiz. 517 E j_{in}.

O- 519 CE úer. 520 E bóu. 521 E fúel. 522 C op'n, E op'n. 523 E ú_iap.

O: 526 E kóuf. 527 CUBE bóut. 528 CE thóat. 529 E bróut. 530 U rá'ut, E róat. 531 CUB dóut'v_r, E dóuter. 532 CUE kúel. 533 E du₁. 534 E úel. 536 E góuld. 537 E móuld. 539 E bóal. 540 E olín. 542 E bóut. 544 C dhen. 547 E búerd. 548 E fúerd. 549 E úed. 552 E korn [(kuuru) old-fashioned].

O'- 555 CBE shuu. 556 E dú. 557 C tíu [Miss B. said *too* was replaced by [en oo] and all]. 558 E líek. 559 C mudher, B mu₁d'v_r mu₁d'v_r, E mu₁d_r. 561 E bluum. 562 C máuu, BE muuu, E mien. 563 C mōnd_r. 564 CUE síen. 565 BE núez. 566 C enu₁d'v_r, B enu₁d'v_r, E u₁d_r. 567 C tu₁dher.

O': 569 E bu₁k. 570 E tiák. 571 BE gu₁d. 572 E blíad. 577 E buu. 578 C pláu, E pluu. 579 E enu₁f [pl. (uuu-) know]. 580 E tóuf. 581 E sóut. 583 E tiel. 584 E stiel. 585 E briem. 586 CB dí₁u. 587 BE dùn. 588 BE nien. 589 E spien [but (te spían) to spoon-feed or wean]. 590 E flúer. 592 [E (swiâr) is for sware]. 593 [E (mu₁n) used]. 594 E buut. 595 E fu₁t. 596 E ráat. 597 E sét.

U- 599 E ebúu ebuu. 600 E u₁v. 601 E fód. 602 E suu. 603 B kóm kúm, E ku₁m. 605 C sun, B sù₁n sùn, E su₁n [the same as 629, no difference felt]. 606 C dúuer, BE dúer. 607 C b₁u₁te_r.

U: 609 E tú₁. 610 E wuu. 612 C sù₁m, B sùm, E su₁m. 614 E óund. 615 C póund, B pu₁nd, E pu₁nd. 616 E gr₁nd. 617 E sóund. 618 E wóund. 620 E gr₁nd. 622 E u₁nder. 625 E tu₁q. 626 B uqer [ʔ u₁qer], E u₁qer. 629 E su₁n [the same as 605, Miss B. felt no difference]. 631 CU tha₁rzd_v, E thorzd_v. 632 B u₁p, up. 634 E thruu.

U'- 640 CBE kóu [B (kóu)es'] cowhouse]. 641 CE óu. 642 E dhóu. 643 C ná₁v, BE nóu. 646 E bóu. 647 E u₁let. 648 E óur. 649 B thóuzen. 652 E ku₁d. 653 E bu₁t.

U': 654 BE shróud. 655 E fód. 656 E róum [old-fashioned]. 657 E bróm. 658 E dóun. 659 E tóun. 661 E shóur. 662 E u₁z. 663 C óus óus, CB óus, E óus. 666 [E (man) used]. 667 CE óut.

Y- 673 E mu₁t₁ [but in asking the price, (óu mít₁) how much?]. 674 E did'. 677 E drái. 679 E t₁rt₁ [kirk not used]. 681 [E (thraq) used]. 682 CB kíil, E kíil. Y: 684 E bríg. 685 [E (rígín) roofing used]. 687 E flit. 689 E bíld. 690 E káind. 691 E máind. 694 CBE wárk. 697 E ber₁. 699 E riit. 700 E waars. 701 C fást, E f₁rst. Y'- 705 E skái. 706 E wái [=well, but in asking a question always (wat for)]. Y': 712 E máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 733 E skaar. 736 CB las. 740 E weev. E. 743 E skrém. 744 E mez'lz. 745 E t₁át. I. and Y. 753 [E (kít'l) used]. 754 C pig. 756 B shrimp. O. 761 E kíad. 766 E móulerd [occasionally used]. 767 E nóiz. 769 E móudiwaarp. 772 E bíentáir. 774 E póumi. 778 E efuurd. 790 E góm. U. 804 E dru₁k'n. 805 E kru₁dz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E jab'l jeb'l. 810 E fías. 811 E plías. 813 E bekín. 818 [Mr. E. wrote *yeye* (jüüþ) apparently, but Miss B. did not know it]. 822 E mee. 824 E tjeer. 830 E treen. 832 E meer. 833 CBE p₁r. 835 E ríez'n. 836 E síez'n. — C skíá's [scarce]. 845 E eenshent. 847 E decudjer. 849 E strendjer. 852 E eepron. 857 E kíás. — C slíat [slate]. 860 E píast. 861 E tíast. 862 E síáf. 864 E kos. 865 E faat. 866 E páur.

E.. 867 CE tíi. 869 E víel. 874 E rún. 875 E fent. 879 E fimcel. 885 CUB varu. 887 E klaard₁. 888 E saartín. 890 C bíus [pl.]. 892 E nef₁. 894 E disíiv. 805 E rísiiv.

I.. and Y.. 901 C fáin. 903 E dáin. 904 E váielet. 910 E djáist. 911 E sistern.

O.. 913 E kúet₁. 914 E broot₁. 918 E feb'l. 919 E óintment. 920 E póint. 924 E t₁óis. 925 E vóis. 926 E spóil. 928 E óuzs. 929 E kóukemer. 939 E klúes. 940 E kúet. 941 E fuul. 947 E bóil. 948 E bóal. 952 E kúers. 957 E emplóí.

U.. 960 E kee. 963 E kuáiet. 965 E óil. 968 E óister. 970 E dj₁st.

VAR. iii, DENT AND HOWGILL cwl.

- D Dent, Yo., Var. iii, form *b*, see 22 interlinear cs. No. 7, p. 558, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Messrs. Parrington and Metcalf, respectively 35 and 22 years acquainted with the dialect. This form has $U' = (\acute{u})$.
- II Howgill (:hóugil) (3 nw.Sedberg), Yo., Var. iii, form *e*, p. 559, No. 8, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Best, then of Kirkby Thore (:k₂rbi^l:ííw₂r) (4 nw.Appleby, We.), who had previously lived 50 years in Howgill. Mr. Best, in January, 1878, read some of the principal words of this list to AJE., who was thus able to verify JGG.'s appreciation. The (r) was trilled slightly, it was more than (r°). This form has $U' = (\acute{u}_1)$.

No initial prefixed indicates that the pron. is the same in both cases. The vowel (*i*^l) is not distinguished from (*i*). The fractures (*éí*, *ííí*) are usually written (*éî*, *íîî*), the second element being taken medial instead of long, and so in other cases.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b₁a₁k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 m₁a₁d. 7 s₁a₁k. 8 D hev, H h₁iev. 9 D b₁i₁b₁á₁v, H b₁i₁h₁éev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 H naa. 14 H d₁raa. 15 D íaa, H aa. 16 H daan. 17 laa. 18 k₁á₁k. 19 t₁a₁l. 20 l₁a₁m. 21 n₁á₁m. 22 t₁á₁m. 23 H s₁á₁m. 24 sha₁m. 25 m₁án. 26 H [(les'n) used]. 27 D nh₁a₁v, H n₁á₁v. 28 D h₁ia₁r, H h₁ier. 30 D k₁á₁r, H k₁ier. 31 l₁a₁t. 32 H beedh. 33 D ree₁r, H reedher. 34 last. 35 D aal, H á₁el. 36 D thaa, H thóu. 37 klaa.

A: 40 D k₁ám, H k₁am. 41 theqk. 43 [han'd. 44 lan'd. 46 ka₁n'l. 48 saq'. 50 taq'z. 51 ma₁n. 53 kan'. 54 want. 55 as. 57 as.

A: or O: 58 free. 59 la₁m. 60 la₁q'. 61 H e₁ma₁q. 62 s₁t₁ra₁q. 63 thraq. 64 raq ura'q, D w'raq. 65 saq. 66 D waq, H whaq.

A'- 67 [(gaq) used]. 69 n₁á₁. 70 t₁á₁. 71 w₁á₁. 72 D w₁á₁, H wh₁á₁ whaa. 73 s₁á₁. 74 D tun, H tw₁á₁ t₁ú₁. 75 D s₁t₁rook, H s₁t₁rú₁ek. 76 t₁á₁d. 77 D lord, H lórd. 79 aan. 80 [halidv. 81 D w₁á₁en, H l₁á₁en. 83 D m₁á₁n, H m₁á₁en. 84 D m₁á₁r, H meer. 85 D s₁ú₁r, H s₁á₁r. 86 á₁uts. 87 kl₁á₁z. 88 kl₁a₁dh. 89 b₁á₁th. 90 blaá. 91 maa. 92 D n₁haa, H naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sóul. 98 D n₁haan, H naan. 100 sóun.

A': 101 á₁k. 102 eks. 104 D rw₁á₁ed, H rú₁ed. 106 br₁á₁d. 107 l₁á₁f. 108 [(p₁á₁st) used]. 109 laa. 111 óat. 113 h₁á₁l'. 115 h₁á₁m. 118 H b₁á₁n. 122 D n₁á₁n, H na₁n. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 st₁á₁n. 127 H h₁ors. 128 [(dhem) used]. 129 D g₁á₁st, H g₁á₁st. 130 b₁á₁t. 133 D wr₁á₁t, H r₁á₁t. 134 i₁á₁th [also H (óoth)]. 135 kl₁á₁th.

Æ- 138 D faddh₁r. 140 D h₁el, H [h₁éevl. 142 D sn₁éil, H sn₁éevl. 144 D vgeen, H vg₁á₁n. 146 meen. 147 breen. 148 feer. 149 D blú₁ez, H bleez. 150 líiest. 152 wa₁t₁r. 153 se₁t₁rde.

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 r₁á₁v'n. 158 e₁t₁r. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 sed. 167 d₁á₁l. 168 ta₁lv. 169 D wen, H when [almost (wen)]. 170 hárvist [(haríst) about Kirkby Thore]. 171 baarl₁. 172 g₁á₁rs. 173 waz [emph.]. 174 esh. 175 fast. 179 D wat, H what. 181 [(t₁rod) used].

Æ'- 183 tíetj. 184 líied. 185 D reíd, H r₁á₁d. 186 bredth. 187 k₁iev. 188 [D w₁ini], H (n₁ini) used]. 189 H w₁é₁i. 190 D kee'í. 191 [h₁ííel. 192 D méin, H m₁ien. 193 D kl₁in, H kl₁ien. 194 eni. 195 D mani, H meni. 196 waar. 197 D t₁éiz. 199 Dbleet, H bleet. 200 D wíiet, H whíiet. 202 [h₁á₁t.

Æ': 203 D speítj, H í₁i. 204 D d₁éid, H d₁i₁d. 205 D threíd, H í₁i. 207 D néid'l, H í₁i. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 D wee, H whee. 213 D ee₁r, H eedher. 215 H t₁á₁t. 216 díel. 217 [not used]. 218 D sheíp, H í₁i. 219 D sléip, H í₁i. 221 f₁á₁r. 222 D h₁á₁r, H h₁ier. 223 D dh₁á₁r, H -er. 224 D waar, H whaar. 226 m₁á₁st. 227 wet. 228 swíiet. 229 D breth, H bryth. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 D bry₁k, H (briik) occ.]. 233 spíek. 234 níed. 235 wíiev. 236 feev₁r. 237 bleen. 238 [hed₁. 241 reen. 243 plee [on a fiddle, but (leek) at cards]. 246 ii. whíien [quean, female]. 248 míu₁r. 249 wíu₁r. 250 swíu₁r. 251 míiet. 252 ket'í. 253 net'í. 254 D leddh₁r, H le'd₁r. 255 D weddh₁r, H wed'd₁r.

E: 257 ed₁ [pl. (ed'd₁iz)]. 259 wed₁ [pl. wed'd₁iz]. 261 see. 262 D wee^l, H wee. 264 eel'. 265 s₁trée₁it. 268 [á'd₁ist) used]. 270 belus beli. 272 el'm. 273 men. 274 D bíqk, H bent₁. 276 thiqk. 281 D leqth, H lenth. 282 D s₁tréqth, H -nth. 283 my₁ri. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 [harv. 287 D béiz'm, H í₁. 288 let.

E'- 289 D íéí, H jíí. 290 D [héí, H híí. 291 D dhéí, H dhíí. 292 D méí, H míí. 293 D wéí, H wíí. 300 D kéíp, H íí. 301 D híu₁r, H hííu₁r. 302 D méit, H míit. 303 D sweít, H íí. E': 305 héí, 306 D háit, H híit. 308 D néíd, H íí. 309 D spéíd, H íí. 310 D héíl, H íí. 311 ten. 312 D héíu₁r, H íí. 314 D haard, H híerd. 315 fíit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 grá₁p. 320 H kíu₁r. EA: 321 saa. 322 D láí, H laí. 323 fóut. 324 éé₁it. 325 waak. 326 aal'd. 327 bóul'd. 328 kál'd. 329 D fóul'd, H fál'd. 330 [hod. 331 [sel't) used]. 332 [(tel't) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 [haaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 340 íu₁rd. 342 ár'm. 343 wár'm. 345 D dá₁r, H daar. 346 D geet, H íet.

EA'- 347 [híied. 348 D éí, H í, ii. 349 fíú.

EA': 350 díied. 351 líied. 352 D red, H híied. 353 bríied. 354 shúief. 355 díief. 356 líief. 357 D dhoo [H replaced by (tar aa)]. 359 neeb₁r. 360 tíiem. 361 bíien. 363 tñiep. 365 míu₁r. 366 D g₁u₁rt, H grúiet. 367 thríiet. 368 díieth. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 D s₁trííá₁, H s₁trííé [this final (é) is very short, and seems suddenly checked].

EI- 372 áíi. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 376 beet.

EI: 377 stí₁ák. 378 week. 382 D dhí₁á₁r, H dheer. EO- 383 sev'n. 384 [hev'n. 386 íou. EO: 388 míllhk [I did not hear the (lh) from Mr. Best myself]. 389 D íook, H íú₁ek. 390 sud. 393 bíout. 396 waark. 397 sw₁u₁rd. 398 staarv. 402 D líern, H laar'n. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 D [haa]sten, H [ha]sten [hearthstone, without which suffix hearth is never used]. 407 D faard'n, H fád'n. 408 D níú. EO'- 409 D béí, H bíí. 411 D thréí, H íí. 412 D shéí, H íí. 413 D dív'í, H dív'í. 414 D fléí, H íí. 315 D léí, H líí. 416 díu₁r. 417 D tñig, H tñóu. 418 briú. 420 fóurr. 421 forti. EO': 423 D théí, H thíí. 424 ru₁t. 425 D léít, H íí. 426 fe'ít. 427 D béí, H bíí. 428 D séí, H síí. 429 H fíínd. 430 fry₁nd. 431 bíu₁r. 432 fóurt. 433 D bry₁st, H bríiest. 434 bet. 435 íú₁. 436 tñíú. 437 tñíúth. EY- 438 D déí, H díí. EY: 439 tñru₁st.

I- 440 D wéik, H wíik. 441 D síiv, H sív. 442 D áivín, H áivi. 444 D stéil, H stáil. 446 náin. 448 [H (dh₁r) used]. 449 gít. 450 tíúzdí. 451 D soo, H síú.

I: 452 áí [emphatic], -i [enclitic], a- [proclitic]. 454 wít₁. 455 líg. 457 máit. 458 D néit, H níit. 459 D réit, H íí. 460 D wéét, H wéit. 462 D séit, H íí. 464 whít₁. 465 D sáik, H sík. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 wáild. 471 tím₁r. 473 bláid. 475 D wáind, H wínd. 476 bínd. 477 fínd. 478 gry₁nd [Nos. 475-8 make past tense in (-an'd), and past participle in (-u₁n)]. 479 H wínd. 481 fí₁q₁r. 485 thís'l. 486 iest. 487 D íy₁s₁t₁rde, H íe-. 488 D íyt, H íet.

I'- 490 báí bí. 491 H sái. 493 dráiv. 494 táim. 496 áiren. 498 ráit. 499 H bíí'd'l.

I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 D nháif, H n-. 505 H wáit. 506 wámen. 507 wímin. 508 máid. 509 D wáil, H wh-. 511 wáin. 513 wáu₁r. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wízdem. 517 D íú, H jíí.

O- 520 bóu. 521 D íwú₁el, H fú₁el. 522 D op'n, H op'n. 523 D [hoop, H [hú₁ep. 524 wor'l'd.

O: 526 D kaf, H kof. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 H róut. 531 dóu₁r. 532 D kwú₁et, H kú₁et. 533 du₁. 534 D whú₁el, H [hú₁el. 536 góul'd. 537 móud. 538 wad [emphatic]. 539 bóul'. 540 D holín. 542 bóut. 545 [hop. 547 bú₁rd. 548 fú₁rd. 550 wu₁rd. 551 D stor'm, H stárm. 552 D kor'n, H kárm. 553 D [hor'n, H [hárm. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shú.u. 556 tv. 557 D tû.u, H tiû. 558 liúk. 559 D mu₁ddh₁r, H mu₁d₁r. 561 blú.um. 562 mú.un. 563 mu₁nde. 564 D síun. 565 D nwóuz, H nú.uz. 566 D u ddh₁r, H u₁d₁r.

O': 569 bú.uk. 570 tiúk. 571 gú.d, H grú.d. 572 blú.d, H bliú.d. 573 fiú.d, H flú.d. 574 briú.d. 575 D stí.á.d, H stiú.d. 576 wed'nzlv. 577 bú.u. 578 plú.u. 579 D un₁f, H ñui [sg. (inú.u pl.)]. 580 D tóí. H tu₁f. 581 H sóut. 583 D tû.ul, H tiúl. 584 D stú.ul, H stiúl. 585 D brú.um. 586 diú, H dū.u. 587 diún. 588 níun. 589 D spú.un, H spíun. 590 flú.á.r. 591 D máu.r. 593 [(mu₁n) used]. 594 bú.ut. 595 D fiút, H íut. 596 H riút. 597 H siút.

U- 599 D vb₁v. 600 lu₁v. 601 H fú.ul. 602 sú.u [approaching (sóu)]. 600 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 diú.r. 607 bu₁t₁r.

U: 608 u₁gli. 609 fú.l'. 610 D wu₁n, H wæ'u'æ'u [this after flatus was nearly (wh) as I heard Mr. Best; but possibly this, as also (æ'u), was an individuality]. 611 bu.lék. 612 su₁m. 613 d₁rú.qk. 614 H hú.un'd [I heard almost hóund], and pronunciation varied as [hú.un'd]. 615 H pu₁n'd. 616 gru₁n'd. 619 fú.un'd. 622 D u₁nd₁r. 625 tu₁q. 626 hu₁q₁r. 629 su₁n. 631 th₁rzd₁v. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 D thrú.u, H thræ'u [perhaps an individuality]. 637 tu₁sk. 639 du₁st.

U'- [D has (áu), H (ú.u)]. 640 D káu, H kú.u. 641 D lbáu, H lhú.u. 642 D dháu, H dhú.u. 643 D náu, H nú.u. 645 du₁v. 646 D báu, H bóu. 647 D u₁let, H ú.ul. 648 D áu.á.r, H ú.u.á.r. 649 D tháuzend, H thú.u.- 652 ku₁d. 653 bu₁t.

U: [D áu, H ú.u]. 654 D sheraud, H sheraú.d [(shr) becomes (sher-) in this word only]. 655 D fául. 656 DH rú.um. 657 D brám, H brú.um. 658 D dáun, H dū.un. 661 D sháu.á.r, H shú.u.á.r. 662 hu₁z [emphatic form]. 663 D háus, H hú.us [approaching (hóus)]. 664 D kas, H lú.us. 665 D máus, H mú.us. 666 hu₁z.bend. 667 D áut, H ú.ut. 668 D práud, H prú.ud. 669 H u₁nkú.uth [probably an individuality]. 671 D máuth, H mú.uth. 672 D sáuth, H sú.uth.

Y- 673 míti. 676 D léi. H lí.i. 677 drái. 678 din. 679 D kærk, H t₁u₁r₁t₁. 680 bizi. 682 láil'. Y: 683 mid₁. 684 brig. 685 H rig. 686 báí. 687 H flí.it. 688 bál'd [(bállht₁, p.p.)]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 693 sîn. 694 wu₁rk. 696 D b₁á.rth, H by.rth. 697 by₁ri. 699 D réit, H rí.it. 700 waars. 701 f₁á.rst. 703 pít. 704 viks'n. Y'- 705 skái. 706 [what for, used]. 708 hái.r. Y: 709 fái.r. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 ba₁d. 714 la₁d. 715 D pa₁d. 716 D a₁d'l. 722 dreen. 723 deer₁. 724 D baald, H baá. 725 s₁á.l. 728 sha₁m. 729 D trí.á.m, H freem. 730 kant₁r. 734 daar'n. 735 mash. 737 meet. 740 weev. 742 leez₁. E. 744 mezl'zs. 746 H brí.edh. 748 D fligd, H fled₁d. I. and Y. 753 [(kít'l) used]. 754 H pig. 759 fit. O. 761 k₁á.d. 767 D nóis. 769 móudiwaarp. 771 fon'd. 772 bí.á.nfá.á.r. 774 D pooni. H pouni. 777 D shop. 778 D v₁á.á.rd, H v₁á.r. 783 D páut₁r₁, H pu₁l₁t₁r₁. 789 D róu. 790 D gáun, H gú.un. U. 793 D hu₁g. 794 d₁u₁g. 799 sku₁l'. 801 ru₁m. 803 D d₁u₁mp [also (lóup)]. 805 kra₁dz. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 iab'l'. 810 f₁á.s. 811 pl₁á.s. 812 lí.á.s. 813 H beek'n. 814 m₁á.s'n. 818 eed₁. 819 reed₁. 822 mee. 824 tjeer. 825 D weef, H wí.á.f. 827 D íeg₁r, H íag₁r. 828 H eegv. 830 f₁reen. 833 paar. 835 ríez'n. 836 síez'n. 840 D t₁amb₁r. 841 t₁ans. 842 plaqk. 843 brant₁. 844 D t₁rensh. 845 H eenshent. 847 deend₁r. 848 t₁end₁. 849 s₁rend₁r. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 app₁ren. 853 D bàrg'n, H bàrgin. 854 barel'. 855 karet. 856 part. 857 k₁á.s. 858 H brí.á.s. 859 t₁as. 860 pí.á.st. 861 tí.á.st. 862 s₁á.f. 864 biko's. 865 faat. 866 pá.u.á.r. E.. 867 D téi, H t₁i. 871 D gréi, H grí.i. 874 rúen. 875 fènt. 877 eer. 880 D egzamp'l. 883 dandilá.jen. 884 H epy₁ntis. 886 H trú.á.r.

888 sirt'n. 890 büest. 891 fiüst. 892 nefi. 893 D fláw₁r, H flá₁u. 894 D diséiv, H í₁í. 895 D riséiv, H í₁í.

I- and Y- 897 dilâ't. 899 D néis. 900 pree. 901 fâin. 902 mâin. 904 D váiut. 908 edváis. 909 D bréiz, H brí₁iz. 910 djâist. 911 D síest₁rn. 912 ráis.

O- 913 D kwá₁vt₁, H ká₁-. 914 D broot₁, H brá₁vt₁. 915 st₁f. 916 u₁m₁n. 917 roog. 918 D féib'l, H í₁í. 919 D ointment, H ó₁n-. 920 D p₁ont, H ói. 922 bu₁sh'l. 924 t₁óis. 925 D vóis, H ói. 926 D spód, H ói. 927 t₁ru₁qk. 928 D ávns, H u₁uns. 929 H ká₁uk₁m₁r. 930 D lónu, H ói. 931 D dj₁u gl₁r. 933 fru₁nt. 935 ku₁n₁t₁ri. 938 korn₁r. 939 klá₁es. 940 kwá₁ut. 941 fú₁ul'. 942 D bu₁tt₁r, H bu₁tt₁r. 943 tu₁t₁. 944 D vláa. 945 D váu. 947 D bóil, H ói. 948 D há₁ul, H bóil. 950 su₁p₁r. 951 ku₁p'l. 952 D kán₁rs, H ká₁v₁rs [coarse]. 953 ku₁zin. 954 D wíshun, H whi-. 955 D dáut, H d₁ut. 956 k₁v₁r.

U- 961 gríu₁l. 963 D wáiet, H kw-. 964 síu₁t. 965 D oíl, H ói. 966 fríut. 967 síut. 968 D óist₁r. 969 síu₁r. 970 dj₁st. 971 flíut.

VAR. iv, EDENSIDE cwl.

Some of the most important words from the 22 es. Nos. 12 to 17, p. 563, as a help to the student.

S from Kirkby Stephen, No. 12.

M from Milburn, No. 15.

C from Crosby Ravensworth, No. 13.

L from Langwathby, No. 16.

T from Temple Sowerby, No. 14.

E from Ellonby, No. 17.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 SCME ma₁k, L mak, T mek. 21 SMLE ní₁á₁m, CT ní₁é₁m. A: or O: 64 SE vra₁q, C r^oaq, T r^oaq, M w^ora₁q. A'- 84 S mee₁r^o, C mee₁r^o, MLE mee₁r^o, T maar^o. 87 SMLE klá₁a₁z, CT klá₁é₁z. 89 SMLE bí₁á₁th, CT bí₁é₁th. 92 SCE noo M nhoo, L tnhoo, T naa. 93 T nhaa, M nhoo, L tnhoo, SE noo, C nò. A': 102 SCTM ás, LE a₁ks. 110 ii. CTL nu₁t, S n₁t. 113 SML hí₁a₁l, CT hí₁é₁l, E híel. 115 SML hí₁a₁m, TE h₁a₁m, C hí₁é₁m. 122 ii. S ní₁ie, ML ní₁e, T ní₁e, CE ní. 137 CTMLE nóu₁d₁r^o.

Æ- 138 SCT fäd₁r^o, M fad₁r^o, L fä₁d₁r^o, E fa₁d₁r^o. Æ: 161 S dee₁, CTMLE dee. Æ'- 194 S aní, CL oní, TM ení, E ení. Æ': 214 S nee₁d₁r^o. 223 SCTMLE dhí₁ö₁r^o. 224 SM whoor^o, TL whaar^o, CE wheer^o.

E- 233 SCTLE spí₁ik. E: 261 SC see₁, ML see, T sí₁é₁. 265 CE s₁t₁r^oek, S s₁t₁r^oak, M s₁t₁r^oécit. E'- 292 SCTMLE mí₁i. E': 312 SCTMLE hí₁ö₁r^o. 314 SCTLE haar^od, M hí₁ö₁r^od.

EA- 320 C kee₁r^o, S kéeer^o, TMLE keer^o. EA: 326 C ool'd, E oold, T Aald AAd, M AAd'd. 330 SCTMLE hod. 338 STML kAA, CE koo. EA': 359 T neeb₁r^o, S nee-, C ne-, MLE nee-. 366 SC gr^oí₁it, TE g₁w₁r^ot, ML g₁j₁r^ot. EO'- 412 SCMLE sh₁ [before w], T sh₁. EO': 430 S fr^oynd. 437 S t₁r^oá₁uth, CTMLE t₁r^oí₁uth. EY- 438 SCTMLE dí₁.

I: 452 STL wad₁i, [but E aa wa₁d, the pron. differing according to position]. I'- 494 STL fáam, CME fáa im. I': STL kaak, C lá₁ik, M láa₁ik. 510 TL máain, SE máa₁in, C má₁in.

O- 519 SCTMLE óu₁r^o. 524 SCM w₁ö₁r^oel'd, TL waar^oeld, E w^oel'd. O: 531 SCLE dön₁t₁r^o. 535 SCT f₁w₁ek, M f₁w₁ek, L f₁w₁ek, E f₁a₁k. O'- 557 SCTML tíu. 567 SCTMLE tu₁d₁r^o. O': 579 SCTMLE ení₁f. 587 SCTMLE d₁on. 592 SM swí₁á₁r^o, S swee₁r^o, T swy₁r^ot, L swy₁r^o.

U: 612 SCTMLE su₁m. 616 S gra₁nd, TL gra₁n'd, E gr^ou₁n, CT gr₁u₁n'd. 631 S th₁u₁r^ozde, CL th₁u₁r^ozde, TE th₁u₁r^ozde. 634 SCTMLE thr₁á₁u, SCTML thr₁á₁u. U'- 641 SC há₁n, H hum. 643 SCTMLE ná₁u. 651 SC wí₁d₁ut, LE wí₁d₁ut, TM wedh₁ut. U': 663 SCTMLE há₁us.

Y: 701 SCTMLE f₁ö₁r^ost.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 862 T *s'í₁eí*, MLE *s'í₁aí*f. E.. 885 SCTL *va₁r^oe*. 888 SCTMLE *saar^ot'n*. O.. 940 T *kwoot*, CM *kwú₁ut*, L *kwú₁áit*, E *kú₁áit*. 941 SCTMLE *fíul*. 955 SCTMLE *dá₁uts*. U.. 969 STML *siúu₁r^o*, E *sy₁r^o*, C *shú₁w₁r^o*. 970 STM *dju₁st*.

VAR v, WEST CUMBERLAND cwl.

The same words as in Var. iv. collected from Nos. 18 to 20 in the 22 es. p. 563.

K from Keswick, No. 18.

C from Clifton, No. 19.

H from Holme Cultram, No. 20.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 CH *mak*, K *ma₁k*. 21 K *n'í₁a₁m*, C *n'ám*, H *n'í₁bm*. A: or O: 64 K *r^oa₁q*, CH *raq*. A'- 84 K *meer^o*, C *meer*, H *méeer*. 87 K *kl'í₁a z*, C *kl'í₁z*, H *kl'í₁ez*. 89 KC *b'í₁a₁th*, H *b'í₁eth*. 92 KCH *noo*. A': 102 K *ás*, H *as*, C *aks*. 113 K *h'í₁a₁l*, C *h'í₁ál*. 115 K *h'í₁a₁m*, C *jam*, H *jem*. 122 ii. K *n'í₁a*, H *n'í₁e*, C *n'í₁e*. 137 KH *nóu₁d₁r^o*, C *náu₁d₁r^o*. Æ- 138 K *fa₁d₁r^o*, CH *fa₁d₁r*. Æ: 161 KC *d₁ee*, H *dee*. Æ'- 194 KC *eni*, H *ani*. Æ': 223 KC *dh'í₁i₁r^o*, H *dh'í₁er^o*. 224 KC *whoor^o*, H *whóoer^o*.

E- 233 K *sp'í₁ik*, C *sp'í₁ik*. E: 261 KC *see*, H *see*. 265 K *st₁r₁éit*, C *st₁r₁éit*. E'- 292 K *m'í₁i*, C *m'í₁i*, H *mü*. E': 312 KC *h'í₁i₁r^o*, H *h'í₁er^o*. 314 K *hà₁r^od*, CH *haard*. EA: 320 K *keer^o*, C *keer*, H *kéeer^o*. EA: 326 H *ool*, K *oold*, C *áud*. 330 KCH *hod*. 338 KCH *koo*. EA': 359 KH *neb₁r^o*, H *neber^o*, C *neber^o*. 367 K *gr'í₁it* C *g₁rt*, H *gríit*. EO'- 412 [emphatic] KC *sh'í₁i*, H *sh'í₁i*. EO': 430 K *fr^oe₁nd*. 437 K *t₁r^oúth*, C *t₁r₁úth*, H *t₁r₁úth*. EY- 438 KC *d'í₁i*, H *dü*.

I: 452 KC *a wad*, H *wad*i [I would, would I]. I'- 494 K *fáa₁m*, C *táim*, H *téim*. I': 500 K *lák*, C *lák*, *lékli*. 510 K *máa₁in*, C *ná₁in*, H *méin*.

O- 519 K *óur^o*, C *áur*, H *óur*. 524 K *waar^old*, C *warld*, H *waar^old*. O: 531 K *dóu₁t₁r^o*, C *dáu₁ter*. 535 K *fwú₁uk*, C *fwook*, H *fóuk*. O'- 557 K *tú*. 567 K *tu₁d₁r^o*, C *tu₁d₁r*. O': 579 K *enu₁f*, C *enu₁f*. 587 KC *du₁n*, C *dúen*, H *dúen*. 592 K *swyy₁a^or^ot*, C *swoort*, H *swí₁er*.

U: 612 KCH *su₁m*. 616 K *gr₁nd*, C *gr₁nd*, H *gr^ou₁n*. 634 K *thr^oe₁ut*, C *thrá₁ut*, H *thr^our*. U'- 641 KC *há₁n*. 643 KC *ná₁n*, H *nau*. 651 K *wí₁dá₁ut*, C *v₁dá₁ut*, H *v₁dúut*. U': 663 KC *há₁us*, H *huuz*.

Y: 701 K *fu₁r^ost*, C *t₁r₁st*, H *fúer^ost*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 862 K *s'í₁aí*, C *s'íaf*. E.. 885 K *va₁r^oe*. CH *var₁e*. 888 K *saar^ot'n*, CH *saart'n*. O.. 940 *kwú₁ut*, C *kwot*, H *kuúout*. 941 K *fíul*, C *fíú₁l*, H *f'í₁ul*. 955 K *dá₁uts*, C *duuts*, H *dúts*. U.. 969 K *sheú₁r^o*, C *shuu₁r*, H *s'í₁uer*. 970 KC *dju₁st*.

(9) VAR. vi, WEARDALE AND TEESDALE cwl.

St. John's, Weardale (:waard'l), Du., head of the dale, about 12 e-by-n. Cross Fell, Cu., and 24 w-by-s. Durham, wl. pal. in 1878 by JGG. from diet. of Mr. and Miss Harrison, natives, who had lived there 40 years from birth. All words unmarked refer to this.

M Middleton-in-Teesdale (22½ sw. Durham), wl. io. by Rev. John Milner, Rector, in 1878, who had then been there only ½ years. Only such words in this list as are re-spelled are here given, pal. conjecturally by AJE. M after an unmarked word shews that this agrees with the former, and in

estimating this agreement, as M is very imperfectly known, I disregard any apparent differences where the M may possibly represent the finer analysis given by JGG, for St. John's.

The (r) is (r^o), but is left unmarked.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b_iek M. 4 ta_k. 5 ma_k. 6 m_ied M. 7 s_iek M. 8 hev. 9 bihev. 12 saa. 17 laa. 19 t_iel M. 20 l_iem M. 21 n_iem M. 22 teem M. t_iem. 23 s_iem M. 24 sha_m. 25 m_iem M. 27 M n_iev. 28 heevr. 31 l_iet M. 32 M b_ieth. 33 reedher M. 34 last. 35 aal^o. 36 th_ou M.

A: 39 kom. 40 keem. 41 theqk. 43 ha_{nd}. 44 la_{nd}. 46 ka_n'l M. 48 saq. 50 teqz M. 51 ma_n. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh M. 57 a_s.

A: or O: 58 free M. 59 la_m. 60 la_q. 61 ma_q. 62 s_tra_q M. 63 thra_q M. 64 ra_q M. 65 M sa_q. 66 wha_q.

A'- 67 ga_n, M ga gang. 69 n_ii, M n_iv, 70 t_ii, M t_iv. 71 w_ii, M w_iv. 72 wh_ii, M wh_iv. 73 s_ii. 74 tw_ii, M tw_iv. 75 s_trook, M s_tr_iek. 76 t_ied M. 78 oo, M o_u. 80 hel_idi, M ha_lidi. 81 lonen. 84 meer^o M. 85 seer^o M. 86 jets [(havv) gen.]. 87 kl_iez M. 88 kl_iedh M. 89 b_ieth M. 91 moo. 92 M naa. 93 snoo, M snaa. 94 kroo, M kraa. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 so_ul. 98 noon, M naan. 99 throon. 100 soon.

A': 101 ja_k M. 102 a_s. 104 r_oed. 105 r_ied M. 106 br_ied M. 107 l_iet M. 108 da_{ft}, M [(p_iest) more usual]. 109 loo. 110 not, M no_t. 111 o_ut M. 112 h_iel M. 115 h_iem M. 118 b_ien M. 121 g_ien M. 122 n_ien M. 123 [(no_ut) used, M]. 124 st_ien M. 125 [(no_ut) used]. 127 M h_ius. 128 dhem. 129 g_ost. 130 M h_out. 131 g_iut. 132 het M. 133 r_iet M. 134 o_uth. 135 [(klo_ut) used M]. 136 ou_der, M [spelt *oudther*].

Æ- 138 fa_dr M. 140 he_el M. 141 n_el. 142 sne_el. 143 te_el. 144 e_gen. 146 m_ien. 147 brecn. 148 fe_er. 152 wa_tr M. 153 se_trdi M.

Æ: 155 M tha_k. 158 ef_ter M. 160 eg. 161 de_e. 164 mee. 165 sed M. 166 me_ed. 167 d_iel M. 168 ta_{lv}. 169 when. 170 ha_{ar}v_ist. 171 ba_{ar}l. 172 g_ærs M. 173 wa_z. 174 esh M. 175 fast. 179 wha_t. 181 [(t_rod) used].

Æ- 182 s_ii. 183 t_iit_r. 184 l_iid. 185 r_iid. 186 br_iith [used]. 187 l_iiv. 188 ne_i [(n_ik_er) more used]. 189 we_i. 190 ke_i M. 191 h_iil. 192 m_iin. 193 kl_iin. 194 oni M. 195 moni M. 197 t_riz. 199 blee. 200 wh_iit. 201 h_iidh'n. 202 h_iit.

Æ': 203 sp_iit_r. 204 d_iid. 205 thr_iid, M thriid. 206 red. 207 n_iid'l. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 whee. 215 t_out M. 216 d_iil. 217 i_{it}r. 218 sh_iip. 219 sl_iip. 221 f_ir. 222 he_er. 223 dh_ir. 225 flesh. 226 m_ist M. 227 wet. 228 sw_iit. 229 br_iith. 230 fa_t.

Æ- 232 br_iik, M briik [(bra_k brok'n)]. 233 sp_iik [(spek spok'n)]. 235 w_iiv. 236 f_iiv_r. 237 M t_rl_len. 238 hed_r. 241 veen. 243 p_{lee} [(leek) used]. 246 kw_ein [queen and quean]. 247 [(sp_ien) used, M]. 248 m_ir. M miir. 249 w_ir. M wiir. 250 sw_ir. M swiir. 251 m_iit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 led_r, M -dh-. 255 wed_r, M -dh-.

Æ: 257 ed_r. 259 wed_r. 260 k_i [evidently a confusion with *lie*] 261 see. 262 we_e. 264 eel. 268 [(oodist) used M]. 270 beli, belisz, M belus. 272 el'm, M aam. 273 men. 274 be_qk besh. 275 [(st_iqk) used]. 276 th_iqk. 277 d_resh. 278 wensh. 280 el_ib'n. 281 leuth. 282 st_renth. 283 meri. 284 thre'sh M. 285 kresh. 286 ha_re. 287 buz'm [this is right for a besom]. 288 let.

Æ'- 289 j_i j_i. 290 h_ii, v, i. 292 m_ii me m_i. 293 w_ii wa w_e. 294 f_iid. 295 br_ied. 296 bl_iiv. 298 t_iid. 299 gr_iin. 300 k_iip. 301 h_ir. 302 m_iit. 303 sw_iit.

Æ': 305 he_i. M he_i. 306 he_it. 307 n_ii. 308 n_iid. 309 sp_iid. 310 h_iiel. 311 ten. 312 h_ir. 314 h_ird. 315 f_iit. 316 nekst, M [occ.] n_eist.

EA- 319 g_iip M. 320 ke_r, M k_ir. EA: 321 [(s_iid) used]. 322 l_{af}. 323 f_iet, M f_out. 324 ee_it. 325 waak. 326 o_d M [and aad]. 327 M b_ould. 328 k_od M. 329 M f_od faad. 330 hod M. 331 [(sel'd sel'ht)

used] M. 332 [tel'd, tel_lhft] used] M. 333 kaaF M. 334 haaf M. 335 aa M. 336 faa M. 337 waa M. 340 jerd M. 342 er'm. 343 waar'm. 345 daar M. 346 ja₁t, M gr₁et.

EA'- 347 h'j'id, M hiid. 348 éi, M ii. 349 fiû. EA': 350 d'j'id, M diid. 351 h'j'id, M hiid. 352 r'j'id, M riid. 353 br'j'id, M briid. 354 sh'j'iv, M shiif. 355 d'j'if, M diif. 356 h'j'if. 357 dhoo M. 359 ne'ib₁r M. 361 b'j'in. 365 n'j'ib₁r. 366 g₁rt, M gr₁it. 367 thr'it, M thriit. 368 d'j'ith, M diith. 369 sloo, M slaa. 370 roo. 371 s₁tr'ei, M str'v'u.

EI- 372 áj'i, M éi. 373 dhev. 374 néi, M n'j'v. 376 beet. EI: 377 st'ók M. 378 wek M. 382 dheer. EO- 383 s'j'ib'n. 384 hev'n. 385 b'j'ith. 386 j'ú M. 387 niuu.

EO: 388 mil₁hk. 390 su₁d. 393 b'j'ont M. 396 wark. 397 sw₁rd, M sw₁rd. 399 br'it, M briit. 401 j₁rn'ist M. 402 hi₁rn. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 haarth. 406 j₁rth. 407 fard'n. M -in.

EO'- 409 béi bi. 411 thr'ei. 412 shéi sh₁ shu. 413 d'j'í'l, M diiv'l. 414 fl'ei, M flii. 415 h'j'i, M hi. 416 d'j'ib₁r. 417 t₁'u M. 418 briu. 420 f'v₁r. 421 forti.

EO': 423 théi, M thii. 424 ra₁f. h'j'it, M liit. 426 fe'it M. 427 béi bi. 428 séi. 429 M f'j'end. 431 b'j'ib₁r. 432 fóart M. 433 br'ist, M briist. 434 b'j'it 435 j'ei je j'i. 436 t'riú M. 437 t'riuth M. EY- 438 d'j'ii, M dii. EY: 439 t₁ra₁st.

I- 440 w'j'ik. 441 s'j'iv, M siiv. 443 fráidi, M fréidi. 444 st'v'it M. 445 M héi. 446 ne'in. 448 dh'g₁r. 449 g'it M. 450 tiúzdí. 451 siuu. M sóu.

I: 452 ái, M a. 454 w'it₁. 455 lái, M lig. 457 máit, M méit. 458 n'j'it, M niit. 459 r'j'it, M riit. 460 we'it. 462 s'j'it, M siit. 464 wh₁l₁hk, M wh₁lk. 465 sek. M s'æk. 466 [beern₁ used]. 467 we'it'd. 471 tím₁r M. 472 [te rá₁n u p₁ used]. 473 bl'n'd M. 474 [sw₁rd₁ used]. 475 wáin'd wind. 476 bind M. 477 f'ind M. 478 grá₁und, M grú₁nd. 479 w'nd. 481 f'ap₁r M. 484 dh'is. 485 th'is'l. 486 j'est, M j'ist. 487 j'is₁terd'í. 488 j'it.

I'- 420 b'j'i b'j'i. 491 sái. 493 d₁raiv. 494 te'im. 496 áir'n. 498 re'it M.

I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'it'd M. 502 fáiv. 503 le'it M. 504 ne'it M. 505 we'it M. 506 wa₁men. 507 wa₁min M. 508 me'it. 509 whe'it. 511 we'im M. 513 wá₁r. 514 e'is M. 515 wáiz. 516 wízden.

O- 520 b'v'uu, M b'v'u. 521 t'v'el, M f'v'el. 522 op'n M. 523 h'v'up. 524 wa₁r'it'd. O: 525 kof. 527 b'v'ut M. 528 th'v'ut M. 529 br'v'ut M. 530 r'v'ut. 531 dóu₁t₁r, M dóuther. 532 k'v'el, M k'v'el. 533 d'v'el, 534 h'v'el M [apparently, written *whoal*]. 536 g'v'it'd. 537 m'v'ud, M muuld. 538 wa₁d wad. 540 holen M. 542 b'v'ut M. 545 hop. 548 ford. 549 herd. 550 wa₁rd. 551 storm. 552 k'v'rn. 553 hu₁rn.

O'- 555 sh'v'uu [see 640]. 556 t'v'v. 558 líek M. 559 m'v'j'd₁r, M -dh- 561 ble'v'um, M bl'v'em. 562 m'v'ien M. 563 m'v'nde. 564 s'v'ien M. 565 n'v'ez, M n'v'ez [written *nvvas*]. 567 t'v'j'd'v'j'p'.

O': 569 b'v'ek M. 570 t'v'ek M. 571 g'v'it'd. 572 bl'v'it'd, M bl'v'it'd. 573 fl'ud. 574 br'v'ud. 575 st'v'ud M. 576 we'd'nzdv. 577 b'v'uu. 578 pl'v'it M. 579 en'v'el. 580 t'v'el. 581 sóv't. 582 kíel M. 583 te'v'ul, M t'v'el. 584 st'v'el M. 585 v' br'v'em. 586 d'v'v. 587 d'v'ien M. 588 m'v'ien M. 589 sp'v'ien M. 590 fle'v'v₁r, M fl'v'v₁r. 591 m'v'uer. 592 [(swéerd) swear'd, used], M sw'v'ar. 593 [m'v'v used] M. 594 b'v'et M. 595 t'v'et M. 596 r'v'it M. 597 s'v'it M. 598 sv'uth.

U- 599 eb'v'ien M. 600 hu₁v. 601 fe'v'it, M fiul. 602 se'v'uu, M suu. 603 k'v'm. 605 sa₁n. 606 d'v'uu₁r' [v'vuu], M d'v'v' [see 640]. 607 bu₁t₁r, M [says 'h sounded,' v' meaning that *ter* = -*ther*, or simply that the *t* is dentalised]. U: 608 u gl'í. 609 f'v'j'l. 610 w'v'uu. 612 sv'm. 613 d'rv'qk. 614 hu'nd M. 615 p'v'nd M. 616 gr'v'nd M. 617 s'v'v'nd, M su'nd. 618 w'v'v'nd. 619 f'v'nd M. 620 gr'v'nd M. 622 v'nd₁r M [with a slight (h)' that is slightly dentalised (d'v'v₁r)]. 625 tv'q. 626 hu'q₁r. 629 sv'n. 631 th'v'rstv. 634 thr'v'uu. 635 wa₁rth. 636 [faard₁r] used, M]. 639 dv'ist [(st'v'v'v) also used].

U'- 640 k'v'uu, M kuu [JGG. is not quite satisfied with this symbol, which, however, is different from the (v'v'uu) of 520, 606, 610, 617, 618, which has more of an (v'v) effect. Neither of them is supposed to be (v'v). The present sounds

in 640, 641, 642, 643, etc., are (uu) sounds, as shewn by the M appreciation, but begin with some undefined sound which JGG. could not appreciate after some days of observation. The result is like (*ú*₁u, *á*'u), transitional from (uu) to (*á*'u)]. 641 *həúu*, M *huu*. 642 *dheúu*, M *dhuu*. 643 *neúu*, M *nuu*. 646 *beúu*, M *bnu* [compare 577 (*bəúu*)]. 647 *v'uu*. 648 *v'nur*, M *uur*. 649 *thaúuzend*. 652 *ku₁d*. 653 *bu₁t*.

U': 654 *sh'reúud*, M *shruud*. 655 *feúul*. 656 *rəúm*. 657 *breúun*, M *bruun*. 658 *deúun*, M *duun*. 659 *teúun*, M *tuun*. 660 *beúur*. 661 *sheúur*, M *shuur*. 662 *hu₁z*. 663 *heúus*, M *huus*. 664 *leúus*, M *luus*. 665 *meúus*, M *muus*. 666 *hu₁zband*. 667 *vút*, M *ut*. 668 *preúnd*, M *pruud*. 671 *meúuth*, M *muuth*. 672 *seúuth*, M *suuth*.

Y- 673 *mik'l*, M *mät₁*. 674 *du₁d*. 676 *le'i*, M *lii*. 677 *d₁râi*. 678 *din*. 679 *t₁u₁rt₁*. 680 *bizi*. 682 *lit'l*. Y: 683 *m₁di*. 684 *brig* M. 685 *rig* M. 686 *hâi*. 687 *he'i*. 689 *bil'd*. 690 *ke'in'd* M. 691 *me'in'd* M. 693 *sin*. 694 *wə₁rk*, v *g₁ud wə₁rkr* v *iz waark* [a good worker of his work]. 696 *b₁rth*. 697 *beri*. 698 *mə₁rth*. 699 *re'it*, M *riit*. 700 *wars* M. 701 *f₁rst* M. 703 *pit*. Y- 705 *skâi*. 706 *whe'i*. 707 *thə₁rt₁in*. 708 *hâ₁r*. Y': 709 *fâ₁r*. 711 M *le'is*. 712 *me'is* M.

II. ENGLISH.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A. 725 *s₁el*. 730 *kan₁r* [or (-th-) as it is stated that *h* is sounded]. 733 *sk₁ur*. E. 743 *skr₁um*. 744 *mez'lz*. 745 *t₁et*. O. 761 *l₁ed*. 764 *ku₁d'l*. 766 *mó₁rd*. 769 *mó₁warp*. 774 *pó₁ni*. 780 *d₁s'l*. 784 *bu₁ns*. 786 *du₁s*. 787 *su₁s*. 790 *gu₁n*. U. 805 *kr₁dz*. 808 *pu₁t*.

III. ROMANCE.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A.. 809 *jab'l*. 810 *t₁es*. 811 *pl₁es*. 812 *l₁es*. 817 *red'ish*. 852 *ap'r'n*. 857 *k₁es*. 859 *t₁as*. 860 *p₁est*. 861 *t₁est*. 862 *s₁ef*. 865 *faat*. E.. 874 *riin*. 875 *fent*. 884 *prent'is*. 887 *klar'ji*. 892 *nevi*. I.. and Y.. 910 *d₁ist*. O.. 913 *ku₁et₁*. 921 *ek'ent*. 927 *tr₁qk* [said to be "as in We.']. 928 *u₁ns*. 929 *ku₁kemb₁r*. 930 *lu₁nd₁*. 940 *ku₁et*. 941 *f₁el*. 952 *ku₁rs*. 955 *du₁t*. U.. 961 *gr₁uel*. 963 *wá₁t*. 966 *frá₁t*. 969 *sí₁er*. 971 *flú₁t*.

D 32 = NN. = north Northern.

Boundaries. On the n. the L. line 10. On the s. the n. *tee* line 7. On the e. and w. the sea.

Area. A small portion of n.Cu., about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle. The n. of Du. The whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills.

Varieties. This area is again divided into six Varieties: Var. i, n.Cu.; Var. ii, n.Du.; Var. iii, Hexham or sw.Nb.; Var. iv, 'the Pitmen' or se.Nb.; Var. v, m.Nb.; Var. vi, n.Nb.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per JGG., || so., and ° io.

Cu. † Brampton, † Carlisle, * Dalston.

Du. ° Bishop Middleham, * Clickeminn, near Lanchester, ° Collierly, ° Dalton-le-Dale, ° Edmundbyers, * Kelloe, ° Lanchester, ° Shincliffe, *° South Shields, *° Sunderland, ° Tyne-side.

Nb. ° Aeklington, ° Alnwick, ° Ancroft, * Berwick-upon-Tweed, ° Birtley, ° Doddington, ° Embleton, ° Haltwhistle, ° Harbottle, * Hexham, † Knaresdale,

*Morpeth, *Newcastle-on-Tyne, *North Shields, *Rothbury, °Stamfordham, °Tyne to Wansbeck, *°Warkworth, °Whalton, °Whittingham, °Woodhorn, °Wooler.

See also the notice of the Burr on p 641.

General Character. The essential character of D 32 at present is that of a transition from D 30 and 31 to D 33, from E. and WN. to L. Historically, of course, this must be an incorrect conception. But with historical derivation we have here nothing to do. The L. like the S. has entirely abandoned the (*u*) sound of U and replaced it by (*æ*), while the (*u*, *u*₁) are retained in D 30 and 31, and the great peculiarity of D 32 is the gradual dying out of this (*u*) into (*æ*). In D 32, Var. i, the (*u*) sound remains, in D 32, Var. vi, it has been quite replaced by (*æ*). Between varieties i and vi the (*u*) very frequently occurs, but is also very frequently replaced by a bad imitation of (*æ*), which I represent by (*æ*₁). I was altogether unprepared for this sound when I reached Newcastle in 1879, and was much puzzled by it. I had considered that the *ũ* used by my correspondents represented (*u*, *u*₁) alone as throughout Yo. and (except about Longtown and Bewcastle) Cu. The first dt. I attempted to write at Newcastle in February, 1879, disillusioned me. I noted that the new sound was not (*æ*, *æ*, *u*), but lay among them. When in February, 1883, I wrote to Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 n.w. Hexham, Nb.), to point out in his wl. which of his *ũ* words had (*u*), and which (*æ*), he observed: "in all these *ũ* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *beuf*, *fleur*, etc. Also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the rec. pron. It is slightly prolonged in the folk-speech of Hexham and w.Nb. district." This quite agrees with my own observations. The sound is of medial length in general, which it is needless to notice, and adumbrates (*æ*). To indicate all this I annex an inferior (₁) to (*æ*), thus (*æ*₁), but I was unable strictly to analyse the sound when I heard it, and I cannot venture to do so from memory. There is no labialisation as for (*æ*), and it will be quite sufficient to use (*æ*) in speech. No doubt in a generation or two (*æ*₁) will have quite given place to (*æ*). In the mean time it is characteristic of the mixed region in n.Du. and Nb, just as (som) is characteristic of the region between lines 1 and 2, and as (*u*_o) is transitional from (*æ*) to (*u*) throughout the M. counties. See the obs. on (*u*_o) on p. 291, and note especially the relation of (*u*_o) to (*æ*₁). The two transitions are obviously closely allied. This (*æ*₁) is not found in Cu., but it is very prevalent in Hexham, Var. iii, and is said to have become general in Alnwick, but it is not till about Wooler, as far as I have been able to ascertain, that (*æ*) becomes permanently installed for the whole of L. The use of (*æ*) in Sunderland is probably due to Scotch influence. See 22 dt., No. 6, Introd.

The fractures (*ú*₁, *ú*₁*u*), the former from E' sinking to (*ééi*), and the latter from U' rising to (*óu*), or nearly so, probably occur through D 32. But where I possess written accounts only, these sounds are not distinguished from (ii, uu), in fact the natives

consider them as such. In (\acute{u}_1u) the (\acute{u}_1) approaches at times very close to (o), and hence the resemblance which induced me to write ($\acute{o}u$) from dictation in several cases, where I think (\acute{u}_1u) was meant. See *now* in par. 1 of 22 dt., Nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15. In Nos. 12, 14 and 17 I have (\acute{u}_1u). No. 17 was indeed very carefully dictated to me by Mr. Ridley to bring out the sound. I have thought it best, however, to retain the signs in each case which I first wrote from dictation. The case where the vowel U' was open, as at the end of a word, *e.g.* in *now* just considered, is different from that in which U' occurs before a consonant, as we shall see especially in D 33. Hence *about, down, house*, in the 22 dt. have more frequently (uu) than (\acute{u}_1u) or ($\acute{o}u$). But still there is the same tendency, which completely disappears in L., where (uu) or (\grave{u}) is universal before a consonant.

The I' generates a diphthong, generally taken as ($\acute{e}i$, $\acute{e}'i$), but which I heard as ($\acute{\sigma}i$, $\acute{\alpha}i$), practically the same as in my own speech. But I think that when it occurs in open syllables it may be ($\acute{\alpha}i$). The two sounds of this representative of I' are discriminated in L., and in the Brampton vl. below ($\acute{\alpha}i$) occurs in *drive, wide, fire*, and ($\acute{\sigma}i$) otherwise, but there is no consistent usage. In the English pron. of Greek it is customary to speak the diphthong *ei* as ($\acute{\sigma}i$) or ($\acute{\alpha}i$) and *ai* as ($\acute{\alpha}i$), and hence among the clergymen whom I have had to consult so much, *ei ai* have been considered the proper signs to represent the difference. This is of course rather embarrassing to a Londoner, who has only one long \bar{i} , intentionally, though it varies individually, as ($\acute{\alpha}i$, $\acute{\sigma}i$, $\acute{\alpha}i$, $\acute{\sigma}'i$). But the difference, as we shall see, is highly developed in L, and we already found it in D 31, Var. v.

The treatment of O' varies as ($\acute{i}u$, $\acute{i}i\bar{u}$, $\acute{i}\acute{\sigma}_1$). Compare *school, soon, look*, in the 22 dt. It is curiously enough written *ui* in the *Pitman's Pay*, as *swin* for ($\acute{s}i\bar{u}$, $\acute{s}\acute{\sigma}_1\bar{u}$).

The treatment of A-, A' forms a difference between Var. iii and iv, as will be seen presently.

The guttural (kh , kjh) has practically disappeared even on the very verge of L., but Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 n.w. Hexham, and 8 e. L. border), admits it faintly in Var. iii in *night, right, sight, bought, thought, brought, wrought, daughter, sought*, etc., see the s.Nb. cwl. No other authority gives it, so it is probably very local. But in the greater part of D 32 the *r* is pronounced gutturally. This pron. does not even determine varieties, and being very peculiar and local, will be considered separately.

The definite article is always ($dh\bar{u}$). *I am* ($\acute{a}m$) is quite as often *I is* ($\acute{a}z$).

The classical work in the se.Nb. or Pitman's dialect is Thomas Wilson's *Pitman's Pay*, a cheap edition of which, with other poems, was published in 1872 by Routledge, London. It has set the norm for spelling, which, however, is rather confusing to a Southerner. Thus *aw*=($\acute{a}a^1$) or ($\acute{a}a$) of JGG., p. 539, the very fine ($\acute{a}a$) which prevails over the n. of England, and *not* ($\acute{A}A$) as it suggests. Again *ou*=(\acute{u}_1u) or (uu), not ($\acute{o}u$), which is written *ow*,

and *ui* is generally (iu, iœ₁), as (sïœ₁n, kïœ₁l) *suin*, *cuil*=soon, cool; and *never* (vɣ₁) or any approach to French *u*, as the orthography suggests. Also no distinction is made between (*u*₁, œ₁), but *u* is used for both indifferently. On this point some detailed information will be seen in the s.Nb. cwl. which contrasts sw. and se.Nb.

Characters of Varieties. These are not particularly well marked, but I have endeavoured to make them clear by interlinear illustrations.

Var. i. in n.Cu., is so like D 31, except in the use of (dɣ), that I have thought it best to put the two es., one for Carlisle. Cu., and one for Knaresdale, Nb., among the 22 es. illustrating D 31, pp. 562, No. 21, and 563, No. 22. This Var. is distinguished by an absence of (œ₁), so that the (*u*₁) of Cu. suddenly becomes the (ɣ) of D 33 without passing through any intermediate form. *Ï* becomes (ɛ^ʹ) as appreciated by JGG. In Carlisle (n^ʹi^ʹem, h^ʹi^ʹem) *name*, *home*, occur, but in Knaresdale (n^ʹi^ʹem, h^ʹi^ʹem), with a distinct (ɛ). At Brampton there was the intermediate (n^ʹi^ʹem, h^ʹi^ʹem) with an indistinct (e), which was not yet (v), as shewn by (ʹ), the symbol of indistinctness. See the Brampton cwl., p. 669. There is no Nb. *burr*.

Var. ii. in n.Du., see 22 dt., Nos. 1 to 6. The (œ₁) begins to assert itself, but (*u*) is more general, the (i^ʹu) greatly resembles (ô^ʹu), both (né^ʹem) and (n^ʹem)=(n^ʹem) are employed. The resemblance is rather to Var. iv, the Pitmen's, than to Var. iii the Hexham form. There is not much burr even near Newcastle. Sunderland can hardly be said to be a dialect on account of the mixed population and influence of Scotch and Irish. South Shields has the great peculiarity of losing its *r* altogether except before a vowel, and even then it is much debased.

Var. iii, the sw.Nb., extends e. to about 1 w.Stamfordham, and includes Bellingham (:bɛːlɪndɪm) on the nw., and Ovingham (:oːvɪndɪm) on the se. This is recognised by the Newcastle people as a distinct variety. Their favourite example is the speech of a woman to her daughter as she gives her a penny to buy "a haltpennyworth of salt, and bring a haltpenny back, taking a saucer to put it in." This becomes (v hooːpɔrθ o sɔt, en v hooːpni bæk, en hiɔr)z dhɛ sooːsɔr tɛ pɛɪt ɪt ɪn), which in Var. iv is (v haaːpɔrθ o saaːt, en v haaːpni bæk, en hiɔr)z dhɛ saaːsɔr tɛ pɛɪt ɪt ɪn). A similar sentence was concocted about the beginning of the century at a school a little n. of Birtley, as related to the Vicar, Rev. G. Rome Hall, by the old churchwarden, Mr. Percy Robson. The sentence was "I went to serve [=feed] the calves, and it snowed and it blowed, and my feet balled [with snow sticking to the soles of the boots], and ah! it *was* cold." At Woodburn, 4 ne.Bellingham, and in the Redesdale district varieties, and the same would be the case in Var. iv, they said

(a¹ went tɛ sàːrəː dhɛ kaaːz, en ɪt snaaːd en ɪt blaːd, en maː fiit baaːd, en ɛɛːiː ɪt ˈwəːz kaaːd).

But at Birtley and s. of the Rede in the valley of the North Tyne, they said

(a¹ went tɛ sàːrəː dhɛ kooz, en ɪt snood en ɪt blood, en maː fiit bood, en, ɛɛːiː, ɪt ˈwəːz kood).

Another point of difference which is not brought out in these sentences is well shewn in the s.Nb. cwl. All words having (iɪ) in Var. iii have (iɛ) or (iœ₁) in Var. iv, thus *name*, *home*, *soon* are in Var. iii (n^ʹi^ʹem, hi^ʹem, si^ʹem), and in Var. v (n^ʹi^ʹem, hi^ʹem, siœ₁n).

Var. iii also has a great predilection for (œ₁). This is remarkable at Halt-whistle (14 w.Hexham), because it is close to Var. i, from which (œ₁) is absent.

To this var. belong two entertaining but unfinished little stories by Thomas Bewick, the celebrated Newcastle wood engraver (born at Ovingham), called "The Howdy" and "The Upgetting," of which 60 copies were printed in 1850 for Mr. John Gray Bell. I had hoped to give them in a phonetic form, but while I was at Newcastle I could find no one who was able to read them to me, and there are so many curious words in them, that I was unable to pal. them conjecturally. The original MSS. were said to be in possession of Mr. John

Bell, of Gateshead, but I failed to discover him, or the printer or publisher. I owe my transcript to the kindness of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who possesses a copy.

Var. iv, se.Nb. The distinctions between this and Var. iii have just been pointed out. This variety contains the speech of the Pitmen, and is most characteristic of Nb. But the mere writing of this speech conveys very little notion of its peculiarities of intonation, which are different for pitmen, keelmen [=boatmen], and ploughmen. The singsong and musical drawl of the pitmen must be heard to be understood. It is this variety to which the numerous dialectal books, annuals, comic stories, and songs usually refer. But their spelling was intended only for those familiar with the speech, and is scientifically valueless.

Var. v, mid Nb., occupies the county from the Wansbeck to line 9, and is scarcely different in pron. from Var. iv, see 22 dt., Nos. 14 to 21, p. 656. The town of Alnwick seems to have adopted (æ), or perhaps (æ₁) exclusively, but that is not yet the habit of the peasantry.

Just before reaching line 9 are the towns of Chillingham and Chatton, which are credited with pronouncing *ch* as (sh). Mr. Allen, of Snitter, dictated the following sentence (dhi shiiz v :shet'n is nee meer lə'ik dhi shiiz v :shī-līqem, nor shaak's lə'ik shiiz) = the cheese of Chatton is no more like the cheese of Chillingham, nor (than) chalk's like cheese. Chillingham is famous for its wild white cattle, but is also noteworthy phonetically as being the only Nb. name in -ingham, which is pron. with (-iqem), all the others having (-indqem). Mr. Ridley dictated the same sentence the other way over, thus (dhu shī'iz v :shīl'iqem iz nī meer lə'ik dhu shē'iz v :shat'n nor shaak's lə'ik shē'iz). This sentence reminds us naturally of Dr. Murray's for Chirnside (9 nw. Berwick-on-Tweed), (dheer'z uz ged shiiz i :shirset uz wez ever shōud wi shafts) there's as good cheese in Chirnside as was ever chewed with chafts, i.e. jaws, Chirnside (:shirset) being celebrated for the same change of (tj) into (sh), as has taken place regularly in French (Dialect of S. Scotl. p. 85).

Var. vi, taking the extreme n. of Nb. and Berwick-upon-Tweed, has adopted (æ) throughout, and in other respects much resembles D 33, but differs from it, as will be seen among other things in the absence of (kh) and inability to produce a trilled (r), see the Berwick es., p. 645, and notes, p. 652.

THE BURR.

In describing and distinguishing the above six varieties I have barely alluded to the Burr, which is commonly looked upon as *the* characteristic of Nb. speech. This is because I consider it a modern accidental growth very conspicuous to a Lowlander or a Southerner, though quite inessential to the dialect. But it requires special consideration, and hence has been placed last.

The Nb. Burr or (krʌp) is a peculiar pronunciation of the letter *r* in which the interruptions of voice sound, that in my opinion form the essence of the *r*, are made by the flapping of the uvula (instead of the tip of the tongue), as set in motion by the voiced or flated stream of air itself, and not by a voluntary muscular effort. It is really a defect of articulation which tends to become epidemic. As such it exists vigorously in the n. of Germany and n. of France, and especially at Paris. But it is also a peculiarity of individuals that reside in other districts. The Nb. burr is complicated by some labialisation, and by being influenced by some vowels more than others, especially the labial series (a, o, u). It varies much in different parts of Nb. according to accounts which I have received, but I am not able to state what the differences are, as it would require residence for some time in different parts of the

county, and intercourse in each place with a considerable number of natives, to obtain anything like satisfactory results. The burr is said to be "rougher" in se.Nb. than at Alnwick, where it is credited with perfection. Mr. Robson (in the notices to his translations of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte) attempts to write the Newcastle burr as "urroond the urrugged urrocks," and the n.Nb. burr as "erroocend th' erruggeed errocks" for *round the rugged rocks*. The Vicar of Embleton for the peasantry there wrote "oowit, thwoo, oowċd," his curate for the fishing population used "'rite, thr'oo, rred," both for *right, through, red*, and these symbols represented to them distinct differences, but certainly neither these nor Mr. Robson's avail for an outsider.

It is easy to produce great varieties of burr, by varying the form of the tongue on which the uvula seems to lie, to agree with the position for different vowels, and by increasing or diminishing the closure of the lips, as well as the degree of force in the emission of breath. The sharpness of the rattle heard from a young Parisian lad calling "L'Entracte! Programme des spectacles, prix trois sous," is something remarkable, and this *r* well replaces the Italian tip-tongue trilled *r*. The German uvular *r* is often indistinguishable from a guttural (gh) initial and medial, and (kh) final. Both are combined, at least occasionally, in the Dutch *ch, g*, and Arabic ع ڭ. The modern Greek γ is very mild. The extent of excursion of the flapping uvula makes a great difference in the effect produced. But there is much difficulty in ascertaining what practice actually prevails in any given place. And, after all, the practice may really vary from speaker to speaker at the same place. As a general rule I shall represent the burr by (*r*) simply, by (*rw*) when the labial element is conspicuous, by (*r*_o, *rw*_o) when in either case the uvula is so stiffened that it serves only to impede the passage of air without definite interruptions. Thus the words *to marry a very merry lass* sounded to me, as pronounced by a Nb. pitman, as (tə ma¹r_oi v va¹r_oi ma¹r_oi la's), *merry* and *marry* being pronounced identically and rhyming with each other and with *very*, while the (*r*_o) was so inconspicuous that much attention was required to discover the differences of (ma¹r_oi, va¹r_oi) from the Italian *mai, vai* (mâ'i, vâ'i), with which indeed Mr. Swinburne, the poet, a native, identifies them. But the habit is so local, and probably in Europe so modern, that it does not affect general relations of dialect, as the reverted (R) of the S. div. certainly seems to do. The actual usage and its variety in different places is therefore comparatively unimportant, although striking to a stranger.

It is much more important to determine the limits of country over which the Burr extends. I was recommended for information to Mr. Peter Mouatt, 8, Shield Field, Newcastle, as having travelled much about the border, but he could not tell me himself, and when he tried his commercial travellers he found that they all had the burr without knowing it, and were hence unable to detect its presence or absence. At last he found one, Mr. J. R. Dickson, who was a Scotchman, and hence fully aware of the defective uvular

trill. From his notes, assisted by Mr. Gunn of Berwick-on-Tweed, Mr. Lees of Edinburgh, Mr. J. G. Goodchild, who has had experience on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, Mr. Laurence Goodchild, a blind traveller (no relation to the last-named), Mr. Proctor of the *North of England Review*, Mr. Jas. Mearns, son of the minister of Coldstream, some notes and correspondence on the subject by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Dr. J. A. H. Murray's notes, etc., I obtained sufficient information to draw up the following table.

The places in () have not been identified, those marked * are on the Maps of the Dialect Districts, the others are referred to them.

BURR STRONG.	BURR WEAK.	NO BURR.
*Berwick-upon-Tweed Spittal (1 se. Berwick) Horncliffe (4 sw. Berwick)		Horndean, Bw. (8 ne. Coldstream)
Norham (7 sw. Berwick)		Ladykirk, Bw. (6 ne. Coldstream) (Newtown)
Cornhill (1 e. Coldstream) (Donaldson's Lodge)	Wark, Nb. (1 sw. Coldstream) Carham, Nb. (3 wsw. Coldstream)	*Coldstream, Bw. Birgham, Bw. (3 w. Coldstream)
*Wooler Keilder (26 nw. Hexham) Falstone (19 nw. Hexham)	Haltwhistle, Nb. (14 w. Hex.) Allendale, Nb. (9 sw. Hex.)	*The Cheviots (n. slope), Nb. Yetholm, Rx. (10 w. Wooler) (Riccarton) Greenhead, Nb. (17 w. Hex.)
Whittonstall, Nb. (9 ese. Hexham)	Edmundbyers, Du. (10 sse. Hexham) Minster Acres, Nb. (8 se. Hexham) Castleside, Du. (13 se. Hexham) Benfieldside, Du. (13 wnw. Durham) Shotley, Nb. (13 nw. Durham)	Brampton (8 ne. Carlisle) (Allenhead, Cu.) Blanchland, Nb. (8 s. Hex.) Alston, Cu. (17 sw. Hex.)
Prudhoe, Nb. (9 w-by-s. Newcastle), and thence strong to S. Shields	Ebchester, Du. (11 se. Hexham)	Iveston, Du. (10 nw. Durham) North Shields, Nb. South Shields, Du.

This covers the whole inland border of Nb. beginning at the n. Beyond the Tweed, to the n., except in Berwick and its Liberties, there is no burr. Mr. Lees had observed it from some men at Burnmouth and Eyemouth (6 and 9 n. Berwick), but is inclined to think it due to intercourse with Berwick as a market town. Mr.

Gunn and others suppose that the burr dies out suddenly at the b. of the Berwick Liberties, Mr. Lees thinks it only dies rapidly. In the "New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the respective parishes, etc.," 1845, vol. ii. p. 154, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte pointed out to me, the then Minister of Hutton-on-the-Tweed, adjoining the Liberties of Berwick, says: "The language spoken is the Berwickshire dialect of the Scots, intermixed with the Nb. *burr*." In January, 1876, the then Minister of Hutton, Dr. R. Kirke, wrote to the Prince: "The Nb. *burr* is *not natural* to the natives of this parish, and is *never known* except in the speech of persons who have been born and brought up in Nb. and in the Liberties of Berwick," and that this applies also to the adjoining parish of Mordlington. But as a defect of speech I myself in 1854 heard it very strong indeed from the young son of a Scotch gentleman in Edinburgh. Again the n. slopes of the Cheviots are decidedly Scotch, but a strong burr has been heard at Kielder (Mr. Dickson) and Falstone (JGG.). On the south, Mr. Laurence Goodchild considers that the burr stops at Gateshead. But I myself heard it from a native of Kelloe (18 s-by-e.Gateshead). From Bishopton (5 nw.Stockton, Du.) the Vicar in 1879, Rev. C. H. Ford, who I was told had a strong burr himself, reported its existence there. Finally, at North Shields, Nb., and South Shields, Du., in the midst of a burr country, the entire burr has vanished. But the pitmen just beyond the town burr vigorously.

Hence the burr, like the change of (u) into (ə), or of (uu) into (a'u), cannot be regarded as disrupting a phonetic dialect district. D 32 is therefore held to extend to parts of Cu. and Du. which have no burr. The burr cannot even be regarded as the mark of a variety. The same thing occurs in France and Germany.

Illustrations. For Carlisle and Knaresdale I give es. pal. from dict. by JGG. as Nos. 21 and 22 among the 22 interlinear es. of D 31, pp. 562, 563.

For South Shields, Newcastle, and Berwick I give also inter-linear es. all pal. from dict. by myself. They are in themselves a good epitome of the whole of Nb. pron.

But I have been enabled to give 22 dt., interlinearly arranged for Var. ii to vi, eleven of which were pal. by me from dict. These serve very well to shew the slight differences and general resemblances and the transition to L.

Finally, there are four ewl. For Var. i a valuable one from Brampton, written from dict. by JGG. For Var. ii a cwl. for South Shields, by Rev. C. Y. Potts, which I had to pal. from an original glossic, by the help of the *vivá voce* rendering of the es. for the same place. For Var. iii and iv, contrasting the Hexham and Pitmen usages, two important lists are here thrown together for ease of comparison by Rev. G. R. Hall and Rev. Hugh Taylor, which I have had to pal. from their spellings and indications, and from personal knowledge of these varieties obtained at Newcastle in 1879. For Var. v I give a valuable cwl. settled from the dictation of Mr. Ridley of Warksworth.

THREE INTERLINEAR CS.

1. *South Shields*, Var. ii, n.Du., at the mouth of the Tyne. The original was written in glossic by Rev. C. Y. Potts, then of Ledbury, but born and bred at South Shields. Mr. Potts, who gave himself much trouble to inform me, also sent a lw. given hereafter as a cwl. I transliterated the cs. into pal., and then corrected it in Jan. 1879, from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Pyke, Ocean Terrace, South Shields, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Lyell, cousin of the Sec. of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Newcastle. The following is from that corrected version, Mr. Potts's principal variants are given in the notes, p. 649. There are, as both Mr. Potts and Mr. Pyke stated, three pron. prevalent at South Shields, viz. those of the Pilots, Middle Town Folk, and Pitmen. The version gives the second, as Mr. Pyke was only partially acquainted with the others, and Mr. Potts considered them "vulgar," but they will be occasionally referred to in the notes.

2. *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Nb., Var. iv. Great pains have been taken to make this cs. as correct as possible. It was originally written in Dec. 1873 by Mr. William Henderson Dawson, 50 years acquainted with the dialect, then writer of the "Lokil Letter" [local letter] in the *North of England Advertiser*, under the signature of "a Retiort Keelmin" [a retired boatman]. It was afterwards read to me by Mr. T. Mitcheson, a native of Rothbury, who had lived long at Cramlington (8 n-by-e. Newcastle, and 5 sw. Blyth), where he had become acquainted with pitmen at Blyth (:bléidh) and Bebside (2 w. Blyth). As he had been in London 10 years, during which he had tried to forget his dialectal habits, and had conquered the burr, he was afraid that he might not correctly recollect the pron., and in Jan. 1876, he procured me an interview with two pitmen, John Bryson, of Bebside Colliery, and Ralph Young, of Newcastle, native of Bebside. With them I went over the cs. as written phonetically from Mr. Mitcheson's dict. In Feb. 1876, I had an opportunity of going over the same with Mrs. Ferschel, a native of Newcastle, who had married a German and lived in London. I was very desirous to hear Mr. Dawson read it, and, having to go to Newcastle in 1879, I had arranged to see him, but unfortunately he was taken ill a few weeks previously, and died the day that I arrived, 27th Jan. Under these circumstances I went over the phonetic transcript I had made for Mr. Dawson, after correcting as above, with Mr. T. P. Barkas, of Newcastle, and the following is written from the copy thus corrected. But I have thought it best to give in the notes such variations and information as I received from the sources above named. Probably my (a¹, a) would have been heard by JGG. as (a, a₁) respectively, and this makes the usage agree with that of D 31, see (a₁), p. 539. Observe that natives say *Newcastle*, not *Newcasstle*.

3. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, Var. vi, is now quite included in Nb., giving its name to one of the parliamentary divisions which extends to s. of Alnwick, the old borough having been abolished in 1886. But the town and liberties, which extend into Bw., have their own peculiar character, quite distinct from L., though on L. soil on the n. side of the Tweed. The cs. was pal. by AJE. in Feb. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. G. M. Gunn, a native, who lived there the first 20 years of his life, and has since visited it annually. The roughest part for the dialect and for social position is in the place called Greenses (:grínsz), where the fishermen live outside the walls. The next are Shaw's Lane and Walkergate Lane.

0. S	<i>South Shields</i> , Du.	wh'e'i :djak hez ni ₁ duuts.
N	<i>Newcastle</i> , Nb.	h'u ₁ u :djon hez ni dùts.
B	<i>Berwick-upon-Tweed</i> .	whái :djoon hez noo duts.

1. S	wiil nə'ibə,	j)el	bīeth laf	at mæ'i njuuz.
N	wiil nīebo _{rw} ,	jii	vn hīm me	bīeth la ¹ f et dho _l r njuuz
B	weel nēbə,	juu	vn hii me	booth laaf et dhīs njuuz

- S wii KE'z? it)s n_ii matu—it)s nóudhe
 N e m^ə'in. whi keerz? dha't)s nóudhor
 B e má'in. whee kéerz? dhæt)s nèdhe
- S h_iie na dhEE'v.
 N h_iir nor dhéeo_r.
 B h_iie ne dhéev.
2. S n_ii bodi d_iiz b'kaaz dh)a làft et, wi naa div'nt wi?
 N fiuu MEN d_ii kà'z dho)r làft et, wi naa¹ div'nt we?
 B fiuw MEN dá*i* b'kəz dhé)v laaft at, wi KEN div'nt we?
- S what wud mĕek dhim? it iz)int vE_ri lə'ikli is)t?
 N wha't shu₁d mĕek dhem? it)s not va'r_oi lə'ikli is)t?
 B whət shəd meek dhem? it iz'nt vE_ri láikli iz)it?
3. S onihóu aa)l tEl jE dhi faks ən)t, so d_ii₁st haad
 N huus'vor dhor)z dhe fa'ks v_v dhe kees, si d_ii₁st ha'd
 B huE'vE dhiiz iz dhe faks v dhe kees, soo d_ij₁st háuld
- S jE d_iaa en see nóut tĭl aa)v d_iœ₁n. d_ii₁st h_ii₁v.
 N jor whĭst, en bi kwáist tĭv a¹)z d_iœ₁n. liz'n.
 B jE nôiz, frĭnd, en bi kwáist tĭl a)m dan. lizĭn.
4. S aa)m saat'n a haad dh_um see—su₁m o dh_um fooks
 N aa¹)z saa_r't'n a¹ hĭord dh_um see—su₁m ov dhor fooks
 B a)m saat'n a hĭed dh_um sĕ—sĕm v dh_um fook
- S dhat wEnt th_ruu dhi hool thi_q f_rə)dhi fóost dhE'ESelz,
 N dhət wEnt th_ruu dhi hĭel thi_q frE dhe fo_rst dhorselz,
 B at wEnt th_rù dhe hool thi_q frè dhe forĕst dha)selz,
- S dhat a d_id, sĭef enĭœ₁f.
 N dhat a did, sĭef enĭœ₁f.
 B dhat did a, seef enĕf.
5. S dhat dhi ja₁qest sa₁n hĭzsel, a g_riit lad n^ə'in j_ii₁vz
 N dhət dhe ja₁qĭst sa₁n ĭzsel, v g_riit lad v n^ə'in
 B dhət de jaqest sĕn ĭssel, v big ladi v ná*i*ĭn
- S aad nĭuu hĭz fE_dh_u va'is at jENS fE_r aal it wĭz sii
 N nĭuu hĭz fE_dhorz vóis ut wons, thoo it 'wa'z si
 B kEND iz fE_dh_u)z vóois ut wons, althoo it 'wəz sE
- S k_ui₁v_r an sk_ui₁k_i, an aa wad t_ru₁st 'hĭm tE tEl dhi
 N k_ui₁or en sk_ui₁k_i, en ad t_ru₁st hĭm tE sp_iik dhe
 B k_ui₁v_e en sk_ui₁k_in, en a wəd t_rəst ĭm tE spiik dhe
- S t_ru₁uth onĭ dee, á*i*, 'dhat a wad.
 N t_ru₁uth onĭ dEE, eE, a¹ wa'd¹.
 B t_rùth ònĭ dee, ææ'*i*, a wəd.

6. S an dhi aad wu₁man h₁sel ðl tel ðni oo je dhat lafs
 N en dhe a¹d wə'if h₁sel' el tel ðni o je dhut la¹f
 B en dhe áuld wæm₁n u₁sel el tel ðni on je at laaf

S nuu, an tel ji st₁rə'it əf, tii, widhuut ðni bəðhe,
 N n₁u, en tel je strə'it əf, tii, widhuut m₁t₁ bəðh₁,
 B náu, en tel je et wons en AA, u₁dhut mat₁ bəðhe,

S if j)el ðni ask ə, oo! w₁n₁t shi?
 N if j)el ðni a¹ks ə, oo! w₁n₁t sh₁?
 B if j)el ðn₁i aks ə, oo! w₁l shi noo?

7. S ðn₁h₁ou shi teld 'mii ən)t when 'aa akst ə, tuuth₁r₁
 N et k₁ist shi teld 'mii wen a¹ a¹kst ə, t₁u or
 B et ðni reet shi t₁uld 'mii when ar akst ə, tuu ə

S t₁'imz óue, ə'í, did shi, an 'shii óut'nt te bi [ra]q
 N thr₁i t₁'imz óu₁, did shi, en shii óut'nt ti bi ra¹q
 B thr₁i t₁'imz áue, did sh₁, en 'shii áut'nt te bi rooq

S ubuut sit₁ ə mat₁r az dh₁s, what di 'jii thi₁k?
 N on sek ə p₁int əz dh₁s, wha¹t di 'jii thi₁k?
 B on sit₁ ə p₁int əz dh₁s, whot d₁je thi₁k?

8. S w₁l, əz aa wuz seej₁n, 'shii wəd tel je hóu whee'ə en
 N wiil, əz a¹ wuz seen, 'shii wəd tel je h₁u whe₁or en
 B w₁l, əz ái wuz seej₁n, shii wəd tel je huu whe₁ə en

S when shi fu₁nd dhi d₁r₁ək'n biist shi kaalz h₁
 N when shi fu₁nd dhe d₁r₁ək'n biist dhut shi kaa¹lz ə
 B when shi fənd dhe drək'n biist et shi kAAZ ə

S hu₁zbənd.
 N gu₁d ma¹n.
 B h₁zbənd.

9. S shi swó₁ shi saa' em widh er aan áiz láij₁n aal iz
 N shi sw₁ shi siid im widh or aa¹n ə'iz lə'ij₁n stritjt et
 B shi swú₁ shi sid im w₁ or áun áiz láij₁n stritjt at

S laq lenth on dhi g₁r₁ənd in hiiz su₁nde kleez, kloos
 N fu₁l lenth on dhi gr₁nd in iz sə₁nde kuut, kloos
 B fəl lenth on dhe grənd in iz g₁d sændiz koot, kloos

S bi dhi dAA₁r i dhe huus duun at dhi kAA'ənb₁r ə
 N bi dhe dor iv dhe h₁us, du₁n et dhe korn₁ əv
 B bái dhe door ə dhe háus, duun et dhe kó₁əner ə

S dhon leen.
 N j₁n h₁en.
 B j₁n leen.

10. S hii wez whə'inin on, sez shii, fe_Lr aal dhi waa'eld
 N hii wez whindjen ewee, sez shii, fe_r aa' dhu woorld
 B hi wez krai'in ewee, seshii', fe_r a dhi wor'ld
- S lə'ik a púue bee'en, e_Lr a lit'l las f_Lretun.
 N lə'ik a s_iik béorn, or e bit la'si in e pet.
 B láik e béorn et woz'nt wel', or e lit'l lasi ut e tempe.
11. S an dhat hap'nd az shii an e dóute_Lr in laa kom
 N en dha't ha'p'nt iz sh_ii en or dóutor in laa' kom
 B en dhat hap'nt, az shii en e gäd dáuter keem
- S th_Lruu dhi bak jee'ed f_Lre hiqen uut dhi wet kleez
 N th_rúu dhi ba'k jaa_Lrd fre hiqin ú_int dhu wet kleez
 B th_ruu dhu bak jéed free hiqin ut dhu wet kleez
- S te d_Lrə'i on e wesh'in dee,
 N ti d_rə'i on e weshen dee,
 B te drəi on e weshin dee,
12. S wə'il dhu ket'l wez bóilen fe tii, won boni
 N whə'il dhu ket'l wez bóilen for t_ii, won fə'in brə'it
 B when dhu ket'l wez bóiln fe tii, woon fáin bráit
- S su₁me_Lr efteni₁n, ooni e wik s_ins ku₁m nekst
 N su₁mor aftorníe₁n, ooni e wiik egien níkst
 B samez eftennun, oonli e wiik egoo kam níkst
- S thaa'ezde.
 N thorzde ku₁mz.
 B thæezde.
13. S en di'jə naa? a níve léend oni méev na dhis ebunt
 N en di ji naa' ? a' nívor léornd oni méor nor dhis iv
 B en d_jə ken? a never leornd òni môe ne dhis ebut
- S dhat mate_Lr u₁p te dhis dee, ez shúue)z ma n_iem)z
 N dha't biznis œ₁p te dhu dee, ez shuur ez ma' n_iem)z
 B dhat biznis til dhu dee ez shúue)z me neem)z
- S :djak :sheped, en a d_inet want iidhe. dhéev
 N :dja'k :shípor'd, en a' d_ine wa'nt óudhor, dhéor
 B :djak :shíped, en a dev'nt wənt te ken nédhe. dhéev
- S nuu!
 N nú₁u!
 B náu.
14. S en nuu aa)m gaan jem te hee mi su₁pe. gu₁d niit,
 N en soo a')z ga'n hiem te hee mi su₁por. gu₁d niit,
 B en soo a)m goon hoom te ma s_epe. gäd náit,

S en dɪnɪt bi si kwɪk tɛ k[raa óu]v[ɹ] v bodi ɛgɪɛN when
 N en dɪnɛ bi si kwɪk tɛ kraa' óur v bodi ɛgɪɛN, when
 B en dev'nt bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo áuɹɹ v bodi ɛgeen, when

S hi taaks ɛbuut dhɪs A dhi tu,dhɛ.
 N hi taa'ks iv dhɪs dha't or dhɛ tu,dhɔr.
 B hi TAAKS ɛbut dhɪs dhat v dhɛ ɛdhɛ thɪq.

15. S hii)z v púuɛ fɪœl dhat bladhez wɪldhuut [riizɪn.
 N hii)z nobut v wiik fɪul dhet ba'b'lz wɪldhuut rɪ'iz'n.
 B it)s v wiik fɪl' ɛt gab'lz ɛdhut riiz'n.

S en dhat)s mi last wœd. gu,d bá'i.
 N en dha't iz ma' la'st word. gu,d bə'i.
 B en dhat)s ma last word. gæd bá'i.

Notes to the South Shields es., p. 645.

In giving the variants, the name of Rev. C. Y. Potts will be contracted into Po., of Mr. Pyke into Py.

0. *why*, Po. (wái).—*Jack*, Po. (:djan).—*no*, Po. (nii).

1. *neighbour*, Po. (éi), but I heard (ə'i), and possibly this sound was meant by Po., no final *r*, but Py. said that he "felt it," that is, he felt his equivalent for (r), just as Londoners do. Po. says "it is lost in mere vocal breath" (') or (v), when not preceding a vowel. When it does precede a vowel, it is apparently a very mild (r, r₂), written [r]; it is not burred, except by the pitmen, who burr strongly.—*my*, Po. (maa), Py. also gave (má'i).—*cares*, Po. (ké'ɛz).—*matter*, Po. (mɪ'tɛ), which Py. says is Pilot talk; this variant will not be given again.—*it's neither here nor there* was a variant by Po., not corrected by Py.

2. *nobody*, Po. (niibádɪ), the (a) was I think a mistake for (ɛ), which I shall use without further notice.—*dies*, Po. (diiz).—*we*, Po. (u₁s).

3. *anyhow*, Po. (huuzi₁vɛ), this (óu) pron. of U' final seemed peculiar to a few words, they also say (dhóu) thou, though they retain (huus). This resembles Rx. usage, D 33. It will not be noticed hereafter.—*just*, Po. (dɹu st).—*hold*, the pitmen say (had), the pilots (hóuld ɔn).—*done*, Po. (diun). All the (œ₁) are due to Py.'s dictation, Po. allowed only (u₁).

4. *whole*, town (hool), pit (jɛl), which Po. gave.—*I did safe enough*, Po. (aa did sɹɛf ɛnju₁f).

5. *himself*, Po. (hüssel).—*years*, Po.

(iuz).—*knew*, Po. (naad).—*father*, town (fædhɛ), pit. and Po. (fívdhɛ).—*any day*, Po. (Ani dɛɛ) and often.—*aye*, Po. (éi).

6. *without*, Po. (wivuut) and afterwards. Py. was strongly against this.—*ask*, Po. (aks).

7. *anyhow*, Po. (Anihun).—*two or three times over*, Po. (twii v th[rii téimz óu]v) or (óu]v[ɹ] ɛN óu]v[ɹ] ɛgɪɛN) over and over again.—*aye*, Po. (éi).—*such*, Po. (su₁tɪ).

8. *well*, Po. (wiil).—*would*, Po. (wad).—*how*, Po. (huu).—*drunken*, Po. (d[ru]qk'n), Py. 'the women say this.'—*beast*, makes the pl. (biists).—*husband*, Po. (hu,zbɛnt).

9. *lying all his long length*, Po. (láijɪn st[ɹɪtɪt at fu,l lɛnth] lɪŋ) stretched at full length; to this Py. objected that when a man is dead he is said to be (st[ɹɪtɪt uut] stretched out. Po. also gave as an alternative (láijɪn aal hiz fu,l lɛnth] lying all his full length.—*ground*, Po. (gru₁nd).—*he's* Po. (iz), which seems more usual.—*Sunday*, Po. (su₁ndɛ), and so at the termination of all the weekday names.—*the*, Po. (dhi).—*you*, Po. (dhan), Py. admitted both (dhɔn, dhɔndɛ) you, yónder; it is a Scotticism I think.—*lane*, town (leɛn), country (lonɪn), pilot (lɛn).

10. *whining*, Po. (wéinɪn), Py. preferred (whindɪn).—*poor*, Po. (púuɛlɪ).—*fretting*, Po. (in a fɹɛtɹ).

11. *she*, Po. (hAA'v), meaning (hóv)

I think, *hor* for her.—*daughter-in-law*, the phrase (*su₁n wə'it*) son wife is not used.—*hanging*, Po. (*haqin*).—*dry*, Po. (*drii*).

12. *bonny*, Po. (*sun-shéini*) sunshiny.

13. *Shepherd*, town (:*shepəd*), pilots (:*shípəd*).—*don't*, Po. (*dɪv'nt*).—*either*, Po. (*óadhre*).

14. *home*, I think (*hǝm*) is more correct.—*have*, Po. (*há*).—*quick*, Po. (*íast*).

15. *fool*, Po. (*íu₁l*).—*blethers*, Po. (*taaks on*).—*my*, Po. (*maa*).—*word*, Po. (*waa'əd*).—*goodbye*, Po. (*gu₁d ba'i*), Py. said that (*sə laq'*) so long was also used.

Notes to Newcastle es., p. 645.

The following was general information gleaned from my informants, whose names will be abbreviated thus, M. = Mitcheson, P. = the two pitmen, Bryson and Young, F. = Ferschell, B. = Barkas.

M. Initial (*h*, *wh*) are distinct. Master (*mecstor*), the (*r*) scarcely audible and probably (*ru*), at any rate the labialisation attacked the preceding vowel, and converted it into (*o*) or (*ó*). The agriculturists are broader in speech, but not so vulgar as the pitmen. There is a countrified speech about them. There is a rising intonation in speech, higher for questions than for simple affirmation. The (*r*) in (*rat*) had very few beats, but had a suspicion of (*g*) about it. The fracture (*i₁i*) is distinct, but there are words in which (*ii*) occurs as (*tíik*) cheek, Ws. *céáce*. In the same way (*ú₁u*) was distinct, as in (*u₁ú₁u*, *sú₁u*) now, a sow, (*sú₁um*) swim, that is, float, but (*swim*) is used for men swimming. Found, ground, had (*u₁*), but round, about, house, had (*uu*), which did not to me appear to be (*ú₁u*). The long *i* is (*ə'i*) or (*á'i*), not (*ái*). Short *a* is rather (*a¹*) than anything else. There was a tendency in M. to run into (*æ*), possibly, I thought, from London habits. The long vowel is (*aa*). Conjugation of verb substantive (*a¹m*, *dhú₁uz*, *hii₁z*, *wii₁r*, *jo₁r*, *dhéo₁r*), here (*ii*) should probably be (*i₁i*). M. pronounced the words for 8, 18, 80 with (*ə'it*), and called *alchouse* (*jel₁hús*).

P. The French (*r*) is general, but is lost when no vowel follows. Thus they told me that in county (:*dóoum*) Durham, they say (:*dæm*). About (:*báa₁ik*) Berwick, they would say (*hén*). Through (*thú₁u*) was almost (*thróu*). (*hú₁u d₁æ dii*) how do you do, is not much used in the district, the phrase is (*hú₁u aa j₁*) how are you, or at full (*hú₁u aa j₁ g₁t₁n on dh₁ déi₁?*) how are you getting on to-day. *I am* (*a¹m*) is pretty frequent, but *I iz* (*a¹z*) is the regular expression. They never use *I be*, *I beant*, *we'm*. In (*u₁*) the

lips are very open, almost as much as for (*a*) [yet the sound was not at all (*u_o*) or (*u*)]. The (*oo*) is sometimes spoken with lips as close as for (*u*) [but remains distinctly (*oo*)]. *Thou* in addresses is used in anger, it is disrespectful, but may be used from a mother to a child or a father to a baby, he would not use it when the child was ten or twelve years old. *Goodbye* is not used, they say (*gud dee*) good day, when parting, and (*gu₁d móunen*) good morning in meeting. To children principally (*ta¹ ta¹*) is said in parting, but it is also used by men, who are beginning to say (*sa¹ la¹q*) so long [a salutation which I have heard of in the colonies]. There is a slight difference between the farming and mining people. The former have a more sluggish way of speaking with a drawl. [As these men spoke very well, with the exception of (*aa*) for *er* in *certain*, etc., I asked if they spoke so in the pit. They said] "Oh no! in the pit you must speak as they speak or you will be laughed at. We are allowed to speak properly at the weekly meetings of the Trades Union." [They had come to London in connection with that Union.]

F. If you say (*div'nt wi*) don't we, the *we* refers only to the speaker and person addressed, if you say (*dínt wi*), the *we* is the speaker and any others. (*a¹z*) is more frequent than (*a¹m*). (*wéif*) is a woman, *wench* not used, (*la¹s*) not (*la¹s_i*) even for a little girl. (*bodhor*) is much used. (*didn't óut ti ev dínn*) didn't ought to have done = ought not to have done. (*ma¹n*) is generally employed for husband, which, however, is used. In (*ma¹ su₁nz wáif*, *m_i dóatorz ma¹n*), my son's wife, my daughter's husband, observe the (*ma¹*) masculine (*m_i*) feminine. Mrs. Fer-

schell's father, William Carr, then at Glass House Hill Works, Southwick, Sunderland, in 1876 sent me this analysis of the *burr*: "If you let your tongue lie in your mouth quite still, with the tip just touching your teeth, and make a noise from the throat (not by the nose at all), and your mouth moderately open, you will produce the burr just as we Newcastle folk have." He was sixty, a native, and natural dialect speaker. (*gud báí*) is not general, (*ta' ta'*) is much used both among men

and women; they also say (*se ləq*), which F. had chiefly heard in Sunderland. (*ʒu*) is weak, (*ʒii*) is strong. *quarrel* = (*kaa'rl*). They say (*lí'it ní'it brá'it fá'it*) light night bright fight.

B. To Mr. Barkas I owe almost all the (*æ₁*) [the others, except M. at times, gave (*u₁*) only], and also nearly all the final (-*or*). He also confirmed the very common use of (*ta' ta'*) among grown-up people.

The following are the special notes to the es. distinguishing the variants of my different informants by the same initials as before.

0. *no*, P. (*nee*), F. (*ni*).—*doubts*, F. (*duuts*), ? (*dú₁uts*).

1. *neighbour*, P. (*nə'i-nee-*), F. (*nái-*).—*this*, P. (*dhis*), F. (*dhor*).—*mine*, P. almost (*mæ'in*).—*who*, F. (*wí'i*).—*cares*, P. (*keez*).—*neither*, P. (*nóudhor*, *no'idhor*).

2. *they are*, M. F. (*dhor*), P. (*dhéi₁e*).—*don't*, B. (*dív'nt*) or (*dín't*) both used, see F.'s preliminary observations.—*very*, P. F. (*va'ri*).

3. *of the*, F. (*i dbe*).—*till*, P. (*tiv*), B. (*tíl*) is better.—*done*, M. F. (*díam*), P. B. (*díw₁n*).

4. *I am*, B. (*a'm*, *a'z*) equally often, P. (*a'z*).—*certain*, M. and P. no (*r*), B. (*r*).—*heard*, B. (*híord*), and most of the (-*or*) are due to B.—*folks*, P. (*fóok*).—*that did I*, B. put *I did*.—*safe*, P. (*seef*), saying (*síef*) was used further north.—*enough*, P. (*uníat*).

5. *that*, F. (*dhít*).—*nine*, F. (*nái'in*).—*though*, P. F. (*thoo*), B. says (*dhoo*) is equally usual.—*was*, F. (*wéz*) unemphatic.—*trust*, F. inclined to (*tru₁st*).—*aye*, P. (*ee*), F. (*ééi*), B. or (*á'i*).—*I would*, P. (*a' waa'd'*, *wà'd'*), mere emphasis.

6. *straight*, F. (*strá'it*).—*without*, M. (*wiv-*), F. B. (*widh-*).

7. *oughtn't*, B. seemed to say (*áut'nt*), but (*óu-*) was heard from the others and is most likely.—*such*, M. (*sík*), F. B. (*sek*).

8. *how, where, and when*, F. (*ú₁n weer un wen*), *h* inserted by B.—

drunken, P. (*drú'k'n*), B. (*dro'k'n*) sometimes, but more often (*drú₁q'k'n*).—*good man*, that is, husband, so in original.

9. *stretched*, P. with (*ii*) or (*i*), F. B. with (*i*).—*Sunday*, B. with (*æ₁*).—*coat*, M. (*koot*), F. (*kíut*) with a very faint indication of a tracture like (*kú₁ut*).—*lane*, P. (*leen*), objecting to (*lién*), B. (*lonen*); F. (*lonen*) is used in Durham, Gateshead, etc.

10. *whindging*, this was the P.'s word, F. says it's the cry of a sick fretful child, B. says (*whó'imn*) whining is quite as common, F. says it is used for children crying and differs from *whindging*; (*bléerén*) is also crying as a child.—*world*, B. with (*oo*), the rest with (*o*).—*hit* inserted by B.

11. *day*, B. (*dée*), the rest (*déé*).

12. *afternoon*, B. (*-n.æ₁n*), the rest (*-níam*).—*only a week against next Thursday comes*, P. put *a week since (sins) next Thursday*.

13. *more than this*, I seemed to hear only (*meə nə dhis*) from P.—*do not want*, M. had (*wa'nt tv*), but this *to* was not in the original and was struck out by B.—*there now*, F. says the phrase is very common at Newcastle.

14. *so*, M. (*sii*), original and P. (*soo*).—*going*, P. (*ga'n*), original and F. (*ga'nén*).—*to have my supper*, so P. F., original (*ti su₁p*).—*quick*, P. (*shaa'lp*).

Notes to Berwick-upon-Tweed es., p. 645.

0. *no*, 3½ miles beyond they say (nee).—*doubts*, the (u) quite short; when (uu) is said, Berwickers think the speaker comes from Yo. or Cu., of which (uu) is a mark to them.

1. *neighbour*, there was no (r), but it seemed as if the speaker opened his mouth at the end; this loss of (r) is a marked feature.—*he*, the (ii) very sharp, not at all the (ii) or (i.i).—*both*, the (oo) inclined towards (u).—*laugh*, Berwickers never use (kh) at all, they have the greatest difficulty in pronouncing it, notwithstanding their uvular (r).

2. *few*, the mouth seemed to close up to a (w), but I am not certain that it was intentional.—*die*, I have generally written (äi), which is, I believe, the regular form of the diphthong. In a few cases, which I shall note, I wrote (s'i), but I have given (äi) in the text uniformly.—*we ken*, in B. they use *ken* for *savoir*, and *know*, which is rather refined, for *connaitre*.—*them*, they never drop the (dh), or rather never use the form *hem* with omitted aspirate.—*what should*, even emphatically, a boy would say (shad v noo) should I not?—*very*, this (r) was light, but still marked, and the trill of the uvula had much the effect of a tongue trill.

3. *these is*, they never think of saying (aa) are, but this is a peculiar ease.—*friend*, (mäi man) is more common.—*I am*, they never use *I is* (a)z in B., they will say (wi wi) with us, and never use (hæz) for *us*.

4. *certain*, this is refined, (shûe) is the common word.—*say*, no inclining to (i) at the end.—*that*, (at) is the regular form.—*first*, this inserted (v) is regular, as (woreld, thærzæde).—*enough*, the form *enow* is not known.

5. *nine*, pron. as a dissyllable.—*squeaking*, the distinction between the participle and gerund is not known at B., nor apparently in Nb. generally.—*aye*, this one word (ææi) is the mark of a Berwicker.

6. *now*, they say (nuu) at B. The final U' and its congeners are only partially treated as in D 33, L. now, thou, to bow, a barley mow, the prow of a ship, a row (noise), a vow, have (âù), but how however cow brow shower sow s. caward cower power have

(uu, ù).—*at once*, the usual phrase, *straight* is (strâit).—*and all*, regularly used for *too*, a word unknown to the lower classes.—*bother*, the word is much used.

7. *I asked* (ar akst), observe the euphonic (r) after (a)=I.—*two or three*, so at Spittal (1 se. Berwick), on s. of the Tweed, but in the Liberties of B., they say (táu v thrái); a few miles n. of the Liberties they used a strongly trilled (r), and cannot pronounce (r).—*wrong*, the (r) was good and strong with no trace of (w). Observe the (oo), which I seemed to hear, not (oo). Mr. G. said that (oo), or, as he conceived it, (oo), long, is heard in broad, God, eod, on, among, along, strong; but road has (o), so that a broad road becomes (v brood rod), or, as Mr. G. conceived it, (v brood rōd), while a fishing rod is (rood).

8. *husband*, this is a polite usage, (v' man) her man is the regular expression.

9. *eyes*, *lying*, *by*, were noted as (s'i) in place of (äi), which I think was intended.—*full*, so also (pal) pull.—*coat*, rather between (koot, kuut).—*by* (bäi), meaning near, (bi) applied to the instrument.—*yon*, much used, never becomes (lhon).

10. *crying*, this is the word almost invariably used for making a noise of weeping, (whimperin) is also used for a fretting child.—*says she*, contracted into *sayshe*.

11. *dry*, this was noted *drai* (dr's'i).

12. *when*, the word *while* is absolutely never used.—*tea*, at Spittal and Tweedmouth, s. of the Tweed, but within the Liberties they use (tâi) for *tea*, and (mäi) for *me*, and (jáu) for *you*. In both B. and Spittal, especially the latter, (hüni) honey is a common term of endearment.—*fine*, dissyllable, as *nine* (näi'in), par. 5.—*bright*, similarly might, sight, light, fight, have (äi) with a sharp glide on to the t.

13. *business*, (meetv) matter is the common word.—*the day*, that is, *to-day*, and so the morn, the night, as in L.

15. *without*, (widhut) with a short vowel, could also be used.—*good-bye*, here also (b's'i) was noted, the phrase is common; (ta taa') is used among men, but not much, *so long* unknown.

TWENTY-TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

Var. i, n.Cu., is illustrated in Nos. 21 and 22, pp. 562, 563, 602. We begin therefore here with

Var. ii, n.Du., Nos. 1 to 6.

1. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw.Durham). In io. but with full explanations by the Rector, Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), who came there in 1856, and was still there in 1886. He states that this district is bounded by three watersheds, and includes the villages of Cold Dowley, Castleside, Muggleswick, Daskerby, Edmundbyers, Ruffside, and Humstanworth in Du. and Blanchland in Nb., and that communication tended rather towards Upper Weardale and Allendale than eastwards. The boundaries of his district are Allansford on the e., Upper Allendale w., and Weardale s., and not further than Minister Acres n., beyond that the influence of Tyneside begins to be felt.

2. *Lanchester* (7 nw.Durham). The place was really a farm house, called (:klík·emín·), or something like it, 10 nw.Durham. The informant, Mr. Robson, was a bailiff or overseer, whose assistance was obtained for me in Feb. 1879, by Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham (who befriended me dialectally in many ways), but as he did not arrive till late in the evening, and as I had to return to Newcastle that night, I was much hurried. Particularly the diphthong here and at the time written as (óu) was not clear to me, and may have been (ú,u) or (éúu) as in St. John's Weardale. Also (lern, meer) were not approved of either by Canon Greenwell or Robson, and I inclined to (lær_on, mæær_o) at the time. Perhaps indistinct (le_orn, mee_or_o) might be better. Pal. from dict. by AJE.

3. *Amfield Plain*, near Linz Green (12 nw.Durham), Vic. of Collierly-under-Lanchester, St. Thomas's Vicarage. It is an extensive parish, chiefly of colliers, and the vicarage was so difficult of access (when I was at Newcastle in January, 1879, snow was on the ground, and the vicarage lay four miles from a station, road uphill, with no conveyance), that I was obliged to renounce seeing the old learned vicar, Dr. Blythe Hurst, since deceased, to whom I am indebted for two dt. practically identical (one by H. Leslie, teacher at the National School), and a wl. with a glossary of Tyneside. He had spoken the dialect himself for the first 36 years of his life.

4. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse.Durham). Through the kindness of the vicar, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, I was taken to see two natives, George Lazenby and William Greenwell, from whose dictation I pal. this dt. They told me that the talk used to be much broader than it is now, and that the school had knocked up the dialect.

5. *Kelloe* (7 se.Durham), pal. by AJE. from the diet. of R. Heightley, a tailor, then living at Bishop Middleham, the vicar of which, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, introduced me to him. Heightley had a decided burr (r), but it was very faint.

6. *Sunderland*, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the diet. of Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth. Sunderland contains Bishop and Monk Wearmouth. Mr. Potts informed me that I need not pay any attention to Sunderland as furnishing dialectal information, for it was a Scotch colony about the time of the Commonwealth, when it became a port, and most of the people are descended from the Scotch. Most of the queer pronunciations are not native. The Irish are also numerous and mixed up with the 120,000 people that live within the bounds of the union. Hence we have the Scotch element, the Irish element, and the sailor element. But Bishop Wearmouth is ancient, and there are descendants of the old families there. Mr. Brockie (22, Olive Street, an antiquary, to whom I had an introduction) said that Mr. Taylor Potts was a representative of these old settlers. Mr. Taylor Potts rather unceremoniously rejected a wl. given me by the late Mr. Tom Taylor (editor of *Punch*), who told me he "was born there, and lived and was educated there till he went to Glasgow University," saying that Mr. T. Taylor had left young, and that his memory had deceived him, thus Mr. T. T. gave *nā-ām* = (nécem), and Mr. T. P. (níam) for name. As a specimen of genuine Sunderland Mr. T. P. gave me as the cry of a woman watching two other women fighting: (:degjer in)dhu mæl(er)jün, :bæt), dig = hit her in the mid of her eyes, Bet.

Var. iii, sw.Nb., Nos. 7 to 9.

7. *Hexham 1*, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Wright, Keeper of the Natural History Museum at Newcastle, a native.

8. *Hexham 2*, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Dobson, native of Hexham, but Master of the Marine School at North Shields. Although the burr is strong at Hexham, Mr. D. could not pronounce it; hence I have supplied the (*r*) from No. 7.

9. *Haltwhistle*, the town, 14 w.Hexham, and hence near to the Cu. b., written in io. with explanations by Rev. W. Howchin, conjecturally pal. by AJE. from these explanations and Nos. 7 and 8. It is apparently a town speech, and hence, perhaps, the predominance of (*α*₁). Mr. H. says communication, education, etc., have caused the great diversity in the pron.

Var. iv, se.Nb., Nos. 10 to 13.

10. *Stannfordham*, formerly called and still known to the peasantry as Stannerton 12 nw.Newcastle, pal. conj. by AJE. from the writing in io. by Rev. John F. Bigge, vicar, and said to apply to a few miles n., 2 miles e., and only 1 mile w. and s. At one mile w. begins the Hexham Var. iii, the limits of which are thus fixed.

11. *Whalton*, with Belsay and Bolam (5, 8, and 7 sw. and wsw.Morpeth), pal. conj. by AJE. from the io. by Rev. J. Walker, rector, made from notes by Mr. Robert Bewick, of Whalton, with long explanations.

12. *Newcastle*, pal. in Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. William Lyell, secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

13. *North Shields* (8 ne.Newcastle), at the mouth of the Tyne, on the n. or Nb. side the river, pal. in Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. J. Edington, secretary to the Free Library there.

Var. v, mid Nb., Nos. 14 to 21.

14. *Rothbury* (13 nw.Morpeth), pal. by AJE. Feb. 1879 from the dict. of Mr. Andrew Scott of Debdon farm, 2 m. off, a natural dialect speaker, procured for me by the late Rev. Dr. G. H. Ainger, then rector.

15. *Snitter* (3 w-by-n.Rothbury), serving also for Whittingham (8 w.Alnwick), pal. Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Allen of Whittingham, a remarkably intelligent man.

16. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick), on the w. b. of Nb., written in io. by Dr. F. Richardson there resident, and conj. pal. by AJE. Dr. R. says: "This village is situated at the base of the Cheviots. The inhabitants of those hills to the w. are L. Scotch, and of course from their proximity for a lengthened period it is difficult to distinguish in many words whether or not the pron. has been modified by the intercourse. I have endeavoured to eliminate this element, and hope I have succeeded."

17. *Warkworth* (5 se.Alnwick), representing e.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick, pal. in Apr. 1879, and corrected in May, 1887, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, engineer, native, but resident generally at Coatham (21 nw.Whitby, Yo., on the coast), accompanied by a wl.

18. *Alnwick*; written, March, 1879, in io. by Mr. Robert Middlemas, solicitor, Alnwick, and by him taken to represent not only Alnwick, but Felton (8 s. Alnwick), Rothbury (10 sw.A.), Wooler (15 nw.A.), Belford (13 nw.A.), Ellingham (7 n.A.), and Bamborough (14 n-by-e.A.). This seems rather too wide a range. Certainly all these places do not use (æ) for U. Wooler and Belford do, Rothbury uses (*α*₁, *u*₁). But probably the town of Alnwick uses (æ), for Mr. M., president of a Young Men's Society at Alnwick, sent me a paper read by Mr. George Thompson before it, on the "Northumbrian Vowel Sounds (applicable solely to Alnwick)," of which I give the substance in the notes, p. 668. It must be recollected that Alnwick is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and hence speaks "fine." Rev. James Blythe, Greenville, Alnwick, also gave me a cs. in io., said to represent n.Nb. The variants are very slight, and are given in the notes. Both conj. pal. by AJE.

19. *Whittingham* (:whitindrem) (6 w. Alnwick), conj. pal. by A.J.E. from the version written in io. by Mr. William Dixon, draper, of Whittingham, whom I heard read out a dialect story at an entertainment at Rothbury.

20. *Embleton 1* (6 ne Alnwick), representing the peasant as distinct from the fishing population, written, 1879, in io. by Rev. M. Creighton, then vicar, and conj. pal. by A.J.E. Mr. C. had the greatest difficulty with the (*r*), which he describes as "a guttural *oo* prolonged; during the prolongation the tip of the tongue is turned up towards the palate, and is drawn along from the front of the mouth to the uvula." Hence he writes *ooŵit*, *ruooūd*, *thruoo*, *ooŵid*, right, road, through, red. As (*rw*) is the regular sign for the labialised uvular *r*, I indicate this variety, which I have not heard, by (*rw*₁). If the description is correct, it is complicated with (*rw*). Embleton is the head of a scattered district, where many families have lived for generations. The agricultural population of Nb. is shifting and constantly reinforced by Scotch. My pal. is merely the best I could do from the indications given.

21. *Embleton 2*, the fishing population, see No. 20, written in io. by Rev. C. E. Green, in 1879, then curate, conj. pal. by A.J.E. This place has had a steady population, subject to very little change. The vicar considered that the *r* was ordinary (*r*), and not the (*rw*₁) quasi (*rw*) of the land peasantry. Mr. Green has also a difficulty with this sound, writing 'rrite, gurrl, yondo'rr, 'rrode, th'roo, rred, 'rrong, dr'r'ucken, sh'rrivull'd, vah'ē, poo'or, tr'oo, right, girl, yonder, road, through, red, wrong, drunken, shrivelled, very, poor, true.

Var. vi, n.Nb., No. 22.

22. *Wooler* (:u₁lw) (15 nw. Alnwick), written 1879 in io. with many explanations, by Matthew T. Culley, Esq., of Coupland Castle, Wooler, and pal. conj. therefrom by A.J.E. Mr. C. says, "The *u* is pronounced as in *cut* or *butter*, the other pron. ending somewhat n. of Newcastle. The dialect bears a strong resemblance to the Scotch of Bw. and Rx., but with a strong guttural accent entirely different to the thrilling sound of the Scotch, and the R is pron. with a guttural difficult or impossible to describe on paper—*barrel* would become *barl* (baarl), *baron barn* (baarn), but the sound of the letter it is impossible to give. H strongly pron. A very broad like *aw* (*a*). *I* as the personal pronoun, *aw* (*a*), and elided [ʔ] before a vowel or before *will*, as *aw'll* (*aa'll*). *Do* pron. *dee* (*dii*). *I say* beginning a sentence would be *awsa* (*ai sa*)—accent on the penultim. U has the sound of French *u* in syllables like *soon*, but not in *moon* [ʔ mian]. Scotch [i.e. L.] is spoken as soon as the border is crossed, and there is a slight admixture of it here." On this I found my n. *sōom* line 9. Mr. Culley was mistaken as to the use of (*u*₁). We find it at Embleton, and hence I draw the line between Embleton and Wooler. In another letter Mr. C. adds: "The guttural *gh* is very mildly pron. compared to what it is on the Scotch side of the border. The sharp *u* in *soon*, etc. [ʔ his French *u*] is more Scotch than Northumbrian, but the two dialects are somewhat mixed. *U* is pron. as in *but*, *cut*, in *bull*, *pull*, *full* (bæl, pal, fæl)." In May, 1883, Mr. Kirkup, who had been pupil teacher at Yetholm, Rx., only 1 m. from the Nb. border, read me this dt., but seemingly had mixed up Nb. and Rx. I give his variants in the notes.

As, unfortunately, interviews with all my *vivâ voce* informants were short and hurried, and as I had no opportunities for revision, while the speech was entirely strange to me, and therefore liable to be misheard at first, and as I had in the majority of cases to puzzle out the pronunciation from a great variety of orthographies by the aid of what I had been really able to hear, I must ask indulgence if my palaeotypic rendering is not quite so perfect as could be desired, and contrasts unfavourably with the minute accuracy of JGG.'s and TH.'s contributions.

* *vivá voce* pal. by AJE.

1.	1	<i>Edmondbyers</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	sii	a	SEE,	meets,
	*2	<i>Lanchester</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	aa	see,	meets,
	3	<i>Annfield Plain</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	sii	a	see,	maruz,
	*4	<i>Bishop Middleham</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	a	séev,	méects,
	*5	<i>Kelloe</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	a	see,	méects,
	*6	<i>Sunderland</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.		a	see,	
	*7	<i>Hexham 1</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	
	*8	<i>Hexham 2</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	soo	a	sii,	maroz,
	9	<i>Haltwhistle</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	sec	a	see,	la ¹ dz,
	10	<i>Stamfordham</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	meets,
	11	<i>Whalton</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	sóov	a ¹	see,	ma ¹ ruz,
	*12	<i>Newcastle</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	meets,
	*13	<i>North Shields</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	aa	séev,	meets,
	*14	<i>Rothbury</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	see,	meets,
	*15	<i>Snitter</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	séei,	meets,
	16	<i>Harbottle</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	ladz,
	*17	<i>Warkworth</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	sii	a ¹	see,	la ¹ dz,
	18	<i>Abwick</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	see,	meets,
	19	<i>Whittingham</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	sii	a	see,	na ¹ iborz,
	20	<i>Embleton 1</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	so	a	see,	míects,
	21	<i>Embleton 2</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	so	a	séev,	méects,
	22	<i>Wooler</i> , Var. vi, p. 655.	SEE	à)se,		kalents,

1	je	séi	nuu	dhet	a)z	r ^o iit	ebuut	dhat	bit
2	je	séi	nóu	dhat	à)m	ri ⁱ it	ebóut	dhat	lî ¹ l
3	je	sii	nuu	dhet	aa)z	riit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
4	je	see	nóu	dhet	aa)z	réit	ebóut	dhat	lî ¹ l
5	je	see	nóu	dhat	a)m	réit	ebóut	dhat	lî ¹ l
6	je	sii	na ¹ u	dhet	à)m	rit	ebóut	dhat	lî ¹ l
7	je	s ¹ i	nuu	dha ^t	à ¹)m	réit	ebuut	dha ^t	lî ¹ l
8	je	sii	nóu	dhet	a)m	riit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
9	je	s ¹ i	na ¹ u	dha ^t	a)z	réit	ebùt	dha ^t	lî ¹ l
10	ji	sii	nuu	it	a ¹)m	riit	a ¹ buut	dha ^t	bit
11	jo	sii	nu	it	a ¹)z	riit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
12	je	sii	ná ¹ u	dhat	a ¹)m	riit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
13	je	séi	nóu	dhet	à)m	kiit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
14	ju ¹ u	séei	ná ¹ u	dhat	a)m	réit	ebú ¹ ut	dhat	lî ¹ l
15	ju	see	nóu	dhat	a)m	ráit	ebuut	dhe	lî ¹ l
16	ji	séei	nuu	dhat	a ¹)m	réit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
17	je	s ¹ i	ná ¹ u	dhet	a ¹)z	riit	ebú ¹ t	dha ^t	lî ¹ l
18	ji	sii	nóu	dhat	a)m	réit	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
19	je	séi	nóu	dhat	a)m	r ^o it	ebuut	dhet	lî ¹ l
20	je	sii	ná ¹ u		a)m	ru ¹ o ¹ it	ebuut	dhat	lî ¹ l
21	je	sii	nuu	dhat	a)u	r ^o it	ebuut	dhet	lî ¹ l
22	ji	sii	nuu		à)m	re ¹ ikht	ebuut	dhat	bit

1	lās	kəm̄in	fr _o ʙ	dʰe	skíul	ʝondʰer _o .
2	lasi	kəmen	from	dʰe	skíel	dhondər _o .
3	las	kəm̄in	fro	dʰe	skíul	dhondər _o .
4	las	kəmen	free	dʰe	skíel	ʝondər.
5	las	kəmen	free	dʰe	skíel	dhondər.
6	thíq	kəmen	fro	dʰe	skíæ ₁ l.	
7	las	kəm̄in	fro	dʰe	skíul	dhondər.
8	las	kə ₁ m̄en	fre	dʰe	skíæ ₁ l	ʝondər.
9	las	kə ₁ m̄en	fr̄e	dʰe	skíel	ʝondər _o .
10	geər _l	kə ₁ m̄in	free	dʰe	skíuel.	
11	lasi	kə ₁ m̄in	free	dʰe	skú _l	ʝonər.
12	las	kə ₁ m̄en	fo) dʰe		skíæ ₁ l	dhondər.
13	las	kə ₁ m̄en	fr̄e	dʰe	skíæ ₁ l	dhondə.
14	las	kə ^l m̄in	fr̄om	dʰe	skuul	ʝondor.
15	lasi	kə ₁ m̄in	fr̄em	dʰe	skuul	ʝondor.
16	lasi	kə ₁ m̄in	free	dʰe	skíul	ʝondor.
17	las	kə ₁ m̄en	fr̄e	dʰe	skíul	ʝondər.
18	gar _l	kə ₁ m̄in	free	dʰe	skuul	dhondor.
19	lasi	kə ₁ m̄in	free	dʰe	skuul	ʝondər.
20	gíor _l	kə ₁ m̄in	fr̄e ₁ om	dʰe	skíuel	ʝondor.
21	gar _l	kə ₁ m̄in	free	dʰe	skíul	ʝondor.
22	lasi	kə ₁ m̄in	fr̄EE	dʰe	skyy ₁ l	uutbe'i.

2.	1	shí)z	ganen	duun	dʰe	róoed	dʰiier _o	thru	dʰe
	2	shí ₁ i)z	ganen	dóen	dʰe	rood	dʰe'e'r	thróu	dʰe
	3	shu)z	ganen	doon	dʰe	róoed	dʰéeer	thruu	dʰe
	4	shii)z	ganen	dóun	dʰe	róoed	dʰEE'e	thruu	dʰe
	5	shii)z	ganen	dóun	dʰe	róoed	dʰéee	throo	dʰe
	6	shí)z	gan	dóun	dʰe	rood	dʰéeer	thruu	dʰe
	7	shí ₁ i)z	gan'in	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰéeer	thruu	dʰe
	8	shii)z	ganen	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰær	thru	dʰi
	9	shii)z	ganen	duun	dʰe	r _o úued	dʰéer _o	thr _o æ' ₁ u	dʰe
	10	shii)z	ga'n'in	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰeer	thruu	dʰe
	11	shii)z	ga'n	duun	dʰe	róoed	dʰær	thríu	dʰe
	12	shí ₁ i)z	ga'nen	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰeer	thruu	dʰe
	13	shii)z	GAAN	duun	dʰe	xood	dʰéee	thkun	dʰe
	14	shii)z	goo)in	dú ₁ un	dʰe	rwood	dʰéeor	thré ₁ u	dʰe
	15	shii)z	gaan	elaq	dʰe	rwood	dʰeer	thré ₁ u	dʰe
	16	shii)z	ganen	duun	dʰe	rod	dʰeer	thróu	dʰe
	17	shu)z	ga'nen	dú ₁ un	dʰe	rood	dʰeer	thré ₁ u	dʰe
	18	shii)z	gan	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰeer	thróu	dʰe
	19	shii)z	gan	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰeer	thróu	dʰe
	20	shii)z	goon	duun	dʰe	r _e 1úued	dʰéeer	thre ₁ uu	dʰe
	21	shí)z	gaa'in	duun	dʰe	rood	dʰéeor	thruu	dʰe
	22	shii)z	gáen	duun	ʝon	RAAD		thruu	dʰe

1	riid	géet	v	dhe	left	han	sáid	v	dhe	wée.
2	r ₁ iid	g ^é et	v	dhe	left	an	sá'id	v	dhe	rood.
3	riid	gjet	v	dhe	left	hand	séid	v	dhe	wée.
4	reed	[[?] riid]	geet	v	dhe	left	an	sáid		
5	reed	[[?] riid]	géet	v	dhe	left	an	sáid	v	dhe lonen.
6	riid	gíat	on	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	lon'in.
7	riid	gíet	v	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
8	riid	jet,	v	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
9	r _o iid	jet,	on	dhe	left	han	séid	v	dhe	wée.
10	riid	jet	i)dh		left	hand	séid	v	dhe	wée.
11	riid	jet	i)dhe		left	han	séid	v	dhe	wée.
12	riid	geet	o)dhe		left	ha'nd	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
13	riid	géet	on	dhe	left	han	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
14	riid	geet	on	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
15	riid	geet	on	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	rwood.
16	riid	geet	on	dhe	left	hand	séid	v	dhe	wéei.
17	riid	jet	on	dhe	left	ha'nd	se'id	v	dhe	wée.
18	riid	geet	on	dhe	left	han	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
19	riid	geet	on	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	wée.
20	ru ₁ ed	gíeet	v	dhe	left	hand	sá'id	v	dhe	wíee.
21	red	géet	v	dhe	left	hond	sá'id	v	dhe	wéev.
22	riid	jet	i)dhe		left	hand	se'id.			

3.	1	shuuer	enœ ₁ f	dhe	béern	hez	géen	stráit	u ₁ p	tí
	2	sh ₁ u ₁ er	eníuf	dhe	bæ'ern)	z	gíen		u ₁ p	te
	3	shuur	ínœ ₁ f	dhe	béern	hez	gjen	stréit	up	te
	4	shuuer	eníuf	dhe	béern)	z	gòn	strá'it	up	te
	5	shoor	eníuf	dhe	béern)	z	gòn	strá'it	up	te
	6	wá'i		dhe	béern)	z	gíen	strá'it	hó'p	te
	7	shuur	eníuf	dhe	béern)	z	gíen	strá'it	up	te
	8	shuur	enjœ ₁ f	dhe	beern)	z	gíen	strá'it	œ ₁ p	te
	9	shíu ₁ er	eníuf	dhe	béern)	z	gíen	sthr _o eet	œ ₁ p	te
	10	shuur	eníuf	dhe	beern)	z	gíen	stréit	œ ₁ p	tiv
	11	siir	eníuf	dhe	beern)	z	géin	stréit	œ ₁ p	te
	12	shuur	eníœ ₁ f	dhe	béern)	z	gíen	strá'it	up	te
	13	shúue	eníuf	dhe	béern	z	gíen	strá'it	u ₁ p	te
	14	suur	enú ₁ u	dhe	béorn)	z	gáan	stréit		te
	15	shuur	eníuf	dhe	béorn)	z	gíen	strá'it	ap	ti
	16	shuur	eníuf	dhe	beern)	z	gíen	stréit	œ ₁ p	te
	17	shúuer	eníuf	dhe	beern)	z	gíen	stré'it	u ₁ p	tí
	18	shuur	enœ ₁ f	dhe	beern)	z	gíen	strá'it	œ ₁ p	te
	19	shuur	eníuf	dhe	beern)	z	geen	strá'it	ap	te
	20	shœ ₁ vr ₁	enœ ₁ f	dhe	tjə'ild)	z	gon	strá'it	u ₁ p	te
	21	shuoor	eníuf	t'	tjə'ild)	z	geen	strá'it	u ₁ p	te
	22	shyy ₁ r	enuu	dhe	beern)	z	gáen	stré'ikht	ap	tíl

1	dhe	dúer _o	v	dhe	raq	huus,
2	dhe	dá'r _o	ev	dhe	raq	hóus,
3	dhe	door	v	dhe	raq	huus,
4	dhe	dóua _r	v	dhe	raq	hóus,
5	dhe	dóoer	v	dhe	raq	hóus,
6				dhe	raq	óus,
7	dhe	dóoer	v	dhe	raq	huus,
8	dhe	du _{er}	v	dhe	raq	huus,
9	dhe	dúuer	v	dhe	r _o aq	huus,
10	dhe	duur	iv	dhe	ra ¹ q	huus,
11	dhe	duur	i)dhæ	ra ¹ q		huus,
12	dhe	door	o)dhæ	ra ¹ q		huus,
13	dhe	dóoe	v	dhe	kaq	huus,
14	dhe	door	v	dhe	raq	huus,
15	dhe	duur	v	dhe	raq	huus,
16	dhe	duur	ev	dhe	raq	huus,
17	dhe	dòr	i	dhe	ra ¹ q	hú ₁ s,
18	dhe	duner	ev	dhe	raq	huus,
19	dhe	duuer	v	dhe	raq	huus,
20	dhe	duoor	v	dhe	r _w ₁ aq	huus,
21	dhe	duuer	v)dh	raq		huus,
22	dhe	duur	v)dhæ	raq		huus,

4.	1	wíer _o	shí)l	hap'n	fínd	dhat	dræk'n	diif
	2	wheer _o	me)bi	shii)l	fínd	dhat	dræk'n	dú ₁ if
	3	wéer	shí)l	ev v tjans	te fínd	dhat	dræk'n	diif
	4	wéer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	dræk'n	diif
	5	wéer	shí)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	dræk'n	diif
	6	wéer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	dró'k'n	diif
	7	whéer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dha't	dr _w ₁ k'n	diif
	8	wheer	shii)l	hap'n	te fínd	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	9	whéer _o	shí)l	me)bi	fínd	dha't	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	10	wheer	shii)l	me)bi	fínd	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	11	wher	shii)l	meviz	fínd	dhet	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	12	weer	shii)l	mev'i	fínd	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	13	wéer	shii)l	mebi	fínd	dhat	dr _w ₁ k'n	diif
	14	whéer	shii)l	mebiz	fínd	dha't	dr _w ₁ k'n	diif
	15	wheer	shii)l	mebiz	fínd	dhat	dræk'n	diif
	16	wheer	sh _w œ ₁ l	meb'z	fínd	dha't	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	17	wheer	sh _w)l	mev'z	fínd	dha't	dr _w ₁ k'n	diif
	18	wheer	shí-wœ ₁ l	mebi	fínd	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	19	wheer	shii)l	ji'b'lz	fínd	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	20	whéer	shí)l	hap'n	te fí'nd	dhat	dr _w ₁ œ ₁ k'n	diif
	21	whéer	shí)l	tjans	te fí'end	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	22	whaar	shii)l	mebi	fínd	jon	dræk'n	diif

1	kiz'nd	ap	felə,	bi	dhe	néem	v	:toməs.
2	wiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	neem	ev	:tom.
3	wiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	njem	v	:toməs.
4	wiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	néem	v	:toməs.
5	wiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	néem	v	:kələ.
6	wiz'nd		dív'l,	v	dhe	niàm	v	:toməs.
7	wiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	niem	v	:tom.
8	wiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	niem	v	:toməs.
9	kiz'nd		felə	v	dhe	niem	v	:tomí.
10	wuz'nd		felə	i)dh	níem	iv	:toməs.	
11	wos'nd		felə	iv	dhe	néim	iv	:tomis.
12	wiz'nd		tjɛp	v)dhə	níem	v	:tom.	
13	shkiv'ld		felə	ev	dhe	níem	ev	:toməs.
14	shwiv'ld		fələ	v	dhe	néem	v	:tom.
15	staarvd		fələ	v	dhe	niem	v	:tom.
16			fələ	ev	dhe	niem	ev	:tom.
17	wiz'nd		felə	i	dhe	niem	v	:toməs.
18	shrœ ₁ k'n		felə	v	dhe	níem	ev	:toməs.
19	wœ ₁ z'nt		felə	v	dhe	neem	v	:toməs.
20	widhord		felə	v	dhe	níem	ev	:toməs.
21	shriv'id		felə	v	dhe	néem	v	:toməs.
22	le'iert		fələ		kaad			:toməs.

5.	1	wi	aal	ken	em	vari	wiil.
	2	wi	aal	naa)'m		w ₁ il	enúuf.
	3	wi	aal	ken	em	vari	wiil.
	4	wi	aal	naa	im	veri	weel [? wiil].
	5	wi	aal	noo	im	veri	weel [? wiil].
	6	wi	aal	noo	im	veri	wiil.
	7	wi	ool	ken	im	vari	wiil.
	8	wi	oo	ken	em	varə	wiil.
	9	wi	œ ₁	nœ ₁)em		var ₃ a	wiil.
	10	wi	aa	ken	him	verə	wiil.
	11	wi	aa	ken	im	verə	wiil.
	12	wi)a ^l		na ^l	im	va ^l ri	wiil.
	13	wi	aal	naa	im	va ^l ki	wiil.
	14	wi	aal	naa	im	va _l ri	wiil.
	15	wi ₁	aal	naa	im	vari	wiil.
	16	wi	aa	naa)m		varə	wiil.
	17	wi ₁ i	aa ^l	ken	em	va ^l re	wi ₁ il.
	18	wi	aa	naa	him	verə	wiil.
	19	wi	aa	naa	im	vari	wiil.
	20	wi	aa	nhoo	im	veerw ₁ i	wiil.
	21	wi	aal	nhoo	im	vái	wiil.
	22	wi	aa	ken	im	varə	wiil.

6.	1	winet	dhe aad	tjap	síun	tíietj	er	not	te dii)t
	2	winet	dhe aad	tjap	síen	lern	er	not	te di)d
	3	winet	dhe aad	tjep	síun	léern	er	nut	te di)d
	4	winet	dhe aad	tjap	síen	teetj	er	not	te di)d
	5	winet	dhe aad	tjap	síen	larn	e	not	te di)d
	6	winet	dhe aad	tjap	síun	lorn	er	not	te tró'i it
	7	wínit	dhe ood	tja'p	síun	léorn	er	not	te di)d
	8	wu ₁ net	dhi ood	tjap	síien	léorn	er	not	te di)d
	9	wunet	dhe ood	tjap	síien	líier _o n	her _o	nít	te dii
	10	wœ ₁ nít	dh)aad	tjep	síuen	leern	er	nut	te di)d
	11	wœ ₁ nít	dh)aad	tjap	síun	leen	er	no ₁ e	te di)d
	12	wínt	dhi aad	tjep	síœ ₁ n	léorn	er	not	te di)d
	13	wínit	dhe aad	tjep	síen	laan	e	not	te di)d
	14	wi ₁ net	dhe aald	tjep	síen	léœrn	or	not	te di)d
	15	wad'nt	dhi ₁ aad	man	síen	léorn	or	nat	te di)d
	16	wœ ₁ l'nt	dhi aad	tjep	síun	léorn	hor	not	te di)d
	17	winet	dhe aald	tjep	síun	leern	or	not	te di)d
	18	wonet	dhi aad	tjep	síœ ₁ n	tíitj	or	not	te di)d
	19	wœ ₁ net	dhe ad	tjep	síun	tíitj	hor	not	te di)d
	20	wóe ₁ nt	t' aad	tjep	síun	larn	hor	nu ₁ t	te duu it
	21	wóe ₁ nt	t' óad	tjep	suun	teetj	or	not	te duu)t
	22	wal	dh)aald	tjap	noo	shyy ₁ r	laarn	hor	noo te dii)t

1	egéen,	póuer	thiq!
2	egíen,	poor	thiq!
3	egjen,	púuer	thiq!
4	egíen,	póoer	thiq!
5	egéán,	póoer	thiq!
6	on egíen,	púue	béeen!
7	egíen,	piir	thiq!
8	egíien,	pyyr	thiq!
9	egíien,	péeer	thiq!
10	egeen,	puur	thiq!
11	egéin,	puur	thiq!
12	egíen,	puur	thiq!
13	egíien,	póoe	thiq!
14	egíen,	puur	thiq!
15	egí ₁ en,	puur	thi ₁ q!
16	egéin,	piur	thiq!
17	egíen,	pü ₁ r	thiq!
18	egíen,	puner	thiq!
19	egín,	puur	thiq!
20	egen,	puur	thiq!
21	egen,	puuor	thiq!
22	egin,	pyy ₁ r	thiq!

7.	1	líuk	í'z'nt	v̄t	tríu?
	2	lu ₁ k	í'z'nt	ít	tróu?
	3	luk	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	4	luk	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	5	luk	í'z'nt	ít	troo [ʔ truu]?
	6	líuk!	í'z'nt	dhat	truu?
	7	líe ₁ k!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	8	líuk!	í'z'nt	ít	sii?
	9	líiek!	í'z'nt	ít	tríu?
	10	líukst̄!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	11	líuke!	í'z'n	t)ít	truu?
	12	lu ₁ k!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	13	lak!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	14	luuk!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	15	lúk!	í'z'nt	ít	tróu?
	16	líuk!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	17	lu ₁ ke!	í'z'nt	ít	trú ₁ u?
	18	luuk!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	19	luuk!	í'z'nt	ít	tróu?
	20	lœ ₁ k!	í'z'nt	ít	truc ₁ uu?
	21	luuk!	í'z'nt	ít	truu?
	22	luuk!	í'z)t	no	truu?

Notes to No. 1, *Edmundbyers dt.*, pp. 653, 656.

1. *see* (séi) “very short.”—*right*, “no burr, no trill,” by that he only means not as in Ireland.—*bit lass*, usual form, but (lit'l garl) might be said.

3. *enough*, stated to have “*u* in *bat*,” which I interpret as (œ₁).

6. *poor*, written “ $\frac{1}{2}$ power, $\frac{1}{2}$ poor,” see subsequent notes.—*chap*, not a common word.

Notes to No. 2, *Lanchester dt.*, pp. 653, 656.

1. *mates*, as in the phrase (dhem)z AAI meets v ma'in they are all mates of mine.—*I am*, Robson said he had never heard (a)z I is.—*right*, almost (r.éit).—*yonder*, this I think is the southernmost place where I have heard initial (dh) in this word.

2. *of the road*, ‘way’ would not be used in this connection, though they say (dhe wee te :dyrum) the way to Durham; in this word the (y₁) was obscure as in German *würde*; and it seemed at times to get mixed up with (ə). The (v) was extremely short. Robson also said (veri my₁ri) very merry.

4. *wizened*, ‘shrivelled’ is not used, but (shr-) initial is fully pronounced.—*of the name of Tom*, (kAAd :tom) would be more usual.

6. *to do it agen*, see D 31, Stanhope, p. 617, and notes.

7. *true*, the distinction between this (tróu) true and (tróu) a *trough*, was insisted on, in (a)v bóat v tróu, tróu eníuf I've bought a trough true enough. I think the first was (óu), but I am not clear of the last, though (óu) was the nearest I could reach. See D 31, St. John's, Weardale, p. 636, under U'.

Notes to No. 3, *Annfield Plain dt.*, pp. 653, 656.

1. *marrows*, meaning ‘mates,’ both versions have this.—*now*, here, as in No. 1, only pure (ii, un) are recognised.—*I is*, it is curious that this is given

from Nos. 1 and 3, and that No. 2 professed to know nothing of it.—*yonder*, the other version gave (jonder).

2. *road*, the other version has (lonn) lane.—*gate*, the other version has (geet).

3. *enough*, written *inyuff*, the (æ₁) is conjectural.—*straight*, written *streight* and *stright*, and also (riit) given.—*door*, one version writes *dor*, meaning not clear.

4. *have a chance to find*, or (mebiz find) perhaps find.—*wizened*, the school-teacher gives (shivild) also.—*fellow* or (tjep).—*of the name of*, or (kaald) called.

5. *learn*, written *läurn*, (tiitj) also given.

Notes to No. 4, Bishop Middleham dt., pp. 653, 656.

2. *red*, I feel a doubt as to whether this (reed) and (weel), par. 5, are correct, they may have been (reiid), (weüil) meaning (riid, wiil), they may have been wrongly written (reed, weel) from a habit of using glossic. Similarly in par. 5, same words, and par. 7 (*trou*) may be (truu). But as 1. *say* (*see*) cannot be a mistake, except for (séi), I leave all standing as in my notes.—*gate*, the form (ge¹et) was written twice, possibly it was only an individuality.—*of the way*, omitted,

because the informant said “way is not used in the sense of *road*, but only of manner.”

4. *door* (dóovr) also used.—*house*, all these (óu) are liable to the doubt expressed in No. 2, p. 662, but they sounded thus to me.

4. *deaf* or (déit).—*wizened*, (shr-) is rightly pron.—*name* or (né¹em), see *gate*, par. 2.

5. *well*, see *red*, par. 2.

6. *teach*, rather (larn).—*not*, etc., or (not te déi t oni maa₁r).

Notes to No. 5, Kelloe dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *lass*, also (gíael).—*yonder*, (dh-) most usual, perhaps (-or) would be more correct; the late Vicar of Kelloe, Rev. W. L. Kay, wrote “they sound r as aw.”

2. *gate* or (gje¹t).

3. *gone* or (gíá¹n).—*door* or (dóovr).

4. *wizened*, initial (shr-) pron. correctly.—*name* or (néám).—*Kelloe*, the name of the village, or (:koksú) Coxhoe (2 wsw.Kelloe).

5. (weel), 7. (*trou*), see notes to No. 4, par. 2.

Notes to No. 6, Sunderland dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *so*, omitted as not used in this position.—*mates* similarly omitted, but (men, ladz) might be used.—*now*, in this word I heard (æ¹u), but it was certainly the same sound that I wrote (óu) elsewhere. See note on No. 2, par. 7. Otherwise this was a s.Scotchism.—*thing* or (las), (wentj) is seldom used.—*coming*, this (æ) anticipates Var. v, but it may have been (æ₁).—*school*, possibly (skíel) was said.—*yonder*, (jonder, dhonder) might either be added, but it would not be native; it is, however, heard all over this region.

2. *going* or (gan).—*lane*, (lonín) is the usual word for road in this neighbourhood; *way* would not be used.

3. *well*, like the Cu. (wáiv), not for *why*, and was preferred to (shiu¹r emat).—*up*, this is merely (u₁p) up, spoken with much emphasis.—*door of the* (dóovr v dhe) would not be inserted.

4. *maybe*, chance (tjans) would not be used here.—*devil* or (íeloo).

6. *learn*, I am not certain that I wrote the sound correctly, see introd. to No. 2, p. 653.—*try it on again* or (dī¹d) do it, as in the other versions.

Notes to No. 7, Hexham 1 dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *mates*, omitted as not used, and Mr. Wright could not think of the proper substitute.

2. *way*, this word is in Hexham used for road.

4. *wizened*, (shr-) correctly pronounced.

5. *ken*, more used than *know*.

Notes to No. 8, Hexham 2 dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *say*, the (sií) was probably an error of the speaker for (*see*).—*school* or (skíi¹el).

Notes to No. 9, *Haltwhistle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, Mr. Howchin writes *nōo*, and says German *ö* or French *eu* comes nearest to it; hence I recognise the sound I have previously written (œ_1), here and in "coming through drunken all know," in all of which he uses *ö*, though in the last two (*oo*) was to be expected. The second element of the diphthong *öo* he admits to be (n).—*right*, Mr. H. says "the *r* has no trill in its sound, but is given with the tongue raised and the mouth nearly closed." Hence I write (r_o). Mr. H.

adds that "the guttural sound," that is (*r*), "is often heard among elder people, but is disappearing among the younger.

2. *hand*, (h) pretty well pron., (d) dropped.

3. *up*, Mr. H. wrote *oup*, but subsequently explained it as *ö* (œ_1).—*house*, *home* is (*hüem*).

4. *kizzened*, (shr-) initial correct except in *shriek* (*skrik*)

6. *do it*, the *it* would be dropped in this connection.

Notes to No. 10, *Stamfordham*, dt., pp. 654 656.

1. *so*, at the end of a sentence (*sü*), as (*a*¹ see *sii*).—*bit*, commoner than *little*.—*girl*, they would say 'lass' in speaking to each other.—*school*, Mr. Bigge said, "I think *skuil* better than *skule*; there's a symptom of *i* in the way [it is] pron. about here." I have indicated this by (*u*), but I think the *Pitman's Pay* orthography deceived the informant,

and that (*sküæ*₁) would best represent the sound. Mr. B. also writes *suin*, *luik*, soon, look.—*yonder* is not used, but *yon* might be put before *school*.

2. *gate* or (*gæ*₁).

3. *gone*, possibly *gyen*, *nyem*, may have been conventional spellings, from the *Pitman's Pay*, observe No. 11, notes, par. 2.

Notes to No. 11, *Whalton* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, written *nōu*, but explained "sound like in *you* short."—*coming*, with "u in *tub*," as Mr. G. Rome Hall said in giving me a list of such words: "in all these *ü* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *bœuf*, *fleur*, etc.; also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the received pron."—*yonder*, often, not always, without *d*; and seldom, but occasionally, (*dhonder*).

2. *gate* (*æt*), "with old people, the younger adopt (*gæ*₁)."—*hand*, *h* always sounded except in the personal pronouns *him*, *her*; *d* lost.—*side*, Newcastle people always write *ey*, which I am bound to render (*éi*), but I heard (*á'i*, *á'i*), see Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, p. 658. Its use here in (*géin néim egéin*) going

name again, and also (*héim*) *home*, Hexham (*hüem*), Newcastle (*hiem*), is peculiar.

3. *up*, "u as in *dull*," that is (œ_1).—*door*, "oo very broad, full oo or ou," see *now*, par. 1.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (*shi wæ*₁).—*maybe*, occ. (*mebi*_z).—*wizened* or (*wæ*₁*z*'nd for *shrivelled*, not used.

6. *learn*, "the *r* not definite" (? distinct).—*not*, "by old people the *t* is omitted, but a faint *a* is added."—*thing*, but (*noe*₁*thin* *sæ*₁*nthin*) with (n) not (q).

7. *look!*, when used as an exclamation subjoins (v).—*isn't it true*, words written *isn't it trou*, and the *ou* explained by *you*.

Notes to No. 12, *Newcastle* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *gate*, (*g'æt*) is gate in the sense of road.

4. *maybe*, both (*mebi*, *mev*) are used, but the latter is commoner.—*drunken*, when taking this down I

noted "this (œ_1) puzzles me a good deal; it is not quite (œ) nor (æ) nor (*u*₁), but lies in among all these," see p. 638.—*wizened*, (shr-) properly used.—*chap*, commoner than fellow.

Notes to No. 13, *North Shields* dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *right*. Both n. and s. Shields are celebrated for not pronouncing the letter (*r*). To me it seemed to be

entirely vocalised in n. Shields when *not* preceding a vowel, and *when* preceding a vowel, as here, to become that

stiff lip trill which I now write (κ), a turned m , in preference to (u) or turned n , at first proposed. It is different from (brh), and naturally confounded with (w) by ordinary ears, but the speaker always feels the difference between (w , κ), for the sides of the upper lip are inflated for (w), but not at all

for (κ). Here I heard (κiit).—*lass*, sometimes but rarely ($went$).

4. *maybe*, the word chance is used in such a phrase as ($hii z got nii t\text{ans}$) he's got no chance.

6. *learn*, or ($t\acute{e}it$) teach.

7. *look*, I heard ($l\acute{a}k$) and not ($l\acute{o}k$); in the pit districts ($li\acute{e}k$).

Notes to No. 14, Rothbury dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *from*, the (rw) shews a decidedly labial form of the burr as observed in the particular words where it is written.

2. *red*, they also call 'read, head' ($riid$, $hiid$).

3. *enow*, Mr. Scott did not know the two uses of enough sg., and enow pl., but when asked if he knew enough,

said ($un\acute{i}ut! aa z h\acute{e}ord it of\acute{e}n$) enough! I has heard it often.

4. *fellow* or ($fel\acute{e}$).

6. *learn* or ($larn$), and I noted that Mr. S. called *both* ($b\acute{i}ut$), and bullocks heifers ($bo'l\acute{e}ks$, $ef\acute{e}rz$), and used the phrase ($\acute{a}i$, a see it) aye, I say it.

Notes to No. 15, Smitter, and No. 19, Whittingham dt., pp. 654, 655, 656.

1. *now*, the words 'now, through' seem more liable to pass into ($\acute{o}n$) than any other.—*I am* and *I is* constantly alternate.—*coming*, observe the forms ($\acute{o}l$, u_1) in Nos. 14, 15, both written at the time, and the use of ($\acute{\alpha}_1$, $\acute{\alpha}$).—*school*, 'ten or fifteen miles further nw. towards the Cheviot range, ($sk\acute{i}el$) is used.'

2. *road*, 'way' would not be used

here, but it is called ($w\acute{e}ei$) when used.

3. *up*, and 4. *drunken*, an unmistakable ($\acute{\alpha}p$), at first however I wrote ($\acute{o}p$); I had to correct it.

6. *wouldn't*, "we don't use won't."—*man*, ($t\acute{\alpha}p$) is common by Wooler.—*learn*, where they use *teach* they call it ($tiit$) not ($teet$). Mr. A. also called our, always ($w\acute{o}r$, $elw\acute{i}z$).

Notes to No. 16, Harbottle dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *coming*, "the first syllable rhymes to *huan*," when I have not heard the sound myself, I always suppose that in Var. $\acute{i}v$ ($\acute{\alpha}_1$) was meant, because it was that I generally heard.

4. *she will*, ($sh\acute{e} w\acute{o}l$) emphatic form, otherwise ($shi l$).—*fellow*, written *falla* with note, "both the *a*'s very

broad, probably Scotch." that might be ($\acute{a}la$), as however I got ($fa\acute{e}l$ v. in No. 15, I have interpreted this to mean the same.

5. *very*, written *varra*, with the note, "the *r*'s very guttural, and, though very difficult of pronunciation, in very common use indeed by the natives."

Notes to No. 17, Warkworth dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *so*, ($si\acute{i}$) rather than ($si\acute{i}$), but the latter was intended.—*see now*, the ($\acute{i}i$, $\acute{u}i$) were carefully explained and read to me slowly.—*right*, the (r) was gentle and never labialised, (ii) intended for (ii) was given here, not ($\acute{i}i$).—*about*, the vowel being shortened only, (\acute{u}_1) not ($\acute{u}i$) was heard.—*little*, not ($l\acute{á}l$).—*lass*, wench is hardly ever used.—*coming* seemed the first time to have (u_1), but the second time ($\acute{\alpha}_1$).—*school*, in w.Nb. ($sk\acute{i}el$).—*yonder*, ($dhond\acute{e}r$) is heard.

2. *red*, also ($riid$).—*of the way*, the phrase is used.

3. *door*, also ($d\acute{u}r$).—*house*, with medial vowel as in *about*, par. 1.

4. *where*, the ($w\acute{h}$) distinct.—*may be's* or ($m\acute{e}bi$), they also say ($ma'rv\acute{e}lz$) for *marbles*, that is, they habitually confused (b , v) in some words.—*wizened*, they pron. ($shr-$) initially.—*of the name of Thomas*, better ($d\acute{h}a't d\acute{h}ee k\acute{a}'l : to\acute{m}us$) that they call Thomas.

5. *know*, ($k\acute{e}n$, $na\acute{a}$) are used indifferently.

6. *do it*, they also say ($ha'd$) for *have it*.—*poor*, the vowel very short.

7. *look* or ($liuk$).—*isn't it true*, ($d\acute{i}dn't a^1 see si$) would be more used.

* * See specimen on next page.

NED WHITE, A YARN, IN WARKWORTH SPEECH.

The following specimen, cut from a newspaper, was read to me by Mr. Ridley at the same time as he gave me the above dt. There is a wonderful confusion of the Peninsular War with the Battle of Waterloo, but that is a trifle: the point is the pron., which must here be attributed to Warkworth. I put a translation interlinearly.

ma'n, a' fel in wi :ned :whe'it dhi u₁dher dee. ji naa'
Man, I fell in with Ned White the other day. You know

:ned en u₁dher twenti foor ev :haa'ks tjeeps, went unt ti dhi
Ned and other twenty four of Hawkes's chaps went out to the

:pininsuler :wor, whor :welint'en wa's, je naa'. si, ez wi
Peninsular War, where Wellington was, you know. So, as we

wor hev'in e gil tegidher, a' sez ti him, :ned dje me'ind
were having a gill together, I says to him, Ned d'you mind

when ji wer in dhe :pininsuler :wor?—a' shud theqk a' dii,
when you were in the Peninsular War?—I should think I do,

sez hi₁i.—did je ivor fa'l in wi :welint'n? sez a'.—:welint'n!
says he. — Did you ever fall in with Wellington? says I. — Wellington!

sez hi₁i, we'i, ma'n, a' na'd him. we'i, dju₁st dhi dee vfoor dhe
says he, why, man, I knowed him. Why, just the day afore the

ba't'l e :waterloo, hi sent for mi.—:ned, hi sez, tiek jor
battle of Waterloo, he sent for me.—Ned, he says, take your

twenti foor men, hi sez, en ga'n œp en shift them :frentjmen
twentyfour men, he says, and go up and dislodge those Frenchmen

of dhe top e jon h'l.—aa'l rit sez aa', bu₁t it win't tiek
off the top of yon hill.—All right, says I, but it will not take

aa'l dhi twenti foor, a' sez.—aa'! bu₁t itjs :nepoolienz kra'k
all the twenty four, I says.—Ah! but its Napoleon's crack

ridjment, hi sez, ji)d betw tiek plenti.—aa'l rit, a' sez,
regiment, he says, you better take plenty. — All right, I says,

wi'l siun shift dhem.—si du₁un a' keem ti dhe la'dz, en
we'll soon shift them. — So down I come to the lads, and

a' sez—nu₁u, mi la'dz, :welinten wants u₁z ti shift jon
I says—Now, my lads, Wellington wants us to dislodge yon

:frentjmen of dhi top ev jon h'l.—aa'l rit, dhe sez.—hior,
Frenchmen off the top of yon hill.—All right, they says.—Here,

:bob :skot, a¹ sez, h^u₁u moni :frentjmen ar dhor œ₁p jondor?
 Bob Scott, I says, how many Frenchmen are there up yonder?

—ub^u₁t f^our hœ₁ndord, i sez.—h^u₁u moni on ū₁s wil it t^uek
 —About four hundred, he says.—How many of us will it take

ti shift them? a¹ a¹kses.—oo, ten, sez :bob.—wéⁱ, wⁱ₁i)l t^uek
 to dislodge them? I axes. —Oh, ten, says Bob. —Well, we'll take

fⁱftiⁿ, dj^u₁st ti h^umor dhi aa¹d maⁿ.—aa¹l rⁱit, dhe sez. siⁱ
 fifteen just to humour the old man. — All right, they says. So

òf wi set a^t dhi d^u₁b^l vloq^h dhe lonen; b^u₁t dj^u₁st a^z wi tornd
 off we set at the double along the lane, but just as we turned

dhi korn^{er} a^t dhe fu^t by dhe hⁱl, whⁱi sh^u₁d wi mⁱit b^u₁t
 the corner at the foot of the hill, who should we meet but

:bonⁱpart hizsel on e lili^wheⁱt hors, wi e kokt ha^t on.—
 Bonaparte himself on a lily white horse, with a cocked hat on. —

whor a^r Ji òf ti, :ned? sez h^u₁i.—wéⁱ, ti shift jon :frentjmen
 Where are you off to, Ned? says he. — Why, to dislodge you Frenchmen

òf jon hⁱl?—wha^t! hi sez, wéⁱ dha^t)s mi kra^k ridjment,
 off you hill?—What! he says, why that's my crack regiment,

hi sez.—nⁱver meⁱnd dha^t, a¹ sez, :welⁱnten sez wi hev ti
 he says.—Never mind that, I says, Wellington says we have to

shift them, a¹nd shifted dhe)l b^u₁i, n^u₁n.—Ji)r kodⁿ, sez
 dislodge them, and dislodged they'll be, now. — You are jesting, says

h^u₁i.—ni kodⁿ ub^u₁t it, a¹ sez, wⁱ₁i)l sⁱun shift dhem òf, a¹
 he. — No jesting about it, I says, we'll soon dislodge them off, I

sez, kœ₁m beⁱ!—ha^d on, hi sez, un hi gal^leps rⁱit œ₁p dhe
 says, come by! — Hold on, he says, and he gallops right up the

hⁱl ti dhem, œn sh^u₁ts nut—gaⁿ ba^k, me la^dz, gaⁿ ba^k!
 hill to them, and shouts out.—Go back, my lads, go back!

hⁱor)z :ned :wheⁱt frem :haa¹ksⁱz, a¹nd hiz twenti f^our ladz
 here's Ned White from Hawks's, and his twenty four lads

kœ₁mⁿ œ₁p ti shift Ji. Ji hevⁿt e ha^porth by t^raⁿs!
 coming up to dislodge you. You haven't a ha'p'orth of chance!

—œn ba^k dhe went. did a¹ ivor s^u₁i :welⁱnten? wéⁱ, maⁿ,
 —And back they went. Did I ever see Wellington? Why, man,

Ji sh^u₁d thi^qk sh^u₁m!
 you should think shame!

Notes to No. 18, *Alnwick* dt., pp. 654, 656.

Variants in Rev. J. Blythe's version.

1. *so* (sii).—*mares* (marez) marrows.
—*now* (nuu).—*girl* (lasi).—*school*
(skíul).—*yonder* (jóner).

2. *going* (ganin).

3. *gone* (gên).

4. *she will* (shii'l).—*chance* (shans).
—*shrunk* (wœz'nd) wizened.

5. *all* (aal).

6. *soon* (siun).—*teach* (larn).—not
(nu't).—*again* (egéin).

7. *look* (luuk).

Substance of Mr. G. Thompson's paper
on the Nb. Vowel Sounds.

a = "a in *fat*, *fan*, very general,"
probably (a¹), used in *father*, *law*
(fa'dher, là¹).

ai = "a in *fair fare*, unaltered."
? (æ), and often in *gate* (geet),
sometimes pron. as *g* prefixed to *yet*
(giet).

o, "correct" as in *no* (noo). "Some
s. country people pronounce it *a-oo*,
a in *fan* and *oo* in *root*, (a¹u).

ou. *ou* in *through* is "adequately
represented by *o-oo* pronounced
rapidly so as to make one sound,

thus *thro-oo*. So with *ou* in *now*,
brow, which would be *no-oo*, *bro-oo*
(one syllable in each case)," this
must mean (ôu) as I frequently
appreciated it.

e, ordinary as in *feet feet*, *pet hen*, and
also *ei* as in *height*; but he probably
meant (éi).

i. In Alnwick it is made up of *eh* and
ee, thus *fight* is *feh-ect* (fê'it),
similarly (*stre'it*) *straight*.

u. "We sound in the usual way in
such words as *uncle*; but we sound
it the same way in *bull pull*, which
is a departure from the classical
standard." This should mean (bâl,
pâl).

ue in *true* rhymes to *through now*, see
ou, that is, they say (trôu). *blue* is
(blîu) not (blûu).

oo in *soot* is (iœ¹), explained "as one
syllable *sy-ent*, taking *eu* according
to the French."

ou in *you* unemphatic is the same as
e in *the* (jv. dhv, emphatic (ii).

h. The Northumbrians never misplace
the aspirate, but omit it in unaccented
pronouns, accented *us* is (hæz).

Notes to No. 20, *Embleton* 1 dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *now*, written *moo* and explained
the *u* was that in *full*.—*right*, on
(rw¹), see Introduction, p. 655.—*com-
ing*, spelled *cumin*, and stated to have
the vowel in *hum*.

2. *red*, the vowel here, and in No.
21, seems doubtful.

3. *sure*, spelled *shewv*, and *eu* said
to be French.—*enough*, vowel con-
jectural, written *u*.—*child*, I question
the use of *child* here and in No. 21.—
bairn is admitted to be also used.—*up*,
the *u* in *full* accepted.

4. *find*, the use of (f'ind) here and
in No. 21 is quite unexpected.

5. *know*, Mr. C. wrote *hn*, and
considered that *h* was decidedly but
slightly pronounced.

6. *the old*, the use of (t') here and
in No. 21 is remarkable, and I
inquired about it particularly. Mr. C.
says, "The use of *t'* for *thé* is by no
means uncommon. It is not always
used, but often, and apparently in an
arbitrary way, *t'* or *thé* is used. *T'*
is also sometimes used for *that* (con-
junction, not pronoun). . . . I am
quite clear of its use in this part of
Nb." I have not had it given me
from any other place in Nb. In the
present case it may arise from assimila-
tion to the preceding (t) in (wónt).

7. *look*, written *leuk*.

For a comparison of the peasant
and fishing speech see end of notes to
No. 21 on next page.

Notes to No. 21, *Embleton* 2 dt., pp. 655, 656.

3. *the child*, Mr. Green says, "The
t' in such expressions as *t' child* is of
frequent use. In ordinary conversation
the word 'the' is generally shortened
into *t'*, *th'*, *ti*. I may mention that

the expression *th' day*, *th' night* is
often used instead of *to-day*, *to-night*."
This is of course L. The *th'* can
scarcely differ from (dhv) except in
extreme shortness of the (v).

Differences in the original spelling of Nos. 20 and 21, which were recognised by Mr. Creighton as representing "real differences of pronunciation." The words are arranged in the order of a cwl., and to the original spellings in italics are added my pal. interpretations. 1. refers to the peasants; 2. to the fishing population.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 1. *nǣym*, 2. *nǣm*; 1. *niem*, 2. *néem*. A: 43 1. *haand*, 2. *hond* or *haand*; 1. *hand*, 2. *hond*. A: or O: 58 1. *fwom*, 2. *frā' frō'*; 1. *fwom*, 2. *free*. 64 1. *ōwong*, 2. ''*rong* or *wrang*; 1. *rw₁aq*, 2. *raq*. A'- 67 1. *gōūn*, 2. *ga'in*; 1. *goon*, 2. *gaa'n*. 92 1. *kno*, 2. *knok'*; 1. 2. *nhoo*. A': 104 1. *rwōōūd*, 2. ''*rrode*; 1. *rw₁ūuad*, 2. *rood*. 110 1. *nūt*, 2. *not*; 1. *nu₁t*, 2. *not*. Æ: 177 1. *thaat*, 2. *thet*; 1. *dhat*, 2. *dhet*. E: 262 1. *wēuy*, 2. *wūū'*; 1. *wice*, 2. *wéev*. E'- 297 1. *fello*, 2. *fello'r*, 1. 2. *felu*. EÅ: 326 1. *t'ard*, 2. *t'ō'd*; 1. *t'aad*, 2. *t'ōvd*. 346 1. *geuyt*, 2. *gūct*; 1. *gēct*, 2. *gēct*. EO: 394 1. *yondow*, 2. *yondo'rr*; 1. 2. *jordor*. I: 459 1. *owūt*, 2. *rrūt*; 1. *rwō'ūt*, 2. *rō'ūt*. 466 1. *thē child*, 2. *t' child*; 1. *dhe t₁ō'ild*, 2. *t' t₁ō'ild*. O'- 558 1. *leuk*, 2. *look*; 1. *lœ₁k*, 2. *huk*. 560 1. *skōōūl*, 2. *skœul*; 1. *skūuel*, 2. *skūul*. 564 1. *scun*, 2. *soon*; 1. *sūm*, 2. *sum*. O': 579 1. *eneuff*, 2. *eneugh*; 1. *enœ₁f*, 2. *enūf*. U- 606 1. *dowā*, 2. *dōōēr*; 1. *duuor*, 2. *duuor*. U: 632 1. *oop*, 2. *ōp*; 1. 2. *u₁p*. U'- 643 1. *nuoo*, 2. *noo*; 1. *nū₁u*, 2. *nu*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 1. *meayts*, 2. *māets*; 1. *mīeets*, 2. *mēeets*. I. and Y. 758 1. *geawl*, 2. *gurr*; 1. *giorl*, 2. *garl*.

III. ROMANCE.

E. 885 1. *vāwy*, 2. *vāh'ē*; *veerw₁i*, 2. *vái*. U. 969 1. *sheuwō*, 2. *shūōr*; 1. *shœ₁vrw₁*, 2. *shumor*.

Notes to No. 22, *Wooler* dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *so I see*, K. [*i.e.* Mr. Kirkup] gave (see a¹ see).—*you see now*, K. (*i séi nē'u*), this is quite Rx.—*right*, K. (*rāt*).—*that*, K. (*dhāt*).—*from*, K. (*thre*), this is also Rx.—*at a distance*, out-by, while (*in-be'i*) in by, means close at hand. K. pron. (*ūt'bái*), and said it meant at a considerable distance, and so preferred (*jon skyy₁l*) *yon school*, which Mr. C. gave as an alternative.

2. *she's going*, K. (*shē'z gān*).—*road*, K. (*rood*).—*through*, K. (*thra'u*) apparently Rx.—*gate*, K. (*geet*).—*side*, K. (*séid*).

3. *enough*, K. (*enūf*).—*going*, K. (*gān*).—*straight*, K. (*strāit*).—*til the*, K. (*te dhe*).—*door*, K. (*door*).

4. *liard*, grey-haired, grised, properly a grey horse, Scotch.—*fellow*, K. (*talē*).—*called*, K. gave (*niem*) for name.

5. *we*, K. (*wéi*), which is Rx.—*all*, K. (*ā*).—*very*, K. (*veri*).

6. *soon*, K. (*sūen*).—*learn*, K. (*lern*).

7. *look*, K. (*lu₁k*).—*true*, K. (*trē'n*).

Altogether Mr. Kirkup's pron. is hardly safe.

VAR. i. BRAMPTON, Ct., cwl.

(:bra₁mtēn) (9 ene. Carlisle), just where the Scotch-Cu. dialect begins. This cwl. was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Spottiswood, Hale Grange, Kirkby Thore, We. († w. Appleby), (:hēel :greend₁, :k₁rbe :fūr), who had been 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

The (r) is trilled in all positions, medial and final, as well as before a vowel, as in L.

The (a, a₁) are here used as on p. 539, for which I should probably have

written (a¹, a) respectively, as there noted. They certainly correspond with my (a¹, a) in what I wrote from Mr. Ridley, No. 17, pp. 656, 666, 678. The (e^c) is an indistinct attempt at (e), which is hardly separable from (e₁), and seems to represent an individuality. The (e₁) is also scarcely separable from (e) or even (E).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 biie^ck. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 müe^od. 7 süe^ck. 8 hev. 9 bihee₁v. 10 haa. 12 saa. 17 laa. 18 küe^ck. 19 tüe^l. 20 lüe^m. 21 nüe^m. 22 tüe^m 23 süe^m. 24 shüe^m. 25 müeⁿ. 27 nüe^v. 28 hee₁r. 30 kee₁r. 31 lüe^t. 32 bēdh [(dük) used]. 33 ree₁dher. 34 last. 35 aal [(Els'n) used]. 36 thōu. 37 klāa.

A: 39 küe^m. 41 theqk. 43 ha₁n'd. 44 la₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l. 48 sa₁q [pret.], hi sa₁q v sa₁q [he sang a song]. 53 ka₁n. 55 a₁s. 56 wesh. A: or O: 59 la₁m'. 60 la₁q'. 61 e^maq'. 62 s₁traq'. 63 thraq'. 64 w'raq' eraq'. 65 saq'. 66 whüe³q'.

A'- 67 te gān. ga₁n. 69 noo. 70 tüe^o. 71 wee. 72 whüe^o. 73 süe^o. 74 twüe^o. 76 tüe^d. 77 lue₁rd. 78 aa. 80 helide^o. 83 müeⁿ. 84 mee₁r. 85 see₁r. 86 [(kwü₁eru) corn, used]. 87 klüe^z. 88 klid. 89 biueth. 90 bloo [bliu bloom]. 91 moo [miu moon]. 92 noo [niu, noon]. 93 snoo [sniu]. 94 kroo [kriu, kroon]. 95 throo. 96 soo [siu, soon]. 97 sōul.

A': 101 ik. 102 as. 104 rā₁ud. 105 rüe^d. 106 brüe^d. 107 lüe^f. 108 [(püest) paste, used]. 109 loo. 111 ōut. 113 hüe^l. 115 hüe^m. 118 biueⁿ. 119 güeⁿ. 122 nüeⁿ. 123 [(nōut) used]. 124 stüeⁿ. 128 dhōz. 129 goost. 132 het. 133 [(rit) used]. 134 ooth. 135 klē^{eth} [klüt]. 136 ōdher.

Æ- 138 fadher. 140 hē^l. 142 snē^l. 144 egiueⁿ. 146 mee₁n. 147 brēe₁n. 148 feer. 149 bliue^z. 150 liist. 152 wa₁ur. 153 se₁terd.

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 ree₁v'n. 158 eftur. 160 ē^g. 161 dee₁. 164 mee₁. 165 sed. 167 düe^l. 168 ta₁le. 169 when. 170 ha₁rvi₁t [(i) distinct]. 171 baarli. 172 ge^{rs}. 173 waz. 174 e'sh. 175 fast. 179 what. 181 [(tred, iet-rwü₁ud) tread, foot-road, used].

Æ'- 182 seii. 183 tit₁. 184 lid. 185 riid. 186 brenth [assimilated to length]. 187 liv. 188 [ni₁ker] used]. 189 wē₁i. 190 kē₁i. 191 hil. 192 min. 193 klin'. 194 ōni. 195 moni. 197 tji₁z. 199 blit. 200 whit. 202 hit.

Æ': 203 spilit₁. 204 diid. 205 thrid. 206 red. 207 niid^l. 210 klee₁. 211 gree₁. 212 whēe^v. 216 dil. 218 ship. 219 slip. 221 fir. 222 hee₁r. 223 dhee₁r. 224 whee₁r. 226 müest. 227 wet. 228 swit. 229 breth brēth. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 brēk. 233 spiek [pure (ii)]. 234 [(wu₁rk u₁p) used]. 235 wüev wiiv. 236 fiiver. 238 [(dā₁ik) dyke, used]. 241 reen [(riā₁n), grass left beyond the furrows in ploughed land]. 243 plee [leek]. 246 kwin. 247 [(spüeⁿ) used]. 248 müe^r. 249 wüe^r. 250 swyy₁e^r. 251 mit. 252 ket^l. 253 net^l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edt₁. 259 wedt₁. 261 see₁. 262 wee₁. 264 ee₁l. 265 s₁trēe₁it. 270 i. beliz. ii. be^li. 272 elem. 273 men. 274 bentt₁. 276 thi₁qk. 280 elii^vn. 281 lenth. 282 st₁renth. 283 meri. 284 thre^{sh}. 285 kres. 286 ha₁ru. 287 bu₁z'm [bosom is (booz'm), see No. 287 on p. 635]. 288 lrt.

E'- 289 je^o. 290 hēii [(e) distinct in this and the three following words]. 291 dhēii. 292 mēii. 293 wēii. 294 fid. 295 bred. 296 bliiv. 298 fiil. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 hüe^r. 302 mit. 303 swit.

E': 305 hēii [the same as 290]. 306 hēiit. 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hiil'. 311 ten. 312 hüe^r. 314 hüerd. 315 fit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 güe^p. 320 keer. EA: 321 saa. 322 lakw. 323 fōukwht [also (fit)]. 324 ēe₁t. 325 wa^k. 326 ōld. 327 bōul^d. 328 kool'. 329 iool^d. 330 hod. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [(telt) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 aa. 336 faa^v. 337 waa^v. 340 jee₁rd. 342 erem. 343 wārem. 345 dār. 346 jet.

EA'- 347 hid. 348 ai. 349 fiun. EA': 350 did. 351 lid. 352 rid.

353 brid. 354 shíe^of. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 [(fer AA) for all, used]. 359 n^o₁ber. 360 tim. 361 bin. 363 t₁p. 365 n^oie^or. 366 grit. 367 thrit. 368 dith. 369 sloo. 370 FAA. 371 s^ot₁r^oíe^o.

EI- 372 E'í [with a long glide from (E) through (i) to (ī)]. 373 dhee. 374 nee₁. 376 béeut. EI: 377 stíe^ok. 378 week. 382 dheer.

EO- 383 suv'n. 384 hev'n. 385 [(en₁nd₁r) on under, used]. 386 jóu.

EO: 388 millhk [“(llh) very distinct as a glide from the vowels to the voiceless (k).”—JGG.]. 389 jók. 390 sud [not (sud)]. 393 bíont. 396 wu₁rk. 397 s^ourd. 398 staarv. 399 brae'it. 402 laaren. 403 faar. 405 haarthstíe^on [not used without stone]. 406 è^orth. 407 fãrdin. 408 niu.

EO'- 409 báii. 411 thráii. 419 sh'íi [emph.], she shu shu [unemph.] 413 div'l. 414 fléii. 415 léii. 416 diür. 417 t₁óu. 420 fóuer. 421 forti.

EO': 423 tháii. 424 ruf. 425 lé'it. 426 fae'it. 427 báii. 428 sáii. 430 fr₁n'. 431 bíür. 432 fóut. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 juu. 436 triü. 437 triüth. EY- 438 déii. EY: 439 t₁ra'ist [see 701].

I- [There are two (a'i) diphthongs, fine and broad, JGG. wrote the first as (E'í) = (E'í) with a long glide from (E) to (i), and also as (æ'í), and as he thinks the latter form preferable, although he is not perfectly satisfied with the analysis, it is here adopted. This n. diphthong is usually taken as (E'í, éí), but in 'Nb. I heard (ə'í) or (á'í), I could not determine which. The broad form is always (ái) or (ái), and JGG. prefers the first form, here written.] 440 wik. 441 sív [not (síiv)]. 442 háivín. 444 sta'e'il. 446 na'e'in. 448 [(dhooz, dhoor) used]. 449 gít. 450 tíuzde^o. 451 sóu [sóud].

I: [see note after I-]. 452 a, aa [(a,z) I is, is used in all the district]. 454 wit₁. 457 ma'e'it. 458 na'e'it. 459 re'it. 460 wé₁t. 462 sa'e'it. 464 whit₁. 465 sek. 466 [(beerun) used]. 467 wa'e'ld. 471 t₁mer. 472 [(ru₁n u₁p) used]. 473 blin'. 475 win'. 476 bind [ba₁n'd, bu₁n]. 477 fínd [fa₁n'd, fu₁n't]. 478 grin' [gra₁n'd, gru₁n]. 479 wín' [wa₁n'd, wu₁n]. 481 tí₁qer. 485 thís'l. 486 íest. 487 íest₁erde^o. 488 íit.

I'- [see note after I-]. 491 sa'e'ikjh sái. 493 dráiv. 494 ta'e'im. 496 áren. 498 re'it.

I': [see note after I-]. 500 ka'e'ik. 501 wa'e'ld. 502 fáiv. 503 ka'e'if. 504 na'e'if. 505 wa'e'if. 506 wamen. 507 wamen [the (u) remaining from the sg.]. 508 ma'e'il. 509 wha'e'il. 511 wa'e'in. 513 wáür. 514 a'e'is. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fu₁é'l. 522 op'n. 523 hoop. 524 wu₁rel'd word'l. O: 526 kókwch. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóu₁ter. 532 kwá₁el. 533 du₁l. 534 whá₁e'l [JGG. preferred writing (hwá₁e'l), but I did not hear his (hw) as different from my (wh)]. 536 güld. 537 móud. 538 wad. 539 bóul. 540 holin. 542 bóut. 545 hop. 547 by₁'urd. 548 fu₁urd, fy₁'urd. 549 hored. 550 wu₁rd. 551 storem. 552 kwá₁ern. 553 whá₁ern [hw-) see 534]. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shá₁u. 557 ty₁'u. 558 lük. 559 mu₁dher. 561 bly₁'um. 562 míun. 563 monde^o. 564 síun. 565 nu₁ez. 566 u₁dher.

O': 569 by₁'uk. 570 ty₁'uk. 571 gud g^od. 572 bly₁'ud. 573 fly₁'ud. 574 bry₁'ud. 575 sty₁'ud. 576 wed'nzde^o. 577 buu. 578 pliu. 579 eníuf [and (eníuu), but doubtful whether sg. or pl.] 580 tíukwch. 581 sóut. 582 ky₁'ul. 583 ty₁'ul. 584 sty₁'ul. 585 bry₁'um. 586 dy₁'u. 587 diun. 588 níun. 589 spíun. 590 fly₁'e^or. 591 my₁'ur. 592 swy₁'ur. 593 [(mu₁n) used]. 594 by₁'ut. 595 fy₁'ut. 596 ry₁'ut. 597 sy₁'ut.

U- 599 ubíun eby₁'un. 600 bu₁v. 601 fóul. 602 sóu [older form (síuu)]. 603 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 dy₁'ur. 607 bu₁tter.

U: 608 u gli. 609 ful'. 610 wuu. 611 bu₁lek. 612 su₁m. 613 d₁ru₁qk. 614 hu₁n'. 615 pu₁n. 616 gru₁n'. 617 sá₁un'. 618 wu₁n'. 619 fu₁n'. 625 tu₁q. 626 hu₁qer. 629 su₁n. 631 th₁urzde. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 thrun. 637 tu₁sk. 639 du₁st.

U'- 640 ká₁uu. 641 hú uu. 642 dhá₁uu. 645 du₁v. 646 buu. 647 hu₁lst. 648 á₁uur. 649 thá₁uz'n. 652 kúid. 653 bet [unemph.].

U': 654 sheróud. 656 rúm. 657 brún. 658 dùn. 661 shá₁uur. 662 hu₁z [emphatic, also (hi₁t)=it emph.]. 663 hús. 665 mús. 666 hu₁zbend.

667 üt. 668 prüd. 669 *u₁qkə u₁qkəth* [*(u₁qkət)* at Temple Sowerby, We.], 671 *mèth*. 672 *sùth*.

Y- 673 *m₁t₁ m₁k'l*. 675 *d₁r₁i*. 676 *l₁i₁i*. 678 *d₁n*. 679 *t₁u₁r₁t₁ k^or_k*. 680 *b₁i₁z₁i*. 682 *l₁t'l* [obs. neither (*l₁aa'l*) nor (*laal*)]. Y: 684 *br₁ig*. 685 *r₁ig*. 686 *b₁ai*. 687 *fl₁e'it*. 689 *b₁i'l'd*. 690 *k^e'm'*. 691 *m₁ain'*. 693 *s₁n*. 696 *berth*. 697 *ber₁i*. 699 *r₁i'it*. 700 *wu₁rs*. 701 *fu'rst* [for (*u'*) the tongue is advanced midway between (*i*) and (*u*) positions]. 703 *pit*. Y'- 705 *sk₁ai*. 706 [*'what for,'* used]. 707 *th₁a₁r₁iim*. 708 *h₁ä₁er*. Y': 709 *f₁ä₁er*. 712 *m₁e'is*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *ba d*. 714 *la₁d*. 723 *d₁eeri*. 724 *be'l'd*. 725 *s₁i^e'l*. 730 *ka₁n₁t₁r*. 734 *d₁arn*. 735 *ma₁sh*. 737 *m₁e₁et*. 740 *w₁e₁ev*. 742 *l₁erzi*. E. 744 *mez'l'z*. 745 *t₁it*. 746 *br₁üdh*. 750 *b₁eg*. I. and Y. 753 [*k₁t'l*] used]. 754 *p₁ig*. 759 *t₁t*. 761 *l₁e'ed*. 767 *n₁óiz*. 769 *m₁óud₁warp*. 771 *tu'nd*. 772 *b₁i^e'nf₁ä₁r*. 774 *p₁ómi*. — *n₁úk* [nook]. 777 *shop*. 778 *efw₁ä₁erd*. 783 *pu₁l₁t₁r₁i*. 789 *r₁óu*. 790 *g₁ün*. U. 793 *h₁u g*. 794 *d₁ju g*. 799 *sku₁l*. 801 *ru₁m*. 802 *ru₁m*. 803 *d₁ju mp*. 805 *k₁ru₁dz*. 808 *pu₁t*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *ieb'l*. 810 *f₁i^e's*. 811 *pl₁i^e's*. 812 *l₁i^e's*. 813 *beck'n*. 814 *m₁i^e's'n*. 818 *ie'dj*. 819 *re₁edj*. 824 *t₁je₁r*. 825 *w₁i^e'f*. 830 *t₁reen*. 833 *pee₁r*. 835 *r₁iz'n*. 836 *s₁iz'n*. 838 *t₁r₁it*. 852 *eeper'n*. 853 *b₁argin*. 854 *ba r'l ba₁ril*. 855 *ka₁ret*. 856 *p₁art p₁ert*. 857 *k₁i^e's*. 858 *b₁rees*. 859 *t₁ji^e's*. 860 *p₁ü^e'st*. 861 *t₁i^e'st*. 862 *s₁i^e'f*. 865 *faat*. 866 *py ur*.

E.. 867 *t₁ei*. 871 *gr₁ei*. 874 *re'in re'in*. 875 *ie'unt*. 877 *ee r*. 881 *sens*. 888 *s₁art'n*. 890 *b₁ist*. 891 *f₁ist*. 892 *nevi*. 893 *fl₁üer*. 894 *d₁siiv*. 895 *r₁isiiv*.

I.. and Y.. 897 *d₁läe'it*. 898 *n₁e'is*. 899 *n₁is*. 900 *pree*. 901 *f₁e'in*. 902 *m₁e'in*. 908 *edv₁e'is*. 909 *br₁iiz*. 910 *d₁jis*. 912 *re'is*.

O.. 913 *kw₁ä₁pt₁*. 914 *broot₁*. 915 *st₁u₁f*. 916 *u₁n₁i₁en* [not (*u₁n₁en*), and so (*r₁ilid₁ij₁en*) religion]. 917 *roog*. 919 *óntument*. 920 *p₁óint*. 921 *ekw₁ent*. 922 *bu₁sh'l*. 924 *t₁jóis*. 925 *v₁óis*. 926 *sp₁óil*. 933 *fr₁u₁nt*. 935 *ku₁n₁t₁r₁i*. 939 *kl₁é₁ps*. 940 *kw₁ä₁pt*. 941 *f₁ü₁d*. 942 *b₁üt₁er* [not (*bu₁t₁er*)]. 943 *tu₁t₁*. 947 *b₁óil*. 948 *b₁ül*. 950 *su₁p* [the last syllable of *supper* being omitted]. 951 *ku p'l*. 952 *kw₁ä₁rs*. 954 *k₁u₁shen*. 955 *d₁üt*. 956 *ku₁ver*.

U.. 960 *kee*. 961 *gr₁ü₁nl'*. 963 *kw₁ä₁pt*. 964 *s₁nu₁pt*. 965 *óil*. 966 *f₁ü₁nt*. 967 *s₁ü₁nt*. 969 *sy₁ur*. 970 *d₁ju₁st*. 971 *f₁ü₁nt*.

VAR. ii. SOUTH SHIELDS, DU., cwl.,

formed from the lw. given me by Rev. C. Y. Potts, native, and constantly corrected and augmented from 1868 to 1883, written in glossic and pal. by A.J.E., see the es., pp. 645, 649.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *t₁iek'n* [taken]. 5 *m₁iek*. 6 *m₁i₁ed*. 7 *n₁i₁em s₁iek* [namesake]. — *k₁red'l* [cradle]. 8 *hev*. 17 *laa*. 18 *k₁iek*. 21 *n₁i₁em*. 23 *s₁i₁em*. 24 *shem* *sh₁i₁em*. 28 *h₁eev*. 30 *k₁éev*. 34 *last*.

A: 39 *kom*. 43 [pl.] *lanz*. 44 *land* [pl.] *lanz*. 46 *kan'l*. 49 *hiq*. 50 *t₁ieqz*. 51 *man*. 54 *want*. 55 *as*. 56 *w₁e₁sh*. A: or O: 58 *frem*. 59 *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *emaq*. 62 *straq*. 63 *thraq*. 64 *raq*. 65 *saq*.

A'- 67 *gan*. 69 *na^l* [in answer to a question]. 72 *w₁i₁ woo*. 73 *sii*. 75 *strook*. 76 *t₁i₁ed*. 77 *laa'ud*. 79 *aan óm*. 81 *h₁ien*. 87 *kleez*. 89 *br₁eth*. 90 *blaa*. 91 *m₁áau m₁ó₁en* [p.p. mown]. 92 *naa*. 93 *snaa sn₁ou*. 94 *kraa*. 95 *thraa*. 97 *s₁ó₁d*. 100 *saan s₁ó₁n*.

A': 102 *aks*. 104 *rood*. 113 *hool wool*. 115 *h₁i₁em*. 117 *won*. 118 *b₁i₁en*.

121 gr̄ien. 122 n̄ien [none], nii [no]. 123 nothin. 124 st̄ien. 125 ooni.
132 het. 134 ooth. 136 óudhu.

Æ- 138 fadh̄u [best], fēdh̄u [intermediate], f̄adh̄u [worst]. — ledhu [ladder]. — bledhu [bladder]. 140 heel. 144 uḡien. 148 íeev. 149 bliiz. 150 liist. 152 wate waate. — whedhu [whether]. Æ: — wek'n [waken]. — st̄idi [steady]. — tuḡid̄u [together]. 161 dee. 164 m̄ee. — sl̄ét [sleight]. — emp̄i [empty]. 169 when. — glas [glass]. — kécut [cart]. 179 what. Æ'- — rit̄ [to reach]. 184 liid l̄id. — r̄idi [ready]. 187 liiv. 189 w̄ei. 190 kii. 191 hiil. 192 miim. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 205 thriid thriid. 206 red. 208 iv̄e. 209 n̄iv̄e. 210 klee. 215 t̄out. 216 diil. — miil [meal]. 222 héeev. 227 wiit. — h̄ilth [health].

E- 232 br̄ik. 233 sp̄ik. 234 ned. — triid [to tread]. — st̄iid st̄id [stead]. — wedhu [weather]. 235 wiiv. — hev̄i [heavy]. 239 seel. 243 plee. 244 wiil. — tíie [to tear]. — bíie [to bear]. — píie [a pear]. 248 múie. 249 w̄iie. 250 swiie. — iit [to eat]. — f̄edhu [feather]. 254 ledhu.

E: — hiiv [to heave]. 258 seg. 260 lee. 261 see. — biid [a bead]. 262 wee. 266 wiil. — fiid [field]. 267 iild. — wel [a well]. 272 el̄em. 281 leuth. 282 strenth. 284 thresh. — br̄u'st br̄u's'n [burst, pres. and p. part.]. E'- 301 híie. E': 305 hái. 306 héit. — bl̄is [bless].

EA- — haak [hawk]. — jel [ale]. EA: 322 laf. 323 f̄out fit. 324 éit. 325 waak. 327 b̄óld. 328 k̄óld. 329 f̄óld. 330 had [oce.] h̄óld [gen.]. 331 s̄óld. 332 t̄óld. — helte [halter]. 337 waal. 338 kaal. — em̄iēst [almost]. — bíid [heard]. 340 j̄eed. — haad [hard]. 342 éem. — haam [harm]. 343 waam. — waan [warn]. 345 daa'v. — j̄éem [yarn].

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ñ [Newcastle]. 349 f̄iū. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid br̄id. 355 diif. 356 liif. — tái [tie]. 359 néibv. — hiip [a heap]. — íie [year]. — tíie [a tear]. — l̄ous [loose]. 366 griit. 367 thriit. 368 diith d̄ith. 369 slaa sl̄oa.

EI- 372 éei. 373 dhee. 375 reez. 376 beet. EI: 378 wiik. 382 dhéev.

EO- 384 h̄iv'n. 386 jóu. 387 n̄iū. EO: 389 jook. 390 shuud. — daak [dark]. 397 swaa'ed saued. — kaav [carve]. 398 staa. 399 briit. — éeel [eel]. — faam [farm]. — br̄u'nt [burnt]. 402 léem laan. 404 staa. — smaat [smart]. 406 éeuth [earth]. 407 faaden. EO'- 413 d̄iv̄il. 414 f̄ii. 416 diiv. 417 t̄jóu. 420 f̄óuv. EO': 425 liit. 426 f̄ét. — whiil [wheel]. 430 fr̄ind. — dip̄nis [Ws. deópn̄yss, for depth]. 432 f̄óueth. 433 briist br̄ist. 434 bet. 437 truuth. EY- 438 dii.

I- 447 ha'v. — jis [yes]. 449 get'n [gotten]. 451 sóu. I: 452 a aa. 453 wik [alive], k̄iik [rapid]. — thaa'ed [third]. — baa'ed [bird]. 458 niit [in fortnight often (fa'etn̄ith), see Part II. p. 477a]. 459 riit. 462 siit. 464 wh̄it̄. 465 sik. 466 t̄jéld. 473 bl̄nd. 476 b̄nd. 477 f̄ind. — bíhind [behind]. 478 gr̄ind ['very low']. gra'ndsen [grindstone]. 479 w̄ind. 481 f̄iq̄e [and generally as in (s'q'l, straq̄e, laq̄e), *ny* is (q) not (qg)]. 485 th̄is'l. 488 jat. — daa'eti [dirty].

I'- [(éi) may be (E'i)]. 490 hái. 492 séid. 498 réit. — thaa'eti. I': 500 lék. 502 fáiv. 504 néi' néiv̄z. 505 w̄ei. 506 wu'men. 508 méi. 510 méin. 511 w̄ein.

O- — br̄ak'n [broken]. — shu'v'l shu'l [shovel]. — ju'v'n [oven]. 519 óuv̄v. 520 b̄ou. 523 hoop. — faa'v [fore]. 525 waa'v̄ld. O: 527 bóat. 528 th̄out. 529 br̄out. 531 dóutv. 532 kool. 533 du'l. 536 góuld, góulsmith. 538 wad. 539 b̄ol. 542 bóldt. — skaa'v [score]. 550 waa'v̄ld. 552 kaa'v̄n. 553 haa'v̄n.

O'- 556 tiv [(t)id to it]. 558 líu'k. — f̄odhu [fodder]. 559 mu'dhu. 560 sk̄iul. 562 m̄iū'n. 566 u'dhu. 568 br̄u'dhu. O': 569 bíu'k. 570 tíu'k. 572 bl̄u'd. 578 pluu. 579 eniuf [pl. and sg.]. 584 st̄iul. 586 div̄, div̄'nt [don't], éi div̄v [yes do I], éi v̄ dii [yes I do]. 587 diū'n d̄i'd [do it]. — bu'zum [bosom].

U- — wu'd [wood]. 599 v̄bu'v. 600 lu'v. 602 suu. — thū'm [thumb].

— thæne [thunder]. — hini [honey as a term of endearment]. 605 su₁n.
— nu₁t [nut].

U: — pu₁l [pull]. 610 wu₁l. 612 su₁m. 615 puund [refined], pu₁nd [vulgar]. 616 gruund [ref.], gru₁nd [vulgar]. 618 wuund. 619 fuund [ref.], fu₁nd [vulgar]. 620 gruund [ref.], gru₁nd [vulgar]. 621 wuund [ref.], wu₁nd [vulgar]. 625 tu₁q. — faa'v [fir].

U': 640 kuu. 641 huu. 644 su₁k. 646 buu. 648 úue waa'v. 650 vbuut. 652 kund. 653 bu₁t. U': 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun.
— sáue [sour]. 662 hu z. 664 huus [but *loose* is *lous*]. 667 uut.

Y- 675 dkii [in N. Shields]. 676 li. 679 tjaabtj. Y: 685 rig. [occ.]. 689 biid. 690 kéind. 691 méind. 694 waaek. — waa'em [worm]. 700 waa es. 701 faa'est. — shaa'et shaaet [shirt]. — tjist kst. 702 wiv [often]. Y': 709 féie. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 taak. 734 daan. E. — welth [wealth]. 747 indi'v. 748 figd. O. 774 pómi. — pultis [poultice]. 783 pu₁ltri. — puur [to pour]. U. 794 dpu₁g. 796 bluu. — bu₁lk [bulk]. — tíun [tune]. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fies. 813 býk'n. 822 mee. — feel [fail]. — éev [air]. — tjeen [chain]. — plii_z [please]. — plizhø [pleasure]. — meeste [master]. 840 tjembe. — léedij [large]. — tjeéedij [charge]. — meri [marry]. — waand [warrant]. — kerij [carry]. 854 barel. — éeumi [army]. — baa [bar]. — skéeb_s [scarce]. 856 péent. — géebtu [garter]. — mas [mass]. — pas [pass]. 860 piest. — mit_s [matter]. 862 sief. 865 falt. — fals [false].

E.. — kriite [creature, and so *-ture* gen.]. — peen [pain]. — streen [strain]. — trím'l [tremble]. — héeel haal. 886 friiv. 887 kláadi. — péel paal [pearl]. treek'l [treacle]. — híus [hearse]. trizhe [treasure]. — prizins [presence]. — miit [neat]. — mezhe [measure]. 890 biist. 893 íáue. — úue [hour]. 894 dísiiv. 895 rísiiv. I.. and Y.. 898 néis.

O.. 914 brooti. — feeth [faith]. 922 bu₁shel. 928 iins. 935 ku₁ntri. — skaa'vdj [scourge]. 239 kloos. — roost [roast]. — toost [toast]. 940 koot. 941 íu₁l. 942 bu₁tye. 943 tu₁ti. 947 ba'd. — íaa'v [iur]. — íaa'en [turn]. 953 ku₁zin. — pu₁sh [push]. 954 ku₁sh'n.

U.. — díu [due]. — truun [truant]. — shu₁gv [sugar]. — dpu₁dj [judge]. — waa [war]. — pu₁lpit [pulpit]. 969 shúue. 970 dpu₁st.

SOUTH NORTHUMBERLAND, cwl.,

Embracing and contrasting Var. iii and iv.

H. Var. iii, wl. by Rev. George Rome Hall, Birtley Vicarage, Wark-on-Tyne (9 nw. Hexham). District bounded by the river Rede to n., by Watling St. to e., by North Tyne river to w., and by Barrastord Crags (6 n. Hexham) to s.; applying to most of the district of North Tynedale from Bellingham to Hexham, written in 1877, after 17 years' acquaintance with the dialect, with numerous explanations in io. and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

P. Var. iv, Pitmen's speech in se. Nb., between rivers Tyne and Wansbeck, for about 10 miles from the coast, written in 1877, with numerous explanations in io. by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (5 nw. Hexham), who had been acquainted with the dialect 40 years, and revised by Mr. John Taylor, of Earsdon (7 ne. Newcastle, Nb.), and Mr. G. B. Förster of Backworth, in the same parish, both mining engineers, and in constant communication with the pitmen. Pal. conjecturally by AJE.

Where no letter is prefixed, the pron. is common to both H and P.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H *bīek*, P *bīek*. 4 H *tīek*, P *tīek*. 5 H *mīek*, P *mīek*. 6 *mīed*, P *mīed*. 7 H *sīek*, P *sīek*. 8 *hev*. 9 H *bīhēev*, P *bīhīe-v*. 10 H *hoo*, P *baa*. 11 H *moo*. 12 H *soo*, P *saa*. 13 H *noo*, P *naa*. 14 H *dwoo*, P *draa*. 16 H [*brīk v dee*] used, P *daan*. 17 H *loo* *laa*, P *laa*. 18 H *kīek*, P *kīek*. 19 H *tīel*, P *tīel*. 20 H *liem*, P *liem*. 21 H *nīem*, P *nīem*. 22 H *tīem*, P *tīem*. 23 H *sīem*, P *sīem*. 24 H *shīem*, P *shem*. 25 H *mīen*, P *mīen*. 26 H *wēen*. 27 H *nīev*. 28 H *hēeor*. 31 H *liet*, P *liet*. 32 H *beedh*. 33 H *reedhor*, P *redhor*. 34 H *last*. 35 H [(*iilsin*, *elsin*) used], P *aal*. 36 H *thoo*, P *thaa*. 37 H *kloo*, P *klaa*.

A: 39 H *kom*, P *kam*. 40 H *kūem* ["as in *real*," but also said to be distinct (*kūam*), but I take *real* to be the proper type, see (*nīem*) p. 660, Nos. 7 and 8]. 41 H *thaqk*, P *thēqk*. 43 H *han*. 44 H *lan*. 46 *kan'l*. 47 H *wander*, 48 *saq*. 50 H *tēqz*, P *tīēqz*. 51 H *man*, P *men*. 52 H *waan*. 54 *want*. 55 H as [pl. and sg.]. 56 *wesh*. 57 H [(*kœpdi*) used].

A: *or* O: 58 *fre*. 59 H *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *emaq*. 62 *straq*. 63 *thraq*. 64 *raq*. 65 *saq*. 66 H *thaq*, P *thaq* *thēq*.

A'- 67 *gan*, P *gii* [(*gii jor weez tē skīorl*) go your ways to school]. 69 *nū*. 70 H *tii*. 71 H *woo*. 72 *whii*. 73 *sū*. 74 *twii*. 75 H *strook*. 76 H *tīed*, P *tīed*. 78 H *oo*, P *aa*. 79 H *ōm*, P *aan*. 80 *halde*. 81 [(*lonin*) used]. 83 H *mīien*. 84 *meer*. 85 *seer*. 86 *jets* [H *oc*. (*havor*)]. 87 H *kliēz*, P *kleez*. 88 H *kliēth* *kled*, P *klee dh*. 89 H *bīēth*, P *bīēth*. 90 H *bloo*, P *blaa*. 91 H *moo*, P *maa*. 92 [H *ken* used], P *naa*. 93 H *snoo*, HP *snaa*. 94 H *kroo*, P *kraa*. 95 H *throo*, P *thraa*. 96 H *soo*, P *saa*. 97 *sōd*. 98 [H (*kend*) used], P *naan*. 99 H *throon*, P *thraan*. 100 H *soon*, P *saan*.

A': 101 H *jek*. 102 *aks* [H *axe*=(*eeks*)]. 104 H *rood*. 105 *rid*. 106 *brīed*. 107 H *liēt*, *liēf*. 108 H *doe*, P *duu*. 109 H *loo*, P *laa*. 111 *ōut* [H with slight (*krcht*)]. 113 H *hīel*, P *hīel*. 115 H *bīem*, P *hīem*. 116 H *hīem*. 118 H *bīen*, P *bīen*. 121 H *gīem*, P *gīem*. 122 H *nīem*, P *nīem*. 123 [(*nōut*) used]. 124 H *stīem*, P *stīem*. 125 *onli*. 126 H *oor*, P *or*. 127 *hīrs*. 128 H *dhooz*, *dhii*, P *dhor*. 129 H *gīest*, P *geest*. 130 H *būuet*. 131 H *goot*. 132 *het*. 133 *rit* [used]. 134 *ēeth*. 135 H *kliēt*, HP *kluut*. 136 *ōudhor*.

Æ- 138 H *feedhor*, P *fēdhor* [but children say (H *dadī*, P *dedī*)]. 139 H *dree*. 140 H *hēvel*. 141 H *nēvel*, P *nīel*. 142 H *snēvel*. 143 H *tīel* [as *real*]. 144 H *egīen*, P *egīen*. 145 H *sleēn*. 147 H *breēn*. 148 H *feer*. 149 H *bleez*. 150 H *liist*. 152 *wetor*. 153 *setorde*.

Æ: 155 *thak*. 157 H *reev'n*. 158 *eftor*. 160 H *eg*. 161 H *dee*. 164 H *mee*. 165 *seed*. 166 H *meed*. 168 H *tabe*. 169 H *when*. 170 H *haarvest*. 172 H *gras* *gars*. 173 H [(*waar*) used], P *was* [with (*s*)]. 174 *esh*. 175 H *fast*. 178 [(*mīdy*) used]. 179 *what*. 180 [not used]. 181 H *peth*.

Æ'- 182 H *sii*. 183 H *tīitj*. 184 H *liid*. 185 H *riid*. 186 H *brīidth*, P *brīdth*. 187 H *liiv*. 188 H [(*nīkor*) used]. 189 H *wēi[kh]*, P *wii*. 190 H *kii*. 191 H *hiil*. 192 H *miin*. 193 H *khiin*. 194 *oni*. 195 *moni*. 196 H *oor*, P *wer*. 197 H *tīiiz*. 199 H *bliit* [occ. (*bleev*), but that gen. applies to cattle]. 200 *whiit* [(*wh*) fully heard]. 201 H *hiidh'n*. 202 H *hiit*.

Æ': 203 *spīitj*. 204 *diid*. 205 H *thriid*, P *thriid*. 206 *red*. 207 *niid'l*. 210 H *klee*. 211 H *gree*. 215 H *toot* [and (*tīitj*)], P *tōut*. 216 *diil*. 217 H *iitj*. 218 H *shiip*. 219 H *shiip*. 222 *hēor*. 223 *dhēor*. 225 H *flesh*. 226 H *mēest*, P *mīest*. 227 *wiit*. 228 *swiit*. 230 H *fat*.

E- 232 *brīk* [brak]. 233 H *spik* [spak]. 235 H *wiiv*. 236 H *fīvor*. 237 H *tīblben*. 238 H *hedj*. 239 *seel*. 240 H *leed*, P *liēn*. 241 *reen*. 242 H *tween*. 243 *plee*. 246 *kwiin*. 247 H *spīien*. 248 *mīer*. 249 *wiir*. 250 *swiir*. 251 H *mīit*. 252 H *ket'l*. 253 H *net'l*. 254 *ledhor*. 255 *wedor*.

E: 257 H *edj*. 258 H *seg*. 259 H *wedj*. 260 H *lee*. 261 H *see*. 262 *wee*. 264 H *ed*. 265 *strēt*. 268 [H *oodust*, P *aadust*]. 270 *i. belusis*. *ii. belī*. 272 H *elm*. 273 H *men*. 274 H *benj*. 276 H *thiik*. 277 H *drentj*. 278 H *wentj*. 280 *ili-v'n*. 281 H *lenth*. 283 *mari*. 284 *thresh*

[H to berry is most usual, see *Brockett's Glossary*]. 285 kres. 286 haub. 287 bæz'm [or possibly (ba₁z'm)].

E': 289 jv. 290 lii. 291 dhv. 292 mv. 293 wi. 294 H fiid. 295 H bred. 296 H biliiv. 298 H fiil. 299 H grinn. 300 H kiip. 301 hior. 303 H swiit. E': 305 H hii. 306 H hēi[kjht. 307 néi. 308 H niid. 310 H hiil. 311 H ten. 314 H hiiord, P hord. 315 H füt. 316 H nekst, P n'kst.

EA- 317 [*flay* not used except in sense of *frighten*]. 319 H giiep. 320 keer.

EA: 321 H soo, P saa. 322 H laf. 323 fôut [füt'n], [H slight (k'ch)]. 324 á'it [H slight (kjht)]. 325 H wook. HP waak. 326 H ood, P aad ad. 327 bóald. 328 H kood, P kaad kad. 329 H food. 330 H hood, P had. 331 P sóald, H [(seld selt)] used. 332 [(H told, HP telt) used]. 333 H koof. 334 H hoof [or (hoo) in (hoopni) haltpenny], P heef. 335 H oo [and (aa)], P aal. 336 H foo [and (faal)], P faal. 337 H woo [and (waal)], P waal. 340 jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 345 H deer, P daar. 346 H giuet, P griet.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii. 349 H fiu. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid. 354 shef. 355 diif. 356 H liif. 357 H thoo. 359 H néibor, P niibor. 360 H tiim. 361 H biim. 362 H slee. 363 H tpiip. 365 H niir, P [(néi) used]. 366 H griet, P griit. 367 H thriit. 368 diith. 369 H sloo, P slaa. 370 H roo, P raa. 371 H strce, P straa.

EI- 372 e'i [P "half a dozen accents and tones according to meaning"]. 373 H dhec. 374 H nec, P naa. 375 H recz. 376 H beet. EI: 377 H stiiek, P. stiiek. 378 weck. 382 H dhecor.

EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hiv'n. 385 eniith. 386 jóu. 387 H nú. EO: 381 H milk. 389 H jóuk. 390 H shu₁d su₁d. 393 wrot. 396 waark. 397 H suurd, P sword. 398 B staarv, P steerv. 399 H brēi[kjht. 400 aarnest. 402 H laarn, P leern. 403 H faar. 404 H staar. 405 H haerth, P heerth. 406 H jearth, P earth. 407 faard'n.

EO'- 409 H bii. 411 H thrii. 412 shii she. 413 H divil diil, P diivil. 414 fiil. 415 lii. 416 diior. 417 tjou. 418 bruu. 420 fôavr. EO': 423 thii. 424 H rœi. 425 H léi[kjht, P lit. 426 H féi[kjht, P féit [fit]. 427 H bii. 428 H sii. 429 fiind. 430 friind. 431 biior. 432 fôavrth. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 je. 436 trun. 437 truuth. EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 H trœyst.

I- 440 H wiik. 441 H siiv. 442 H áivi. 443 H fréide. 444 stéil. 445 H hii. 446 H ném. 448 H dhii, P dhor. 449 H git. 450 H tíuzde. 451 síu.

I: 454 H witi. 455 [*to lay* used]. 457 P miit. 458 H néi[kjht, P niit. 459 riit [H slight (-kjht)]. 460 H wéi[kjht, P wéit. 461 H eliit [slight (-kjht)]. 462 H séi[kjht, P siit. 464 H whiti. 465 sik. 466 [*bairn* used]. 468 [*bairns* used occ.], P tjiidor. 471 timor. 472 H shriqk. 473 blind. 475 wind. 476 bind. 477 fänd. 478 grind. 479 wœnd. 481 fiqor. 484 H dhis. 485 H thris'l. 486 H jest, P jist. 487 jistorde. 488 jit.

I'- [instead of (éi) I heard (á'i) or (á'i.) 490 béi [H (uutbéi) at a distance, (inbéi) near]. 491 séi. 493 dréiv. 494 téim. 496 éiren. 498 réit [H used generally (a)m rēten) I'm writing]. I': [instead of (éi) I heard (á'i) or (á'i.)] 500 léik. 501 wéid. 502 féiv. 503 léif. 504 néi. 505 wéif. 506 H wœmen. 507 H wœmœn. 508 méil. 509 whéil. 511 wéin. 513 wéir. 514 éis. 517 jóu.

O- 520 bôu. 521 fáuel. 522 op'n. 523 hoop. 524 world. O: 526 H kof. 527 H bóu[kht, P bóut. 528 H thóu[kht, P thóut. 529 H bróu[kht, P bróut. 530 H róu[kht, P róut. 531 H dóu[khtor, P dóutor. 532 kúuel. 533 de.l. 534 H húuel. 536 H góud, P góuld. 537 H móuld. 538 H wu₁d, P wad. 539 bóud. 542 H boolt. 545 hop. 547 H buurd. 549 H hoord. 550 word. 551 H storm. 552 H korn. 553 H horn. 554 H kros. O'- 557 tii. 558 H líiek, P líe k. 559 P midhor [a child says *mammy*, H P]. 562 H miien, P miœn. 564 H siien, P siœn. 565 H nooz. 566 H u₁dhor.

O': 569 H biiek, P biœk. 570 H tiiek, P tiœk. 571 H giued, P giœd. 572 P bliœd. 573 H flœd, ?flu₁d. 574 H braud. 575 H stœd, ?u₁.

wedinzde. 577 buu. 578 H plüef, P plu. 579 H enüef, P enüef. 580 H tüef, P tüef. 581 H sóu[kht, P sóut. 582 H küel. 583 H tüel. 584 H stüel, P stüel. 586 dii, H [also] div. 587 H diien, P diæn. 588 H nüen. 589 H spüen, P spüen. 590 H fluur. 591 H moor. 592 H swor. 593 [(mœ:n men men) used]. 594 biüt biœ.t. 595 H fœ.t fit. 596 H wœ.t. 597 H siüt, P siœ.t.

U- 599 H ebiien. 600 H læ.v, P luv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 H kæ.m. 605 H sæ.n. 606 duoor. 607 H bæ.tor bu.tor. U: 608 H æ.gli. 609 H fœ.l. 610 uu. 611 H bæ.luk [also stüer, nóut]. 612 H sæ.m. 613 H drœ.qk. 614 huund, H hæ.nd [also especially (grœhœ.nd) greyhound]. 615 pœ.nd. 616 H grœ.nd, P gru.nd. 617 suund. 618 nuund. 619 fœ.nd. 620 H grœ.nd, P gru.nd. 622 enœ.ndor. 625 H tœ.q. 626 hæ.qor. 628 H nœ.n. 629 H sæ.n. 631 thorzde. 632 H œ.p u.p. 633 H kæ.p ku.p. 634 H thruu [occ. thrœ.f]. 636 worth. 636 forðhor. 638 H bæ.sk. 639 H dœ.st.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 H dœ.v. 646 buu. 647 uul [nearly always (dʒini huulet) Jenny howlet]. 648 wor. 649 thuuzen. 652 H ku.d. 653 H bæ.t bu.t. U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 ruum. 657 bruuu. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 661 shuoor. 662 hæ.z. 663 huus. 664 huus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 H mœ.tj mœ.k'l. 674 H did. 676 lii. 677 H dréi. 679 tjo.tj [H (kœrkfiild) field next the church]. 680 H bizi. 682 H lät'l. Y: 683 H mädj. 684 H brig. 685 H ryg. 686 H béi. 687 H fléi[kht. 689 biild. 690 H kéind. 691 H méind. 693 H sin. 696 borth. 697 H bəri, P bari. 698 P morth. 699 H ré.t. 700 H wars, P wors. 701 forst. 703 H pit. 704 H viiks'n. Y'- 705 skéi. 706 whéi. 707 thortin. 708 héir. Y': 709 féir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 baald. 725 H süel. 733 H skær, P skiir. 737 H [occ. (maru) marrow]. 740 H weev. E. 744 mez'iz. 746 brüidh. 747 indivor. 748 H flegd, P fligd. 751 piüt [= bright looking]. I. and Y. 753 H [usually (kít'l)]. 758 geerl. O. 761 H liied, P liied. 762 H móadivat. 774 póuui. 783 H pœ.ltri, P pu.ltri. 784 buus. 785 huundj. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 gunn. U. 799 P skíœ.l. 803 H [usually (lóop)]. 804 H drœ.k'n. 805 krœ.dz. 807 H pœ.s, P pu.s. 808 H pœ.t pu.t, P pu.t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 H fiies, P fiies. 811 H plües. 812 H liies. 815 faks. 816 H fiied, P fiied. 817 redish. 824 P tpiir. 828 H eegi. 832 míior. 838 P t'et. 840 H tjamor tjamor, P tjemor. 843 H bréutj. 845 H eenshen. 846 H tjaanelor. 847 H daandjor [so also (aandjel) angel]. 853 P beergin. 854 P barl. 856 peert. 857 H kües. 859 H tpiies. 860 H piüst, P piüst. 861 H tüest, P tiest. 862 H süuf, P süef. 863 tja.f. 864 H bikoorz, P bikorz. 865 H íóout, P íalt. 866 H piior.

E.. 874 H reen. 878 saleri. 879 P fem'l. 883 dandiléien. 884 P p'rentis. 887 klardj. 888 sart'n. 892 nev'i. 893 flúoor.

I.. and Y.. 897 H däléi[kht. 898 H néis. 906 H véipor. 907 H tréis. 908 H advéis. 910 H djiüst, P djéist. 912 H réis.

O.. 921 ekwent. 922 H bæ.sh'l. 928 uuns. 929 kóukemor. 932 emuunt. 934 buuntí. 941 H fiül, P fiœ.l. 942 H bæ.tjor. 944 bluu. 945 vuu. 948 H buul. 949 H muuld, P móuld [? confusion with 537]. 952 kúuors. 954 H kæ.sh'n. 955 duut. U.. 969 síoor.

VAR. V, WARKWORTH (5 se. Alnwick), NB., cwl.

representing m.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick; from a wl. written 1877 in io. by Mr. Th. D. Ridley, of Coutham, Redcar, native of Warkworth, and gone over vivâ voce with AJE. in 1879 and 1887, whence it was pal. I am not quite sure whether some of the sounds marked (*ii*, *uu*, *u₁*) should not be (*i₁i*, *u₁u*, *æ₁*); those marked in this latter way are, however, correct.

Note.—(*a¹m a¹z*) are both common, but the first is rather educated, after a plural *pronoun* the pl. form of the verb is used, but after a pl. *noun* the sg, as “the men is come, they are come.”

R A few words marked R were pal. vivâ voce by AJE. from John Ramsay, a labourer at Rothbury, and belong to the same variety.

The (*a¹*, *a*) here correspond to JGG.’s (*a*, *a₁*) respectively.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *b¹æk*. 4 *t¹æk*. 5 *m¹æk*. 6 *m¹éd*. 7 *s¹æk*. 8 *hev*, *he* [more commonly]. 9 *b¹æev*. 10 *haa¹*. 11 *maa¹*. 12 *saa¹*. 13 *naa¹*. 14 *draa¹*. 15 *aa¹*. 16 *daa¹n*. 17 *laa¹*. 18 *k¹æk*. 19 *t¹é¹l*. 20 *l¹ém*. 21 *n¹ém*. 22 *t¹ém*. 23 *s¹ém*. 24 *shém*. 25 *m¹én*. 27 *n¹év*. 28 *heer*. 33 *readh¹er*. 34 *la st*. 35 *aa¹l*. 36 *thou*. 37 *klaa¹*.

A: 39 *ka¹m*. 40 *k¹ém* [(*k¹iém*) at Hexham]. 43 *ha¹nd*. 44 *la¹nd*. 46 *ka¹n¹l*, *ka nd¹l*. 47 *wa¹nd¹er*. 50 *t¹éqz*. 51 *ma¹n*. 54 *wa¹nt*. 55 *a¹s*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *a¹s*.

A: or O: 58 *from*, *fre*. 59 *la¹m*. 60 *la¹q*. 61 *ema¹q*. 62 *stra¹q*. 63 *thra¹q*. 64 *ra¹q* [(*w¹ra¹q*), heard years ago, in w.Nb. not in Warkworth]. 65 *sa q*. 66 *thoq*.

A’- 67 *gan* [going, R (*góoun*)]. 69 *noo*. 70 *tii*. 71 *wii*. 72 *whii*. 73 *sii*. 74 *twii*. 76 *t¹éd*. 77 *b¹ú¹erd* [(*leerd*) small landed proprietor]. 78 *aa¹* [(*óum*) to own, possess]. 79 *a¹n*. 80 *ha¹l¹ide*. 81 *lonen*. 83 *moen* [evidently a modern form for (*m¹én*)]. 84 *mee¹er*. 85 *seer*. 86 *jet*, *oots*. 87 *kléez*. 88 *kliid*. 89 *b¹æth*. 90 *bla¹* [(*blú¹u*) pt.] 91 *ma¹* [(*má¹d*) pt.]. 92 *na¹* [(*núu*) pt.]. 93 *sná¹* [(*snúu*) not so common as (*sná¹d*) snowed]. 94 *krá¹*. 95 *thra¹*. 96 *soo*. 97 *só¹rd*. 98 *ná¹n*. 99 *thrá¹n*. 100 *sá¹n*.

A’: 101 *æk*, *ook*. 102 *a¹ks*, *a¹sk*. 104 *rood*, R *róoud*. 105 *rid*. 106 *brood*. 107 *l¹éf*, *loof*. 108 *dú¹u*. 109 *laa¹*. 110 *i. nóut*, *ii. not*. 111 *óut*. 113 *h¹él*. 115 *h¹ém*, *hú¹m*. 118 *b¹én*. 121 *g¹én*. 122 *i. n¹én*, *ii. n¹i*. 124 *st¹én*. 126 *oor*. 127 *h¹érs*. 128 [(*dh¹or*) used]. 129 *gest*. 130 *boot*. 131 *goot*. 132 *het*. 133 *root*. 134 *ooth*. 136 *óudh¹er*.

Æ- 138 *faa¹d¹h¹er*, *feedh¹er*. 139 *dree*. 140 *heel*. 141 *neel*. 142 *sneel*. 143 *teel*. 144 *ug¹én*. 145 *sleen*. 146 *meen*. 147 *breen*. 148 *feer*. 149 *bliiz*. 150 *liist*. 152 *waa¹ter*, *wetter*.

Æ: 155 *tha¹k*. 157 *reev¹n*. 158 *eft¹er* [no dental (*t¹r*)]. 160 *eg*. 161 *dee*. 163 *lee*. 164 *mee*. 165 *seed*. 167 *d¹él*, R *deel* [wh. Mr. R. said is not used]. 168 *tal¹e*. 170 *harvist*. 171 *barli*. 172 *ga¹rs* [(*r*) distinct]. 173 *wa¹s*. 174 *esh*. 175 *fa¹st*. 178 *na¹t*. 179 *wa¹t*. 180 *ba¹th*. 181 *pe¹th*.

Æ’- 182 *sii*. 183 *t¹iit*. 184 *liid*. 185 *riid*. 186 *br¹iith*. 187 *liiv*. 188 [(*nú¹er*) used]. 189 *wii we¹i*. 190 *kii*. 191 *hiil*. 192 *m¹én*. 193 *kláin*. 194 *on¹*. 195 *moni*. 196 *weer* [(*wa z*) gen. used for pl.]. 197 *t¹iiz*. 199 *bliit*. 200 *whiit*. 201 *húid¹n*. 202 *hiit*.

Æ’: 203 *sp¹it¹*. 204 *diid*. 205 *thriid*. 206 *red*. 207 *núid¹l*. 210 *klee*. 211 *gree*. 216 *diid*. 217 [not used]. 218 *sh¹ip*. 219 *sl¹ip*. 221 *fiiv*. 222 *heer*. 223 *dheer*. 224 *wheer*. 225 *flesh*. 226 *m¹ést*. 227 *wet*. 228 *swet*. 229 *br¹iith*. 230 *fa¹t*.

E- 232 *brik* [(*b¹rœ¹k*, *b¹rœ¹k¹n*) broke, broken]. 233 *spiik*. 234 *núid*. 235 *wiiv*. 236 *fúvor*. 237 *bleen*. 238 *hed¹*. 239 *seel*. 241 *reen*. 242 *tween*. 243 *plee*. 246 *kw¹iin*. 247 *wiim* [but (*sp¹én*) is more used, and

always for lambs]. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer. 251 müt. 252 ket'l.
253 net'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edj. 259 wedj. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265
str'e'it. 268 eldest [occ. both forms used]. 270 i. belusez, ii. beli. 272 elm.
273 men. 274 bentj. 275 stentj. 276 theqk. 277 d'entj. 278 wentj.
280 eliv'n. 281 lenth. 282 st'enth. 283 ma'ri [the refined sound is (mori)].
284 th'esh. 285 kra's ka'rs. 286 ha'rv. 287 bu'z'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 j'i. 290 h'i. 291 dh'i. 293 w'i. 296 h'i'iv. 298 f'il.
299 gr'i'in. 300 k'i'ip. 301 h'ir. 302 m'i'it. 304 [(klok) always used].
E': 305 h'i. 306 he'it. 307 ná. 308 n'i'id. 309 sp'i'pd. 310 h'i'íl.
311 ten. 312 h'ir. 314 h'ard. 315 f'it. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 [(flee) to frighten only]. 319 géep. 320 keer. EA: 321 sa'l.
322 la't. 323 fóut. 324 e'it. 325 wa'k. 326 a'd, oold. 327 bóold. 328
ka'd, R kóold. 330 ha'd, R óold. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(teld) used]. 333
ka'h. 334 ha'h. 335 a'l, R aal. 336 fa'l faal. 337 wa'l waa'l. 340
jard. 342 eerm. 343 warm. 345 dar. 346 g'iet, jet, R géent.

EA'- 347 h'iid. 348 á. 349 i'u. EA': 350 d'iid. 351 l'iid. 352
r'iid. 353 b'iid. 355 d'ii'. 356 l'ii'. 357 dhoo. 359 ne'ibher. 360 t'ím.
361 bi'in. 363 t'ri'ip. 366 gr'it, R gr'éet. 367 th'rit. 368 d'ith. 369 slaa'l.
370 aa'l. 371 st'aa'l. EI- 372 e'i. 373 dhe. 374 nee. 375 reez.
376 beet. EI: 377 stiek. 378 week. 379 heel. 382 dheer.

EO- 383 s'iv'n. 384 h'iv'n. 385 bin'iidh. 386 jóu. 387 níu. EO:
388 m'ilk. 389 jook. 390 shu'd. 393 be'jont. 396 wa'k. 397 sword [occ.].
398 st'arv. 399 b'e'it. 401 á'nest. 402 l'arn, léorn. 403 f'ar. 404 st'ar.
405 h'ar'rh. 406 á'rh. 407 f'ard'n. 408 níu. EO'- 409 b'i. 411 th'r'i.
412 sh'i. 413 d'iv'l, d'iv'l. 414 ih'i. 415 l'ii. 416 d'ir. 417 t'ion. 420
f'our. 421 fórti. EO': 423 th'i. 424 r'e'f. 425 he'it. 426 fe'it. 427
h'i. 428 s'i. 430 fr'ind. 431 b'ir. 432 f'ourth. 433 br'ist. 434 bet.
435 j'u. 436 tr'iu. 437 tr'uth, tr'u'eth. EY- 438 d'i. EY: 439
tr'e'st.

I- 440 w'ik. 441 s'iv. 442 á'iv'n. 443 fr'e'idu. 444 ste'íl. 446 ne'in.
448 [(dhor) used, for both *these* and *those*]. 449 get. 450 t'uzde. 451 siu
[and (soo), the last probably modern]. I: 452 á [but generally (á)]. 454
w'itj. 457 me'it. 458 ne'it. 459 r'it. 460 we'it. 462 se'it. 464 wh'it.
465 sek. 466 t'e'ild. 467 we'ild. 468 t'ilder [and (t'ildren)]. 471 t'imer.
472 sh'riqk. 473 bl'ind. 475 w'ind. 476 b'ind. 477 t'ind. 478 gr'ind. 479
w'áind. 481 t'iqer. 484 dh'is. 485 th'is'l. 486 j'est. 487 j'isterde. 488
j'it. I'- 490 be'i. 491 s'á. 493 d'raiv. 494 te'im. 496 e'íren. 497
vr'áiz. 498 r'e'it. I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'íd. 502 fáiv. 503 le'if. 504
re'if. 505 we'it. 506 wa men. 507 wa'men [sg. and pl. alike]. 508 me'íl.
509 whe'íl. 511 we'in. 513 we'ir. 514 e'is. 515 w'áiz. 516 w'izdam.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fool. 522 open. 523 hoop. 524 world. O: 526
kof. 527 bóut. 528 th'out. 529 br'out. 530 róut. 531 dóuter. 532 kool,
k'ool. 533 do'l. 534 hool. 536 g'óuld, guuld. 537 móuld. 538 wu d.
539 bóld. 540 holan. 542 bóldt. 545 hop. 548 ford. 550 word. 551
storm. 552 korn. 553 horn. 554 kros. O'- 555 sh'u'u. 557 t'u'u.
558 liuk. 559 m'e'dher. 561 blu'm. 562 míun. 564 síun. 565 nooz.
566 u'dher. O': 569 bíuk. 570 tíuk. 571 gu'd. 572 blu'd. 573 flu'd.
574 bru'd. 575 stu'd. 579 m'oe'f. 580 t'e'f. 581 sóut. 582 kiul. 584 stiul
[(stiul) in Hexham]. 585 bru'm. 586 d'u'u. 587 díun. 589 sp'ím. 590
floor. 591 moor. 592 swoor. 593 [(mu'n) used]. 594 biut. 595 fu't. 596
r'e'it. 597 su't.

U- 599 ubu'y. 601 f'u'ul. 602 s'u'u. 605 se'n. 606 door. 607 bu'ter.

U: 608 æ'gli. 609 f'e'pl. 610 wul. 611 b'e'lek. 612 su'm. 613 dr'e'qk.
614 hu'nd. 615 pu'nd. 616 gru'nd. 617 su'nd. 618 u'nd. 619 fu'nd.
620 gru'nd. 622 æ'nder. 625 t'u'q. 626 hu'qer. 628 n'e'n. 629 se'n.
631 dhorzde. 632 æ'pp. 633 k'e'pp. 634 th'r'u'u. 635 worth. 636 fordher.
637 tu'sk. 638 bu'sk. 639 du'st.

U'- 640 k'u'u, [R (kuuz kóuz), probably (k'u'uz)]. 641 h'u'u. 642 dh'u'u.
643 n'u'u. 646 b'u'u. 647 h'u'let. 648 wor [both accented and unaccented].
649 th'uuzend, R th'óuzen. 652 ku'd. 653 bu't.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 ruum. 657 brunn. 658 dáun dâun.
659 tãun tãun. 660 búur. 661 shãur. 662 u,z. 663 hu's. 665 muus.
666 hãzbund. 667 uut, R úut. 668 pruuud. 669 [(æ)nkæt used]. 671
munnth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mœtj mœtj, R mœk'l. 674 did. 675 drái. 676 lípi. 678 din.
679 tjoctj. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 mädj. 684 brig bridj. 685
rig [gen.]. 686 bá. 687 hē'it. 689 büld. 690 kē'ind. 691 mē'ind. 693
sín. 694 wæk. 696 borth. 697 ba'ri. 698 morth. 699 rē'it. 700 wæs.
701 forst. 703 pit. Y'- 705 ske'i, R skø'i. 706 wē'i. 707 thortin.
708 hē'ir. Y': 709 fē'ir. 711 lē'is. 712 mē'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 716 eed'l. 724 ba'ld. 737 mœt. 740 weev. E. 744 mez'lz.
746 briidh. 747 indiver. 748 fligd. 751 piirt. I. and Y. 758 gorl
[gen. (la's)]. O. 761 lēd lood. 769 [(mōudira't) used]. 772 boonfē'ir.
774 pōmi. 784 buus. 787 suus. 789 róu. 790 guun.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 fēs. 812 lēs. 814 mies'n. 817 redish. 818
jedj. 843 b'entj. 846 tranler. 854 barl. 856 peert. 860 piest. 861
tiest. 864 bika's. 865 fa'lt. E.. 867 tãpi. 874 rinz [always in pl.].
879 fãmel. 884 prentis. 887 klardj. 888 sartin. 892 nevi. 893 flãur.
I.. and Y.. 898 nē'is. 901 fē'm. 902 mē'm. 903 dē'm. 904 válet.
906 vē'iper. 908 a'dvē'is. 910 djist. 912 rē'is. O.. 921 ekw'ent. 922
bishel. 926 spōil. 928 uuns. 929 kãnkãmber. 930 luundj. 932 emuunt.
934 bunnt. 935 kunntri. 942 fūd. 944 elãu. 945 vãu. 947 bōd. 948
buul. 952 i. kuus. 955 duut [?: dãut]. U.. 960 kii. 965 óil.

VI.

THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING CHIEFLY
THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND.

The Lowland Dialects are commonly called Scotch, because they are spoken in a country which has acquired the name of Scotland, from the Scots, an Irish Gaelic tribe which gradually acquired the ascendancy. In the Highlands, as the Celtic Border shews [*suprà* p. 14], Gaelic is still spoken; but in the Lowlands, English imported from England is the sole speech, and it was called Inglis up to the time of Barbour 1513. Dr. Murray (*Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 1873, henceforth cited as DSS), p. 50, says: "The tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the xvth century as Scottish and English—during the xvth century as Yrisch or Ersch and English—and during the xvith century by some as Ersch and Inlisch; by others probably as Ersch and Scots." But although a mere offshoot of the language of Northumbria, which had its domain in e.Yo. and Nb., the language at the present day is remarkably different in pronunciation and intonation from that spoken s. of the L. line 10 (p. 21), so that even an educated Lowlander, who thinks he speaks English only, and certainly does not speak dialect, is as a general rule instantly detected among Southrons. As therefore I have, for convenience, denominated the first five Divisions S., W., E., M., N. English, as spoken in England, I call the present L. or Lowland, that is, English as spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland.

Of the intonation, with a rising inflection at the end of affirmative sentences, and a remarkable sing-song, I am, as usual, unable to give any proper explanation, and hence I pass it over. As to the pronunciation, of which details follow, the general characters are U=(æ) and some (sæm); U'=(uu) quite pure with no tendency towards (úu), the change in Cu. being quite sharp and sudden; vowels generally of medial length, and when prolonged much longer than in England, with little or no tendency to fractures; a strongly trilled tip-tongue *r*, even when not preceding a vowel, forming a most marked feature even in educated speech; and a constant use of (kh), sometimes in the forms (kjh, kʷch). These are however only some of the most marked features, which distinguish the L. from the other five divisions.

There are four distinct groups of pronunciation, SL. = South Lowland in D 33, ML. = Mid Lowland in D 34 to 37, NL. = North Lowland in D 38 to 40, and IL. = Insular Lowland in

D 41, 42. The first is the subject of Dr. Murray's book, which furnishes mere indications of the next two, but not of the last. It must be remembered that I have taken all I possibly could from Dr. Murray's treatise, without which, and his personal kind assistance, I could not have attempted to give an account of L. My original intention was merely to supplement Dr. Murray's account of the other dialect districts by a few illustrations. I have been able to accomplish a little more than this, and to introduce the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41, 42, which Dr. M. had omitted. But the supplementary character of my illustrations remains. With a very slight exception I have adopted Dr. Murray's Districts, merely changing their names and numbering them in sequence to my dialect districts in England, and this at once marks the subordination of this part of my work to Dr. Murray's. Taking his bounding lines, I had no occasion to examine changes of pron. with such care as in England, nor, as a general rule, to enter upon a consideration of varieties. I hope that this may be accomplished by some well-qualified Lowlander, taking Dr. Murray, who is now absorbed by his *New English Dictionary*, as *dux et ausper*.

In order to obtain a bird's-eye view of the various L. pronunciations, and their difference from English, I place first eight inter-linear comparative specimens, from different parts of Scotland, and Shetland, and five versions of the first chapter of Ruth, the first three of these being taken from Dr. Murray, the other two from the English M. and S. Div. in Cheshire, D 25, and West Somerset, D 10. These illustrate all the districts except D 37 and 41, and hence shew the nature of their difference from each other and the forms used in England in a most striking manner.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR ES.

1. D 33, V i, *Bewcastle* (16 ne. Carlisle, Cu.) to *Longtown* (8 n. Carlisle, Cu.). This specimen was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Sinclair, of Keilder, Nb. He resided in the Bewcastle district for the first 20 years of his life, and then 10 years in n. Tyndale. He says this mode of speech extends sw. to Longtown, but that se. of a line nearly passing through Bewcastle the dialect is somewhat different. He considers the Brampton dialect (D 32, V i) different. The Rev. R. D. Hope gave me a Longtown es. in io., and where this spelling seems to confirm or oppose this version, attention is drawn to the fact in the notes.

2. D 33, V ii, *Hawick*, pal. by Dr. Murray from personal knowledge, about 1875-6. To this he subjoined the following important note, here placed first, with remarks of my own between []. The consideration of these points belongs to D 33, V ii, in especial, where the vowel system will be more fully considered.

"1. All the short vowels [that is, the vowels written as short] are *medial* in quantity, [hence they have, in this example only, been printed with the grave accent].

"2. What I have marked (*u*) seems to be really (*o*) with the lip closure for (*u*), [that is, (*o_u*), for which I have here, as usual, written (*u₁*)].

"3. As to *i* I am not satisfied yet; it is something between (*i*, *e*), an attempt to say (*e*) in the (*i*) position or to say (*i*) in the (*e*) position, but the former by preference, [hence I have written (*i₁*, *i₁*)].

"4. All the (*ee*) are *low*, tending towards (*EE*), query (*eeE*)? [These I have

written (ee_1), and they may be (ee), at any rate an Englishman will hardly get nearer].

“5. All the (e) in accented syllables are *high*, tending towards (*i*), query (*ei*)? [These are written (e^1).]”

“6. I cannot distinguish unaccented (e, ə), and so have made all (e), it seemed to me on the whole better, but I have written (ə, v) over those that are specially obscure.” [I should prefer using (v) in all these cases, but as in the Teviotdale sentences, see D 33, (ə) was used, and as Dr. Murray very rarely superscribed (v), I have adopted (ə) throughout all the last 7 of these 8 es., without at all implying that I heard (ə) as distinct from (v), for in unaccented syllables this would be difficult and uncertain, but the sound was clearly *not* (e) to southern ears. The other special signs apply only to No. 2.]

3. D 34, *Edinburgh*, pal. by Dr. A. H. Murray from the dictation of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Charles A. Murray, native. Dr. Murray notes:

“1. (ee , oo) are very high [hence I have used (e^1 , o^1)]. There is a great difference between Teviotdale ($dvee$) and Lothian ($ddee$) [for which I write ($dvee_1$, $ddee^1$) respectively].

“(E) is also high = (e^r) [for which then I write (e_1) as higher than (E)]. *till* is almost (tel), but very unlike (tel) as distinctly non-wide [I write (te_1) as distinct from (tel)].

“3. I take Melville Bell’s authority for *a* in *twaa*, *blaa*, etc., being (aa), for myself I am not clear about it.”

The difficulty Dr. Murray has felt in giving D 34, which is usually considered typical of Lowland Scotch, shews how much remained to be done in the minute analysis of L. pron. beyond D 33.

4. D 36, *Stranraer*, Wg., pal. in 1874 by AJE. from the dict. of Messrs. Boyd of Stranraer, Armstrong from near Dumfries, and Caddow from near to Kirkcudbright. As this was taken at an early period of my investigations, and by a Southron, and was also written rapidly, the Wick version, No. 7, having been taken down the same evening, and as I had no opportunity for revision, I am afraid it cannot be relied upon for very fine distinctions. The three gentlemen were collected by the Rev. R. Macbeth at Hammersmith, and the dictation was joint, each approving or suggesting differences, but the agreement was very close. I transcribe my notes literally without attempting to improve them conjecturally.

5. D 38, *Arbroath*, Fo. This was written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson of Arbroath, acquainted with the dialect from childhood, from which it was pal. by Dr. Murray, with considerable difficulty, as he was not personally acquainted with the pron.

6. D 39, *Keith* (:kith), Ba., written in Oct. 1873 by Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pitslii’go) (34 ne.Keith, 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab.), native of Keith, and at that time 14 years at Pitsligo, author of the *Banffshire Glossary*; pal. from io. by Dr. Murray in 1875, and corrected by a cwl. pal. by AJE. in Feb. 1878 from Mr. W. Gregor’s dict., which will be given under D 39. See also Buchan in the translations of *Ruth* chap. i. immediately following.

7. D 40, *Wick*, Cs., pal. in Feb. 1874 by AJE. from the dictation of Mr. A. Meiklejohn, who was 30 before he left Cs., Rev. J. Sinclair, who lived there till he was 20, and has been there since, and Rev. R. Macbeth of Wick, then at Hammersmith, who collected the others, and also those that gave me the Stranraer version, No. 4. In consequence of my taking down two es. in one evening, I was rather hurried, and as it was also an early attempt, some of the finer shades probably escaped me.

8. D 42, *Dunrossness*, Sd. This parish, about 20 s-by-w. of Lerwick, includes Cummingsburg, Sandwick, and Fair Isle. This version was written io. in Nov. 1877 by Robert Cogle, an intelligent fisherman of Cummingsburg, Sd., from whom it was procured by Mr. W. C. Smith, advocate, Edinburgh. Although it was carefully written, and although RC. was kind enough to answer numerous questions, I should not have been able to make use of it, had not Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, Sd., a friend of Mr. Laurenson, of whom more under D 42, carefully read it to me, with other specimens, in Oct. 1878, and allowed me to pal. it from her dictation.

* * * The notes to the eight es. follow them immediately.

0. 1	<i>Bewcastle</i> , D 33, V i, pp. 682, 693	ƭkwhat for	:dúuən
2	<i>Hawick</i> , D 33, V ii, pp. 682, 694.	kwhát foor	:dju ₁ 'n
3	<i>Edinburgh</i> , D 34, pp. 683, 695.	dh _y wee ¹ ət	:dʒo ¹ k
4	<i>Stranraer</i> , D 36, pp. 683, 695.	huu ít iz	:dʒon
5	<i>Arbroath</i> , D 38, pp. 683, 695.		
6	<i>Keith</i> , D 39, pp. 683, 695.	fat wáai	:dʒon
7	<i>Wick</i> , D 42, pp. 683, 696.	whéi	:tʒon
8	<i>Dunrossness</i> , D 42, pp. 683, 696.	wha ¹ i	:dʒoni

- 1 hez ni dùts.
 2 hez ni' dùts.
 3 h_yz nee¹ dùt.
 4 həz nee duuts.
 5
 6 h_yz nee duts.
 7 hez nii duuts.
 8 hez nee dùts.

1.	1	wiil, né ¹ e ¹ i be ^o r	ɦuu ɛn h _i m me	b _i 'e ¹ th	lakəh	ət	dh _i s
	2	wil, nibər,	ɟə'u ɛn hɛm me	b _i 'th	lakəh	ət	dher
	3	wil, nibər,	ɦuu 'n hɛm me	bee ¹ th	laakh	a ¹ t	ma ¹
	4	wil, nibər,	ɦuu ɛn h _i m me	beeth	lakh	ət	dhər
	5	wil, nibər,	ɦuu ɛn hɛm me	beeth	laakh	ət	dhes
	6	wil, nipər,	ɦuu ɛn hee ¹ m ny	beth	lakh	at	dhes
	7	wil, nibər,	ɦii ɛn hii me	beeth	lakh	ət	dhes
	8	wiil, bói,	du ɛn hii mə	bēeth	ljakh	ət	dəs

	1	núuz ɛ mɛ'ín,	ƭkwhi ¹	keerz?	dha ₁ t)s	nóudhe ^o r	híie ^o r
	2	nə'uz ə mɛ'ín.	kwhi ¹ '	kee ₁ rz?	dhát)s	ne ₁ dhər	hiir
	3	núuz.	whaa	kee ¹ rz?	dhat)s	nee ¹ dhər	hiir
	4	niúuz ə méin.	whaa	keerz?	dhat)s	nedhər	hiir
	5	nuuz, ə mɛ'ín.	faa	keerz?	dhat)s	needhər	hiir
	6	niúuz ə méin.	faa	keerz?	et)s	needhər	hiir
	7	niúuz o mainz.	faa	kjee ¹ rz?	at)s	nedhər	hiir
	8	núuz	wha	keerz?	dat)s	nédər	hiir

- 1 nɛ dhíie^or.
 2 nər dhíi¹'r.
 3 nər dhee¹r.
 4 nər dheer.
 5 nər dheer.
 6 nər dheer.
 7 nə eer.
 8 or deer.

2.	1	dhɛ	fiu	fu ₁ k	dɛ'iz	wə	béiən	lakəht	a ₁ t	wɛ
	2	dhər)z	fə'u	fu ₁ 'k	dɛiz	kɛz	dhe)r	ləkəh'n	ət	wéi
	3	noo ¹	mɔni	fə'uk	diiz	bikə'z	dhe)r	laakht	a ¹ t,	wi
	4		fiú	men	dií	bika'z	dhee)r	lakht	at,	wi
	5		fíəu	men	diiz	bikɛz	dhe)r	laakht	a ¹ t,	wi
	6		fíə'u	men	diiz	fər	bi'n	lakht	yt,	wy
	7		fíáu	men	dií	kɔz	dhee)r	lakht	ət,	wi
	8		fiu	men	diiz	bika ¹ z	də)r	ljakht	a ¹ t,	wi

1	ken	dha ₁ t	d ₁ v)'nt	wə?	[kʷhət)s	te	m ₁ i ₁ Ek
2	kæ'n,		dév)'n	wéi?	kʷhət)s	tə	gàr)
3	AA ke ₁ n	dhat,	ji ke ₁ n.		kʷhet	shəd	mak
4	ken,		doo'nt	wi?	what ₁		maak
5	ken,		de'nə	wi?	fat	səd	mak
6	kən,		de'ny	wy?	fat fər	səd	
7	ken,		d ₁ nə	wi?	fat	shed	mak
8	ken,		də'nə	wi?	what	sud	mak

1	dhəm	dé'i ₁ ?	it)s	not	və ₁ rə	le'ikl ₁	iiz)t	mù?
2	dhəm?		et)s	noo	vərə	lè'kli	ès,t?	
3	dhym?		et)s	noo ¹	və ₁ ri	lə'ikli	e ¹ s,t?	
4	dhəm?		et)s	noo	və ₁ rə	léikli	es,t?	
5	dhəm?		et)s	noo	vərə	ləkli	es,t?	
6	dh _y ?		et)s	nee	vərə	léikli	e ¹ s,t?	
7	əm?		hè ¹ d)z	noo	vərə	léikli	e ¹ z)d?	
8	dəm?		it)s	no	vəri	lekli	iz)ət?	

3.	1	ə'uze,və ^o r	dh ₁ i ₁ ez	v)dhv	fak ₁ s	v)dhv	ki ₁ es,	si ₁	d ₁ st
	2	hè'usəmè ¹ vər,	dher)z	dhə	fəks	ə dhə	ki ₁ 's,	si ₁ '	də ¹ st
	3	huuzivər,	hiir)z	dh _y	fəks	ə dhə	ke ¹ s,	see	d ₁ yst
	4	huue'vər,	dhat)s		faks	ə dhe	kees,	see	d ₁ ist
	5	huuzəme'vər,	dhər)z	dhə	faks	ə dhə	kes,	see	d ₁ yst
	6	nuu	dhe ¹ s)yz	dh _y	faks	ə dh _y	kes,	see	d ₁ ist
	7	fuu)ən)evər,	ez)e ¹ z	e ¹	faks	o e ¹	kees,	so	d ₁ est
	8	whūdər ə no,	dəs es	də	faks	o də	kes,	see	

1	ha ₁ d	ji ₁ r	nóiz,		frén,	ən	bi ₁	kwá'it	ti ₁
2	həd	ir	blæ'dhər,		frind,	ən	kaa	kaani	kʷhəl
3	həd	ji ₁ r	gáb,	my	màn,	ən	bi	kwá'it	t'1
4	had	jər	whisht,		frin,	ən	bi	kwé'it	ti ₁
5	had	jər	nóiz,		frind,	ən	bi	kwá'it	t'1
6	had	jər	d ₁ aa,		frin,	yn	bi	kwə'it	təl
7	had	jər	təq ₁ ,		frin,	ən	bi	kwé'it	fel
8	həd	d ₁	nóis,		bói,	ən	bi	whá'it	ti ₁

1	a)z	d ₁ yn.							
2	aa)m	d ₁ n	wə mə	stu ₁ 'ri.	hiir)i	dhen!			
3	a ¹)m	d ₁ yn.			wh ₁ sh't	ən	lès'n!		
4	a)d	d ₁ n.			hiir	tə	dhes,	lès'n	ə wii!
5	a ¹)m	d ₁ yn.			hark'n!				
6	áai	he	d ₁ in.		hark'n!				
7	a)v	d ₁ n.			husht!				
8	ə)m	d ₁ yn.			lēs'n	[whisht].			

4.	1	a)z	sàrt'n	a	herd	dhəm	see,	sə ¹ m	v	dhv	
	2	aa)m	səər	a	hàrd	dhəm	see ₁ ,	səm	ə	dh ₁ i ₁ '	
	3	aa)m	shyyr	a ¹	hàrd	dhym	see ¹ n,	səm	o	dhəm	
	4	a)m	sh ₁ 'uur	a	hard	dhəm	see —	səm	ə	dhec	
	5	aa)m	sərt'n	a ¹	hard	dhəm	see —	səm	ə	dhec	
	6	áai)m	shuur	a'	hard	dhym	see —	səm	ə	dhes	
	7	a)m	shuur	a	hard	əm	see —	səm	o	e ¹	
	8	a)m	shəər	ət	ə	herd	dəm	see'ən —	səm	o	dat

1		<i>fuu</i> ₁ 'k	ət	<i>gü</i> ₁ 'əd	thruu	dhə	<i>hü</i> ₁ 'əl	on)t
2	<i>vær</i> ₁ ə	<i>fu</i> ₁ 'k	ət	<i>gi</i> ₁ 'd	thra'u	dhə	<i>hze</i> ^l	thèq
3			ət	<i>gee</i> ^d	thruu	dhə	<i>hee</i> ^l	thèq
4		fok	what	gid	thruu	dhə	heel	thiq
5		fə'uk	ət	<i>gjeed</i>	thruu	dhə	heel	theq
6		fə'uk	yt	<i>güd</i>	thra'u	dhə	heel	theq
7		fók	at	gid	thra'u	e ^l	heel	mètər
8		fok	ət	<i>gəd</i>	tru	də	whool	thiq

1		frə	dhə	<i>fee</i> ^o rst	dhərsel'z	—	ət	<i>dü</i> (d)u,
2		thre	dhə	<i>fə</i> rst)oo)d	dhər sæ'lz	—	ət	dè ^l d)a,
3	dhərsel'z	<i>fe</i>	dhə	<i>fə</i> rst)oo)t		—	ææ ₁	dè ^l d)a ¹ ,
4		free	dhə	<i>fə</i> rst	dhərsel'z	—	dhat	<i>dü</i> (d)ə,
5		frə	dhə	<i>fə</i> rst	dhəmsel'z	—	dhat	ded)a ¹ ,
6		<i>fe</i>	dhə	<i>fə</i> rst	dhəmsel'z	—	a ^l t	a ded,
7		<i>fee</i>	e ^l	<i>fə</i> rsht	dhəmsel'z	—	at	<i>dü</i> (d)ə,
8		<i>fEE</i>	də	<i>fə</i> rst	dəmsel'z	—	dāt	did á ^l i,

1	<i>wiil</i>	<i>en</i> úkh.
2	<i>seer</i>	<i>ən</i> əkh.
3	<i>shyyr</i>	<i>ən</i> úkh.
4	<i>shy</i> 'uur	<i>ən</i> úkh.
5	<i>sef</i>	<i>ən</i> úkh.
6	<i>shuur</i>	<i>in</i> úkh.
7	<i>seef</i>	<i>ən</i> íokh.
8	<i>SEE</i> 'f	<i>ən</i> íokh.

5.	1	ət	dhə ₁	<i>ja</i> 'qest	sə'n	<i>hü</i> ₁ zsel',	ə	<i>grèt</i>	<i>bü</i> ü	ə
	2	ət	dhə	<i>ja</i> qest	sə'n	<i>ez</i> -sæl',	ə	<i>mək</i> 'l	<i>käl</i> ənt	ə
	3	ət	dhə	<i>ja</i> qyst	sən	<i>hü</i> zsel',	a ^l	<i>mək</i> 'l	<i>läd</i> i	ə
	4	dhat	dhə	<i>ja</i> qest	sən	<i>hə</i> msel',	ə	<i>beg</i>	<i>bói</i>	<i>e</i>
	5	ət	dhə	<i>ja</i> qəst	sən	<i>hə</i> msel',	ə	<i>mək</i> 'l	<i>läd</i> hə	ə
	6	yt	dhə	<i>ja</i> qyst	sə'n	<i>hü</i> msel',	ə	<i>mək</i> 'l	<i>lun</i>	ə
	7	ət	e ^l	<i>ja</i> qest	sə'n	<i>hü</i> msel',	ə	<i>greet</i>	<i>bói</i>	ə
	8	ət	də	<i>ja</i> qest	<i>bói</i>	<i>hə</i> msel',	ə	<i>mək</i> 'l	<i>shild</i>	<i>əbuut</i>

	1	<i>nē</i> 'in	<i>ie</i> ^o rz aal,	<i>kent</i>)i'z	<i>fEEd</i> hə ^o rz	<i>vóis</i>	ət	<i>iens</i> ,	
	2	<i>né</i> 'in	<i>ir</i> aald	<i>kə</i> 'nd	<i>ez</i>	<i>fē</i> 'dhərz	<i>taq</i>	ət	<i>jē</i> 'ns,
	3	<i>nā</i> 'in	<i>jir</i> Aald,	<i>kə</i> nt	<i>yz</i>	<i>fē</i> 'dhərz	<i>vóis</i>	a ^l t	<i>jē</i> 'ns,
	4	<i>nē</i> 'in,		<i>kent</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>fadh</i> ərs	<i>taq</i>	ət	<i>jens</i> ,
	5	<i>nō</i> 'in,		<i>kent</i>	<i>əz</i>	<i>fadh</i> ərz	<i>wərd</i>	a ^l t	<i>ens</i> ,
	6	<i>nē</i> 'in		<i>kent</i>)s		<i>fadh</i> ərz	<i>wərd</i>	a ^l t	<i>ens</i> ,
	7	<i>nā</i> 'in,		<i>kent</i>	<i>iz</i>	<i>fEEd</i> hərz	<i>wáis</i>	ət	<i>é</i> 'ns,
	8	<i>nā</i> 'in		<i>kent</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>fEEd</i> hərz	<i>vóis</i>	ət	<i>wans</i> ,

	1	<i>fe</i> ^o aa	t)wəz)se	<i>kə</i> 'iir	<i>ən</i>	<i>skə</i> 'iikən,	<i>ən</i>)a)wəd	
	2	<i>fər</i> aa	ət wəz	<i>sē</i> ₁	<i>kə</i> 'iir	<i>ən</i>	<i>skə</i> ææki, <i>ən</i> aa	wəd
	3	<i>fār</i> AA	ət wəz	<i>se</i> ₁	<i>kə</i> 'iir	'n	<i>skə</i> 'iiki, <i>ən</i> a ^l	wəd
	4	<i>thoo</i>	ət wəz	<i>se</i>	<i>kə</i> 'iir	<i>ən</i>	<i>skə</i> 'iilen, <i>ən</i> a	wəd
	5	<i>thoo</i>	ət wəz	<i>se</i>	<i>kə</i> 'iir	'n	<i>skə</i> 'iik'n, <i>ən</i> ái	wəd
	6	<i>thoo</i>	ət wəz	<i>see</i>	<i>kə</i> 'iir	<i>yn</i>	<i>skə</i> 'iik'n, <i>yn</i> a	wəd
	7	<i>thoo</i>	t)wəz	<i>sə</i>	<i>kə</i> 'iir	<i>ən</i>	<i>skə</i> 'iikən, <i>ən</i> a	wəd
	8	<i>altoo</i>	it wəz	<i>see</i>	<i>wi</i> 'iir	<i>ən</i>	<i>skə</i> 'iilən, <i>ən</i> ə	wəd

1	træ ¹ st) i ₁ m	tə	spik	dhe	try ¹ th	oni	dee',	ái,
2	lè ¹ p ¹ n	hè ¹ m	tə	spik	dhə	trə ¹ th	oni	dee ₁ ,
3	træst	hè ¹ m	te	te ₁ l	dhə	try ¹ th	oni	dee, ææ',
4	træst	hem	tə	tel	dhe	trə ¹ th	oni	dee, did,
5	træst	həm	t ¹ l	spik	dhə	truth	oni	dee, áai
6	træst	he ¹ m	ty	spéik	dh _y	tróuth	oni	dee, áai
7	t ₁ ræst	hè ¹ m	tə	speek	e ¹	træ ¹ uth	oni	dee, áí,
8	træst	him	tu	spek	də	trə ¹ th	oni	dee, 'dat

- 1 a wad.
- 2 wil wad)ə.
- 3 wad)a¹.
- 4 wad)a.
- 5 wad)a¹.
- 6 wad)a¹.
- 7 at a wad.
- 8 á¹i wi₁d.

6.	1	en	dhe	aal	wunun	he ^o rsel ¹	wal	tel	oni	o)æ
	2	en	dhə	aald	wéif	hersæl ¹	'l	tæ ¹ l)i,	oni	o)i
	3	ən	dhə	aald	wáif	hərsel ¹	yl	te ₁ l	oni	o)juu
	4	ən	dhi	al	wéif	hərsel	wəl	tel	oni	o)i
	5	ən	dhə	aald	wəmən	hərsel	'l	tel	oni	ə)jə
	6	yn	dh _y	aal	əmən	h _y rsel	'l	tel	oni	y ji
	7	ən	e ¹		gíd wáif	hərsel	əl	tel	oni	o)ii
	8	ən	də	aald	wáif	hersel	əl	tel	juu	or oni o

	1		ət	lak ¹ chs		ná'u,	en	tel)æ	stré ¹ e ¹ it	of
	2		ət	laak ¹ chs	dhə	ná'u,	ən	tæ ¹ l)i	strækjht	of
	3	jenz	a ¹ t)s	laakh'n		nuu,	ən	tel)ji	re ¹ kht	af
	4		dhat	lakh		nuu,	ən	tel)i	street	of,
	5		a ¹ t	laakhs		nuu,	ən	tel)jə	strekht	af
	6		yt	lakhs		nuu,	yn	tel)ji	a ¹ t	ens
	7		ət	lâkh		nuu,	ə	tel)ji	streekht	af
	8	juu	ət	ljaakhs		nuu,	ən	tel juu	streekjht	af

	1	tə ₁	wi ₁ dhùt	mæk ¹ 'l	bodhe ^o r	i ₁ f	æ)l	nobet	às)e ^o r,
	2	təə,	əthùt	mæk ¹ 'l	bòdhər	e ¹ f	i)l	onli	spiiir
	3	tyy,	wəthùt	mæk ¹ 'l	a ¹ dyy,	gen	ji)l	onli	aks)ər,
	4	ti,	ədhu ¹ t	mæk ¹ 'l	bòdhər,	ef	ji)l	onli	aks)ər,
	5	tyy,	wəthu ¹ t	mæk ¹ 'l	badhər,	ef	jə)l	onli	spiiir
	6	tii,	yn nee	mee ¹ r	əbu ¹ t yt,	gen	ji)l		spiiir
	7		widhu ¹ t	mæk ¹ 'l	bòdhər,	ge ¹ f	ji	onli	aks
	8	tə	əthu ¹ t	mæk ¹ 'l	bòdər,	i ₁ f	jii)l	ònli	aks

- 1 oo! wæ¹net shy₁?
- 2 a¹t)ər, æ¹i, wæl)shi?
- 3 ee¹, wæl shy noo?
- 4 o, wud)'nt shi?
- 5 a¹t)ər, oo, wəl)shi noo?
- 6 a¹t)y_r, aa', wì)nə shi?
- 7 hər, o, wæl shi no?
- 8 hər, o! wì)nə shə?

7.	1	on _i ₁	wēe	shy ₁	telt	·mēii	sii ₁ ₁	[kəhən)a	ast	e ^o r
	2	oni	wē	shə	tə'ld	mēi		kəhən a	akst	ə
	3	ət oni	rēt	shə	telt	mii,		kəhən aa	spiird	a't)ər
	4	liistwez		shi	telt	mi sii,		whən a		akst)ər
	5	oni	wāai	shi	teld)it	mii,		fən a ¹	spiird	a't)ər
	6	a't oni	rēt	shə	tal)ty	mii,		fyn a ¹	spiirt)a't)yr,	
	7	ət eni	reet	shi	telt it	mii		fən a		asket
	8	ət	hest	shə	taald	·mii	ət	whi ₁ n	á'i	akst her

1	twii ₁ əthrēii	tē'imz	óar	d _i d)shə,	ən	shyy ₁
2	twii ₁ ' or thrēi	tēimz	óur,	et dē'ld shi,	ən	shəə
3	twaa)khrii	tā'imz	ə'ur,	shə ded,	ən	shii
4	twaar thrii	tēimz	óar,	did)shi,	ən	shii
5	twaar or thrii	tā'imz	ə'ur,	ded shi,	ən	shii
6	twaar or thrii	tēimz	óar,	ded shə,	yn	shii
7	twaar thrii	tāimz	óar,	shi did,	ən	shii
8	twartri	tā'imz	óur,	dat shə d _i d,	ən	shee

1	óat'nt	tə	béi	se va ₁ re	fa'r	ràq	on	s _i k)ə
2	sùd'ne [səd)nə]		béi		w'ràq		ən	sè'k'n e
3	shud)ne		bi		ràq		on	sek'n a ¹
4	okht nət	tə	bi		raq		on	sekən ə
5	əkht)nə	tə	bi		vraq		on	sek ə
6	səd)ny		by		vraq		on	sek ə
7	okht nə	tə	bi		r ₁ waq		on	sek ə
8	ókht nə	tə	bi		wræ'q		əpə	sek ə

1	póint	əz	dh _i s,	[kəhat	dez	·dhə'u	thi ₁ qk	on)t?
2	point	əz	dhē's,	kəhát			thèqk)i?	
3	póint	əz	dhát,	d _i)i	noo		thèq?	
4	theq	əz	dhəs,	what	d _i		theqk?	
5	póint	əz	dhes,	fat	də	ji	theqk?	
6	péint)sz		dhes,	fat	d _y	ji	theqk?	
7	metər	əz	is,	fat	d _i		thi ₁ qk?	
8	péint	əz	dəs,	what			tèqkst du?	

8.	1	wiil,	əz)a	wəz	təhən	dhu,	shu)wud	təl)ə,	hə'u	
	2	əwil,	əz	aa	wəz	see'n,	shəə	wəd	tə'l)i,	hə'u,
	3	wil,	əz	aa		sē'd,	shii	wəd	tē'l)ji,	huu,
	4	wil,	əz	a	wəz	see'ən,	shii	wəd	təl)i,	huu,
	5	wil,	əz	aa	wəz	see'n.	shii	wəd	təl)jə	fuu,
	6	wil,	əz	a ¹	wyz	see'n	she	wəd	təl)ji,	fat wāai
	7	wil,	əz	a	wəz	se ¹ ən,	shii	wəd	təl)ji,	huu,
	8	wiil,	əz	á'i	wiz	see'ən,	shəə	wəd	təl)ju,	fuu

1	[kəheer	ən	[kəhən	shy ₁	fə'n	dhu	d _r ək'n	bist	ət
2	kəheer	ən	kəhən	shə	fənd	dhe	d _r əkən	bist	ət
3	·kəhən	ən	kəheer	shi	fən	dhy	d _r ək'n	bryt	
4	whaar	ən	whan	shi	fən	dhi	d _r ək'n	biist	
5	faar,	ən	fan	shi	fənd	dhe	d _r ək'n	beest	
6	fau	yn	faar	shə	fən	dhat	d _r ək'n	beest	ət
7	faar,	ən	fan	shi	fən	e ¹	d _r ək'n	beest	fət
8	whaar	ən	whan	shə	fən	də	d _r ək'n	best	ət

- 1 shy₁ kàz)c^or ·hæ'zbend.
 2 shə kaaz ər mən.
 3 shə kAAZ ər mən.
 4 shi kaaz hər gəd man.
 5 shi kaaz ər man.
 6 shə kaaz ər man.
 7 shi kaaz ər man.
 8 shə keez hər mē'n.

9.	1	shy ₁	swœ ₁ 'r	shy ₁	saa)i ₁ m	widh	ə ₁ r	aan	iin,
	2	shə	swær	shə	saa)'m	wə	ər)u	een	in,
	3	shi	tùk ər ee ^l th ət	shə	sAA)em	wy	ər	ee'n	in,
	4	shi	suur	shi	sa)m	wi	her	een	in,
	5	shi	swoor	shi	saa)m	wi	ər	een	in,
	6	shə	swiir	shə	saa)ym	wi	yrn	een	in,
	7	shi	swoor	shi	sa)m	wi)ər		een	in,
	8	shə	swær	shə	SEE hām	wi	hər	EE'n	in,

	1	lái'en	strikt	ùt	et	iz	fə'l	lenth	on	dhe	græn
	2	lái'en	strikit	ùt		ez	fəl	læ'nth	onə	dhə	grænd
	3		strikot	ùt		yr	hee'l	le'nth	on	dhə	græn,
	4	lái'en	strikit	ət			fuu	lenth	on	dhə	græn
	5	lái'en	strikyt	ət			fəl	lenth	on	dhə	grænd
	6	lái'en	stréikyut	ut			aa)z	lenth	oo	dhγ	græn
	7	lái'en	s'treetjt				aa iz	lenth	on	e'	græn
	8	lái'en	s'tretjt	ət		hiz	heel	lent	apə	də	grænd

	1	v)ez	gy ₁ 'd	sə'ndə	kliiz.	klá ₁ es	bi ₁		dhe	dœæ ₁ r
	2	e'n	əz	gəd	səbdhədèz	ku ₁ 't	klú ₁ 's	bi	dhə	hùs
	3	yn	yz	ggyd	səndez	b ₁ st,	djy ₁ st	førnə ₁ n't	dhə	door
	4	in	hiz	gəd	səbith	kleez,	djəst	bi	dhə	door
	5	en	əz	ggyd	səndə	kot,	kləs	bi	dhə	door
	6	wii)z	gwid	səndy		kot	kləs	a't	dhγ	door
	7	in	iz	g'id	sə'bith	kleez	klooz	at	e'	door
	8	ənti'l	hiz	gy ₁ 'd	səndə	kot,	klòs	bi	də	door

- 1 v)dhə hùs, duun et dh₁ kørn^or ə jən lòn₁n.
 2 door dūn ət dhə kørner ə jən [dhoŋ] li₁'n.
 3 o dhə hùs, dūn dhə klòs jòndər a't dhə kò'rnər.
 4 o dhə huus, duun ət dhi kørner ə dhe loonin.
 5 ə dhə hus, dūn a't dhə kørner ə jən leen.
 6 y dhγ hus, dūn yt dhγ kørnər ə jən leen.
 7 o)e' huus, duun ət ə kørnər ə jən rōdi.
 8 o də huus, duun ət də kòrnər o jən rōd.

10.	1	h ₁	wəz		l ₁ kəh'indjən	əwee	sez	shyy ₁ ,	
	2	h ₁	wəz		kəh'inzhən	əwee ₁ ,	kə)shəə,		
	3	ən	hi	wyz	whəmp'r'n	a'waa',	shə	diklee'rz,	
	4	h ₁	wəz		whəndjən	əwaa,	sed	shii,	
	5	hi	wəz		whə'inən	əwaa,	sez	shii,	
	6	hi	wyz		meenən	əwaa,	sez	shə,	
	7	h ₁	wəz	kóunən	ən	whéinən	əwaa,	sez	shii,
	8	hi	wi ₁ z		wh'indjən	əwaa,	sez)	shə,	

1	fer	àl	dhə	wæ'r'l	dhə	sá ₁ em)ez)v	sik	beern,	
2	for	aa	dhə	wor'lt	léik	ə	noo-wil	bèrn,	
3	fär	AA	dhə	warld	lə'ik	a ¹	noo ¹ -wil	be ¹ rn,	
4	fər	aa	dhi	wərl	léik	ə	sik	wensh,	
5	fär	aa	dhə	war'ld	lə'ik	ə	sik	wèen,	
6	dʒist	fär	aa	dhy	wor'd	léik	ə	sik	le ¹ tl)ən,
7	fər	aa	e ¹	wərl	le ¹ k	ə	sik	beerni,	
8	fər	aa	də	wərl	lek	ə	sik	beern,	

1	er)eli ₁ t'l	las	i ₁ n)v	fré'it.		
2	or ə	bè't	wè ₁ nsh	en ə	frí't.	
3	or a ¹	bèt	lasək	y	dhy	pe ₁ t.
4	ər ə	bet	lasí	en ə	pet.	
5	ər ə	wii	lasi	en ə	teg.	
6	or ə	bet	lasi	yn ə	pet.	
7	ər ə	píri	wii	lasi.		
8	or ə	píri	las	i	də	dorts.

11.	1	en	dha ₁ t	həp'nt	ez	hœ ₁ r	en)v			
	2	en	dhè's	həp'nt	də'st	əz	her	en ə	gə'd	
	3	ən	dhat	wyz	dʒy'st	əz	her	'n ə	gʒyd	
	4	ən	dhat	hapənd		az	hər	ən	hər	gə'd
	5	ən	dhat	hap'nt		əz	hər	'n ə	gyd	
	6	yn)t		hapynt		əz	hər	'n ə	gə'id	
	7	ən	at	hapənd	fan	hər	ən	hər	gid	
	8	ən	dat	hap'nd		əz	shə	ən	hər	gy ₁ d

1	dóu ₁ te ^o r)i ₁ n)laa	kóm	thruu	dhə	bá ₁ k	faal	
2	dòk ₁ chter	wəz	kámen	thrə'n	dhe ¹	bák	jeerd
3	dòkhtər	kám	thruu	dhə	bák	jee ¹ rd	
4	dokhtər	kam	thruu	dhə	bak	jard	
5	daakhtər	kam	thru	dhə	bak	jeerd	
6	doothər	kam	throu	dhy	bak	jeerd	
7	dokhtər	kam	fee	e ¹	bak	ev	e ¹ hus
8	dáukhtər	kə'm	tro	də	bak	jeerd	

1	fre	h ₁ i ₁ q ₁ n	dhə	wet	kli ₁ ez	unt	tə	dráí	ev)v	
2	thre	heqin	út	dhə	wát	kli ₁ 'z	tə	dráí	on ə	
3	fe	hèq'n	út	dhy		klee ¹ z,			et	wyz
4	free	haqən	unt	dhə	wat	kleez	tə	dráí	on ə	
5	fe	heq'n	ut	dhə	wit	kleez	t'l	dráai	on ə	
6	eftər	heq'n	ut	dhy	wit	kleez	ty	dráai	on ə	
7	fee	haqən	unt	e ¹	wit	krees	tə	dráí	on ə	
8	fEE	HEQƏN	də	wit	kleez	ut	tə	drá'i	wh ₁ n	

1	weshin	dee',
2	wə'shin	dee ₁ ,
3	wəsh'n	dee ¹ ji ke ₁ n,
4	weshən	dee,
5	wash'n	dee,
6	wash'n	dee,
7	washən	dee,
8	dee	wər biin waash'n,

12.	1	[kəh'e'il	dhe	ket'l	wəz	bóilən	fər	téii			
	2	əz	dha	kæ't'l	wəz	bóilən	fər	dhə	téi		
	3	ən	dhy	ke't'l	wyz	bə'il'n	fər	tii	ən et wyz		
	4	whən	dhə	ket'l	wəz	bóilən	fər	tii'			
	5	fən	dhə	ket'l	wyz	bəil'n	fər	dhə	tii		
	6	fyn	dhy	ket'l	wyz	béil'yn	fər	dhy	tee		
	7	fan	e'	ket'l	wəz	bóilən	fa	tii			
	8	i də	tá'im	ət	də	teeket'l	wəz	bóilən			
	1	iēn	bré'it	sá'me ^o r	a'fte ^o	rnyy'n,	onli	i ₁			
	2	jec	féin	brəkjht	sé'mər	əftərnə'n,	nii'	meer	dhən		
	3	a'	brAA	'n	brəkht	səmər	əftərnyn,	ən	nee' far'r		
	4	jec	féin	brəkht	səmər	əftərnin,	djest				
	5	ee	fá'in	brəkht	semər	əftərnyn,	ouli				
	6	ee	féin	brəkht	semər	əftərnin,	onli				
	7	éi	fáin	brəkht	semər	əftərnin,	onli				
	8	ii	fá'in		səmərz	əftərnən,	onli				
	1		u	wik		kam	thœ'rzde.				
	2	[ner ez]	ə	wik	óur	gá'n	kam	nist	fə'rzde.		
	3		gə'n	dhyn			lást	thə'rzde'.			
	4		ə	wik		kam	ferst	dhə'rzdec.			
	5		ə	wik	sə'in	kam	nikst	fyrzde.			
	6		ə	wik	sə'in	kəm	fürzdy	ferst.			
	7		ə	wik	sín	séin	kam	fərsht	fürzdec.		
	8		ə	wik	wh ₁ n	də	nist	fə'rzde	kamz.		
13.	1	en	di)jə	ken?	a	ná've ^o r	læ'rnd	oni	méir		
	2	ən	dé)i	kæ'n?	aa)v	ne'vər	hərd	nii'	meer	dhən	
	3	ən	di)i	ke ₁ n?	a'		hard	ne'	mee'r	dhyn	
	4	an	d)i	ken?	a	nevər	hard	oni	meer		
	5	ən	di)jə	ken?	ái	nevər	leernt	oni	meer	dhən	
	6	yn	div)ji	ken?	a	nivər	kənt	oni	mee'r	nər	
	7	ən	d)i	ken?	a	nevər	hard	eni	meer	dhən	
	8	ən	də	ji	ken?	ái	nivər	kənt	oni	meer	əs
	1		u	dh ₁ s	b ₁ znəs	tíl	dhe	dee',	əz		
	2	dhè's	ə	dhə	bè'znəs	t'l	dhè's	gəd	dee ₁ ,	əs	
	3	dhat	ə	dhy	bé'znəs	t'l	dhy	dee',	əz		
	4		o	dhi	b ₁ znəs	əp tel	dhə	dee,	əz		
	5	dhes	əf	dhat	beznes	əp t'l	dhə	dee,	əz		
	6	dhes	ə	dhat	beznys	əp ty	dhes	verə	dee,	əs	
	7	is	o	at	me'tər	əp tə	is	dec,	əz		
	8	dəs	o	dat	wark	tə	də	tá'im	ət)s	kəm, əz	
	1	sœœ'r	əz	mi ₁	n ₁ 'mz	:dʒu ₁ en	:shep ^o rd	ən)	e		
	2	səər	əz	mə	n ₁ 'm)z	:dʒu ₁ 'n	:shepərd,	ən	a		
	3	shyyr	əz	dhe	kAA	mii	:dʒək	:she'pərd,	ən	a'	
	4	shəər	əz	ma	neem)z	:dʒoni	:shipərd,	ən	a		
	5	syyr)z	mə	neem)z		:dʒoon	:shepərd,	ən	a'		
	6	shuur)z	my	neem)z		:dʒon	:shepərt,	yn	fat)s		
	7	shuur)z	ma	neem)z		:tʃək	:shipərd,	ən	a		
	8	shəər	əz	má'i	nem əz	:dʒoni	:sheperd,	ən	á'i		

1	dìv'nt	want	tə	ken	áudhər,	dheer	nə'u!
2	də'nə	want	tə	nə ₁ dhər,		dhii'r	nə!
3	də'nə	want	ty	nəe'dhər,	sə	dheer	!
4	də'nə	want	tə	edhər,		dheer	nə!
5	də'nə	want	t'l	eedhər,		dheer	nu!
6	mee'r,	a ¹	də'nə	went	ty	ken.	
7	dì'nə	want	tə	hiir	meer	edhər,	nuu dhen!
8	də'nə	want	tə	də	it	nə'dər,	deer nuu!

14.	1	en	síi'ə,	à)z	gaan	híi'em	tə	mí ₁	sə'pə ^o r.	
	2	nə'u	dhe'n,	aa)m	gaan	híe'm	tə	mə	səpər.	
	3	wil!		a ¹)m	gaaN	hee'm	ty	my	səpər.	
	4	an	see	a)m	gan	əwa'	hem	tə	ma	səpər.
	5	ən	see	a ¹)m	gee'n	əwaa'	heem	tə	mə	səpər.
	6	yn	see	a)m	djaain	əwaa'	heem	tə	mə	səpər.
	7	ən	see	a)m	gjaan	heem	tə	ma	səpər.	
	8	ən	see	a ¹ i)m	gEEən	hem	tə	mí	səpər.	

1	gyy'd	nə'it,	en	dì)nə	béi	se	shəp	ət	krà)i ₁ n		
2	gəd	nə ¹ kjht,	ən	wə't	ə	wii	əfuu'r	i	kraa		
3	gyd	nə ¹ kht,	ən	də'nə	bi	yn	sə'k	a ¹	həri	ty	kraa
4	gəd	nekht,	ən	dì)nə	bii	djəst	se	fast	tə	kraa	
5	gyd	nekht,	ən	də'nə	bi	se	kwek	tə	kraa		
6	gyid	nekht,	yn	də'ny	bi	see	krus	ty	kraa		
7	gid	nekht,	ən	dì)nə	bi	in	set	ə	həri	tə	kraa
8	gy'd	ná'ikjht	ən	də'nə	bi	SEE	reedí	tə	kraa		

1		óuc ^o r	v	bodi	ugeəN,	[kəhən)i	tàks	v		
2	síi'	krùs	óur	ə	bu ₁ 'di	əgi'n,	kəhən	héi	kràks	ə
3	se ¹	krùs	a'ur	a ¹	bodi	a ¹ ge'n,	whən	hii)z	spük'n	a ¹
4		óur	ə	bodi	əgen,	wən	hi	təlz)i	ə	
5		a'ur	ə	bədi	əgen,	fən	i	kraks	o	
6		óur	ə	bədi	əgen,	fyn	i	spéiks		
7		óur	ə	bodi	əge'n,	fan	hi	speeks	o	
8		óur	oni	iin	əgen,	whi)n	hii)z	spekən	o	

1	dhí's	dha ₁ t	e ^o r	dhe	tə'dhe ^o r.		
2	dhé's	or	dhət,	or	dhə	t)ədhər	thə'q.
3	bù't	dhès,	dhàt,	or	dhy	ədhər	thəq.
4	dhis	dhat	ər		ədhər.		
5	dhes	dhat	or	dhə	idhər.		
6	dhes	dhat	or	dhy	t)idhər	theq.	
7	is	ər	at.				
8	dəs	dat	or	də	idə	thəq.	

15.	1	its	v	week	fyy:l	ət	klə't	te ^o rz	wí)dhùt	riiz'n.	
	2	héi)z	ə	sə'li	fəl	ət	blə'dhərz	əwee ₁	wəthù't	rii'z'n.	
	3	hii)z	a ¹	səli	gə'uk	yt	blə ₁ dhərz		wy)thù't	səns.	
	4	et)s	ə	síli	fəl	dhat	klətərz		ədhu't	rez'n.	
	5	et)s	ə	week	fyl	ət	blədhərz		wəthù't	rez'n.	
	6	et)s	ə	wéik	fiil	yt	gəndjəz		wənt'n	rez'n.	
	7	hed)z	ə	week	fil	ət	klətərz		withut	ə	reez'n.
	8	et)s	ə	wEE'k	fəl	ət	shEErks		ədhu't	reez'n.	

1	en	dhɑ ₁ ts	mɪ ₁	last	wɑ ₁ rd.	gy ₁ d	nɛ'it.
2		dhɑt)s	maa	hɛ'nɪmest	wɑrd.	gɔ'd	bɑi'!
3	ən	dhɑt)s	AA	a ^v ty see ¹ ,	sə	gɔjɔd	baa'!
4	an	dhɑt)s	ma	last	wɔrd.	gɑd	nekht, əge'n.
5	ən	dhɑt)s	ma'	henmɛst	wɑrd.	gɔjɔd	bə'i t)ɔ.
6		dhɑt)s	mɑɑi'	hɪnmɪst	wɑrd.	gɔrid	bɑɑi'.
7	ən	at)s	ma	last	wɑrd.	gid	nekht, əge'n,
8	ən	dat)s	mɑ'i	hɪdɪmest	wɑrd.	gɪd	nɑ'ikjht'!

* * * The above 8 es. should be studied as part of the districts to which they have been referred on p. 684, and similarly for the 5 phonetic transcripts of the first chapter of the Book of Ruth on p. 698. They are inserted here, out of order, to render the comparison easier. The reader should observe, in No. 1, *Bewcastle*, the sudden cessation of (*u, u₁*) and its replacement by (*ɛ*), the cessation of (*u₁u*) and appearance of pure (*uu*) before consonants or (*ɛ'u*) when no consonant follows, all strongly against Cu. habits. In No. 2, *Hawick*, the peculiar (*i₁'*, *u₁'*) vowels, and *U* = (*ɛ'u*) when not before a consonant not found in the rest of L. In Nos. 5, 6, 7, *Arbroath*, *Keith*, and *Wick*, the use of (*ɪ*) for (*wh*), and especially in No. 7, *Wick*, the use of (*e¹*, *is*) for *the, this*, and (*hɛ'd*) for *it*, the old *h* being restored, not a new *h* inserted, but in No. 8, *Dunrossness*, the frequent use of (*t, d*) for (*th, dh*).

Notes to No. 1, *Bewcastle*, es. pp. 682, 684.

The Longtown version is cited as LT., and the words are put in italics.

0. *what* (*kwh*) is almost (*wh*) when initial, not otherwise.—LT. *wey John hes nē doots*. No doubt *what for* would be the phrase used. Instead of *nē, nae* was first written.

1. *well neighbour*, so LT. JGG. considers (*e₁e¹i*) to represent the received diphthongal long *a*, only with a longer glide. I should probably have simply written (*éi*). The (*e^o*) which occurs frequently in this version is an obscure (*e*), and in fact does not sensibly differ from (*v*) or (*ə*), but JGG. wished to represent the impression he received.—*both*, both elements accented, LT. *hēaith*.—*mine*, LT. *meyne*. This thin (*e'i*) diphthong, with a tendency towards (*æ'i*), is very characteristic of nw.Cu. See Holme Cultram, p. 562, No. 20.—*neither here nor there*, LT. *nayder hēer nor thēer*.

2. *die*, LT. *dee*.—*we know, don't we*, LT. *we ken, div'nt we*.—*make*, LT. *mēake*.—*very likely*, LT. *varra leykely*.

3. *howsoever*, etc., LT. *howsöever* or *huzsever*, *thē err the fūes o' the këäse, sē just hod your noise, frēnd*. Observe Mr. Sinclair's (*ha₁d*, *fren*). (*fri₁nz*) in the pl. at Milburn, We.—*I is done*, LT. *ā've dun*, both words perhaps literary. In (*dy₁u*) JGG. considers the vowel to be (*iu*) with the tongue obliquely advanced towards the (*i*) position, and he writes it (*yu¹*), but consents to (*y₁*) as merely a generic symbol representing 'something like'

French (*y*), and this was the effect to my ear when I heard him pronounce it. Observe (*ɔz*) = 'I is,' which runs quite into Liddesdale.

4. *I is*, LT. *I am*, which is educated.—*certain*, etc., LT. *certain ā heard*. The (*r*) is trilled throughout regularly as in Scotland.—*some*, JGG. considers this (*ɛ¹*) to lie between (*o*) and the Teviotdale value of (*ɛ*), and might be (*o₁*) as well as (*ɛ¹*), reminding him more of (*o, o*) than the Teviotdale (*ɛ*) does.—*the folks*, etc., LT. *thē fōōäks whē gōōid*.—*whole*, LT. *hēäl*.—*first*, the vowel is very difficult owing to the disturbance of (*r*). JGG. has tried many ways of symbolising it. But he finally admits (*e^o*) as an indistinct and indefinite (*e*). It sometimes reminds him of the Nb. sound, which he thinks is (*æ₂*) or (*ə*) pronounced with a widened pharynx, LT. *f'erst*, where the ' *r*' are unexplained.—*well enough*, the (*iu*), says JGG., is the same as in general NW. of England, but only occurs before (*kwh*) in this district, as in (*dīukwh*, *plūukwh*, *klūukwh*, *tūukwh*, *sūukwh*, *enūukwh*) = *dough*, *plough*, *cleugh*, *tough*, *sough*, *enough*; LT. *sēäfe enuff*.

5. *youngest*, etc., LT. *youngist son himsel, a greet böōēe o' neyne—knew*, etc., LT. *kent hēes fayder's voice at yince*: the *d* in *fayder* was probably dental, it is only occasionally marked in Mr. Sinclair's version, but JGG.

considers the omissions to be due to Mr. Sinclair's residence in Nb. Observe that 's of the possessive is used, it is omitted in D 31.—*queer*, the (i) is quite pure throughout, never (i₁).—*truth*, LT. *trūth*, JGG. wrote (tr^ul^h), see par. 3.—*I is done*.

6. *old*, LT. *āl*.—*will*, LT. *wull*.—*now*, LT. *now*, this (ɛ'u) for (u) occurs only in an open syllable, before a consonant it remains (uu, ù), as in Rx.—*too*, LT. *too*, with a 'guttural sound.' JGG. has attempted several ways of noting the sound, which in Rx. Dr. Murray assumes to be the French (ɔ)=*eu* in *peu*. JGG. says it is *not* labialised, but may lie between (ɔ, u), or among (æ, i, u) or (u₁, i₁), but consents to writing (ɔ₁) frequently in D 31, p. 541, as a variant of (ɔ) produced without rounding the lips.—*without*, LT. *withoot muckle bodder*.—*won't she*, LT. *wunnet shoo*. JGG. writes (shyy₁) here, describing it as "low (i₁), high-rounded," but writes (sh^u) in par. 7. See note, par. 3, *I is done*.

7. *she*, LT. *shoo*, see par. 6, *won't she*.—*me*, LT. *mē*, just as dialect writers use 'mee' in Cu. and Yo.—*when*, LT. *whōne*, on which Rev. Mr. Elwood, of Torver, Coniston, n.I.a., says in a letter of 20 March, 1874, "There is one word *whone*, the word for *when*, which occurs in his [Mr. Hope's] version, the sound of which (though I understood what sound he meant to convey the moment I saw it) I fear neither he nor I will be able to convey to you in the compass of a letter. It is pronounced something like *whān*, with a deep inflection." This may be (whoō·n) with a fall of pitch on (oo) and then a rise. Mr. Sinclair seems to have used an altogether different sound.—*two*, etc., LT. *twō* or *three teymes ōur*, *dud she*, and *shoo*.—*wrong*, etc., LT. *rang on sic a*.—*dost thou think*, LT. *dēē yah think*.

8. *she would*, LT. *shoo wad*. JGG.

says the (u) was distinct in both words, we have seen in other parts, p. 596, par. 8, that *she* becomes (shu) before (wud).—*how*, etc., LT. *hov*, *where*, and *whōne shoo fun the drucken*.—*she calls*, LT. *she cās*.

9. *she swore*, etc., LT. *shoo swore she sāw him, with her āan ē'en, lying streakit, at full length on the grun in his gūl Sunday cōōāt clōōs by the dūr* (guttural sound) *o' the hoose doon at the coorner o' yon lomning* (or *loo-ning*).—*lying*, observe not (līga^on).—*good*, JGG. wrote (g^ul'd), see note, par. 3, *done*.—*door*, JGG. considers this a variant of the French *œu* in *sœur*.—*house down*, observe (hūs, duun), not (hā'us dā'un), because the word is followed by a consonant.

10. *whingeing*, LT. *wehnying*.—*she*, etc., LT. *shoo*, for *a' the woorld*.—*sick*, LT. *seek cheyld*. Observe (sik) with short (i), not (sī₁k, sik).—*fright*, LT. *fret*, which is perhaps not dialectal, but Hawick (fri₁'t) is 'fret.'

11. *her*, LT. *shoo*.—*daughter-in-law came*, LT. *doughter-in-lāw cam'*.—*fold*, LT. *yaird*.—*clothes out*, LT. *clēs oot*.—*washing*, LT. *weshing*.

12. *while*, LT. *wehyle*.—*one bright*, etc., LT. *yin feyne brect simmer efternūn*.—*Thursday*, LT. inserts *neist*=next before Thursday.

13. *and do you ken*, etc., LT. *a and dē ye ken? ā niver lairned ony mair*.—*till to-day*, LT. *up too* (guttural sound).—*as sure*, LT. *as sūr as my nēame*.—*and I don't want*, etc., LT. *and ā div'nt want too ader, thēēr now*.

14. *and so I is going*, LT. *and sē ā'm gan hēame ta sup*. *Gude nēt and div'nt be sē quick to-o* (guttural sound) *erāw ōur a body again whone he tāks o' this that or t' other*.

15. *weak fool*, LT. *weak fūl*, JGG. writes (f^ul^l), see note, par. 3, *done*.—*that clatters*, LT. *that prates withoot reason*.—*my last word*, LT. *my last word*. *gud b'oy*.

Notes to No. 2, Hawick, cs., pp. 682, 684.

2. *likely*, (léiklī) is also used, I have however heard (lé¹klī) from Lowlanders myself.

3. *just*, Dr. M. says "commonly (dǽst) when unemphatic and gen. even if emphatic, though (dǽst) may then be heard from some. The vowel is the ordinary Scotch *u*, currently assumed = French *u*. When I learnt French at school, I was taught to

pronounce French *juste* with the same vowel."—*call canny*, that is, *drive gently* (or be still).

4. *first of it*, the (oo) was marked long by Dr. M.

5. *that well would I*.

8. *aweel*, (əwil, əwil) both given.

9. *Sabbath day's*.

13. *than*, (dhen, ez, ner, bi) all used after the comparative.

Notes to No. 3, *Edinburgh* es., pp. 683, 684.

0. *the*, Dr. M. uses (*y*) rather vaguely where I should put (*i*) or (*i*₁), but I leave it.—*at*, I have changed Dr. M.'s (*ah*) into (*a*¹) as more suggestive.—*who cares*, etc., or better (whaa m'ā'indz dhat? dhat)s a¹ smAAame¹ter.'"
 2. *because*, I rather doubt the appreciation (*bikəz*).
 3. *just*, the shade of (*y*) in (*djyst*) is doubtful here and elsewhere.

4. *sure enough*, or (*nee¹ dùt ubùt yt*) no doubt about it.

6. *you yons*, apparently, you that are yonder.—*ask*, both (*aks*, *ask*) are used.

8. *when*, (*kwhàn*) or (*whàn*).—*where* (*kwhce¹r*) or (*whee¹r*).

10. *no-well*, that is, unwell, or sick.

13. *the day*, that is, to-day.

Notes to No. 4, *Stranraer*, es., pp. 683, 684.

5. *big*, (*greet*) is also used *decd would I*=indeed I would, as a variant (*āi*, *wed ə*) *aye*, would I.

6. *now*, (*nūi*) is used at Kirkcudbright.

7. *leastways* or (*oni wez*) any ways. *wrong*, the *w* is not heard.

8. *found* (*fān*) or (*fan*).—*beast* (*bé'st*) in Wigton.

9. *lane*, yonder (*jonər*) might be added.

10. *pet* or (*tef*) *tiff*.

14. *do not be* I had transcribed (*did nə*), a manifest error, and hence I adopt the reading of No. 7.

15. *silly* or (*wik*) *weak*.

Notes to No. 5, *Arbroath*, es., pp. 683, 684.

Mr. Anderson is referred to as A.

1. *you and him*, A. wrote *you an' he*.—*both*, A. *baith* with the sound *āe*, explained as "somewhat like English *ay* in *say*, but has a more shut sound," probably (*e*¹) is meant, but Dr. M. uses (*ee*) throughout. The words which A. specifies as having this *āe* or say (*ee*¹) sound are in his spelling: *baith*, *nather*, *hāill*, *anee*, *straicht*, *lane*, *bairn*, *yaird*, *fae*, *afternune*, *mair*, *aither*, *wake*: both, neither, whole, once, straight, lane, bairn, yard, from, afternoon, more, either, weak. He also uses *ēa* to express a sound "somewhat similar to *āe* or French *de pro-*

longed," which is a very different sound from (*ee*¹), and assigns it to: *learned*, *name*, *hame*.—*laugh*. A writes *lauch*.—*it*, this use of (*e*) for (*i*) is not recognised by A.

5. *laddy*, Dr. Murray notes the pron. (*lādhi*) as "authentic," A. merely writes *laddie*.

7. *wrong*, A. writes simply *wrang*, the (*vraq*) is M.'s insertion.

10. *tig*, "a pet, a fit of sullen humour," Jamieson's Dictionary.

12. *when*, A. has *fan*.—*boiling*, A. has *boilin'* not *bilin'*.

13. *don't*, A. has *dinna* not (*dānə*).

Notes to No. 6, *Keith*, es., pp. 683, 684.

Rev. Walter Gregor's spelling is cited as G; Dr. Murray's as M; vv. the vivā voce *ewl.* as heard by AJE.

2. *likely*, G. *licckly*. The *i* of Ab. writers and that neighbourhood is used in at least three manners, which will be discussed under D 39. Dr. M. has apparently in despair used (*y*) where Mr. Gregor wrote *i*, with the following explanation, which neither Dr. M. nor I succeeded in understanding: "*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill*, *mill*, another in *wint* (*wont*), and a third in *fin* (*when*) *hinnist*. The sound in *fill*, *will*, *him*, comes nearest to the sound of *yes*, *yet*: the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of the *i* in

window. In *fin* the sound comes nearest the sound in *pin*." In English the last two are identical. In all cases Mr. Gregor probably refers to the pron. in more southern parts of Scotland. M (*ləkly*), vv. (*léiklī*).

3. *quiet*, G. *quai't*, M. (*kwaā't*), vv. (*kwe-et*).—*done*, G. *dēēn*, M. (*din dyyu*), vv. (*diin*).

4. *enough*, G. *ānyuch*, M. (*ynjekh*), vv. (*inīukh*).

5. *son*, G. *sin*, M. (*see'n*), vv. (*se'n*), and *sun* was absolutely the same.—*loun*, "a boy," Jam. Dict.—*word*,

G. *wird*, M. (wɪrd), vv. (wərd), this is one of the three pron. of *i* in D 39, which sounds to me like (æ).—*was*, G. *wiz*, M. (wɪz), vv. (wez), this is another of the three pron. of *i* in D 39.—*truth*, G. *trauth*, M. (trə'uth), vv. (tróuth).—*would*, G. *wid*, M. (wyd), vv. (wəd).

7. *told it*, G. *taul't*, M. (tuəlt), vv. (tal't).

8. *found that*. G. *fan that* or *tat*, this is a case of assimilation of (dh) to (t) after (n), found elsewhere.

9. *her own eyes*, G. *ir nain een*, M. (ɪr-n- een in), I should have probably heard (ər ne'n in).

9. *in his good Sunday coat, close at the door*, G. *in's gweed Sunday quíte close at tha door*, M. (wii'z gwíð sándy kwéit, kləs a't dhɪ door). Unfortunately the word *coat* was skipped in my vv. wl., but in a num. wl. which G. had previously sent me it was marked (kət, which I have adopted. But in *Johnny Gibb*, *quite* is used for *coat*.

10. *little one*, G. *littlən*, as well as I could read it, but the writing was indistinct, and M. gave it up.

Notes to No. 7, *Wick*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *John*, (:tʃən) is remarkable, because initial (tʃ) generally becomes (sh).—*no doubts*, (nee duuts) more common in *Wick*, according to Micklejohn and Sinclair.

1. *mine*, the form (máinz) is only occ. used. (má'in) is most frequent.

2. *should*, (sed) is an older form.—*it is*, observe the retention of the aspirate in *it*, Ws. *hit*.

3. *how and ever*, for *howsoever*, (ɦuu) is the regular form for *how* and *why*.—*these is the*, observe omission of (dh) in *these*, *the*, which is regular in Cs.—*till fel* is not a form of *till*, but of *while*, commonly used in the N. for *until*.

4. *some of the*, (sím) also used.—*that*, (fa) who, also used.—*from*, (fre) also used.—*enough*, (əniókħ) also used.

5. *voice*, the form (wáis) is archaic.

6. *straight off* or (ət éins) at once.—*if* or (ge'n) given.—*ask*, (aks) is common among the older people in Cs.

7. *any* or (oni).—*telled* or (tóuld)

11. *as her and her*, G. *iz hir ən hir*, M. (ɪz heer 'n ɪr), probably (əz hær ən hær) would be more correct, and I have introduced it.

14. *going*, G. *djahin*, M. (djaan, dzshaan), vv. the word *to go* was written both (gǽaq, djan), hence I adopt (djaa'in) as most probably what was intended; of course it is an alteration of (gjaan) heard at *Wick*, Cs.—*don't*, G. *dinnǽ*, which M. here represents by (denɟ), but just at end of par. 13 by (dɔnə). The sound is perhaps (də'nə).—*erouse*, "brisk, apparently brave," Jam. Dict.

15. *ganjís*, as G. writes it here, is in his *Dialect of Banffshire, with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, "GANNYIE, *n.* (1) much pert foolish talking, (2) a pert talker.—GANNYIE, *v.n.* to talk much in a foolish, pert fashion (*Gandy* is the form given by Jamieson). GANNYIEIN', *a.* given to pert, silly talking (Jamieson gives the noun, *ganien*)." —*reason*, G. *rizzin*, M. (rizɟn), vv. (rez'n).

told.—*ought* or (shud) should.—*matter* or (póint), the (:tɪr) occurs in this district.—*as this, what*, obs. (dh) omitted in *this*, and (f) used for (wh).

8. *tell you*, never (teljɪ), the (j) always inserted.—*how*, the (ɦuu) is possibly an error for (ɦuu), as in No. 5.

9. *swore*, (sweerd) is rarely used.—*Sabbath* (səndə) is used, instead of *Sabbath clothes* they also say (ɦiz hee'nd koot) his hind or spare coat.—*close* or (drest).—*yon little road*, (dhon) is heard in Fi. and Ab.

10. *cowning and whining*, I don't find to *cown* in glossaries, (ɦimɔr) whimper means to cry.—*or a little wee lassie*, (pírɪ) is an old word for small, and occurs in D 42, (ən el-ne'tə,r,d lassɟi) an ill-natured small lass, is also used.

11. *from the back of the house*, or (throu e' jeerd) through the yard.

13. *more than this*, or (nər) may be used for than.

Notes to No. 8, *Dunrossness*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

1. *why*, the (wh) is forcibly uttered, but the sound is not quite (kəh); the (á'ɪ) is fine, very far from (ái) and

might be almost written (æ'i).—*Johnny*, the (ò) medial, as the vowels generally are, but the (n) not doubled;

final (i) pure, not (i).—*has*, on account of the want of emphasis both (h) and (ɛ) were rather indistinct, and (ɛz) would perhaps be nearer, not (ɛz, əz). *doubts*, the vowel medial in length; in many cases where I have used short or long vowels from the feeling of the moment, probably medial vowels would have been more correct.

1. *both*, the (th) quite distinct, not (t, d, dh), but occasionally (dhth) in the pause.—*this*, the (dɪs) was very distinct, though all Shetland writers use *dis*: this is probably the *i* of D 39, there explained.—*carès*, there, with distinct (ee) not (EE), no insertion of (v before (r), which was quite trilled, though not so strongly trilled as before vowels, or as in L. speech.

2. *they are*, this is a common contraction.—*do not*? For the distinctions (ə, ɔ, y) which Shetlanders generally write as *ü*, I give whatever struck my ear at the time, but of course I may have often been wrong.

3. *facts, case*, neither word is in gen. use, hence Miss M.'s own pron. was conjectural.—*till I am done*, (tɪl) almost (tel); (əm ɔm) unemphatic for I am; (dy,n), with a deeper (y), almost (ə), but with a difference difficult to determine.

4. *sure*, the vowel is very long.—*whole*, though not very long the vowel was not so short as medial.—*safe*, the fracture was very slight, but certain.—*enough*, the vowels were both marked and distinct, but the first is shorter and has the stress.

5. *father's*, the vowel might have been written (ce₁), it seemed to lie between (ce, EE).—*quær*, obs. the change of *qu* into (wh).—*skirling*, "crying with a shrill voice," *Jam. Dict.* R. Cogle also suggested (pesturin).—*him*, the aspirate never seems to disappear even in unemphatic syllables.

7. *two or three*, in the sense of a few, if strictly *two or else three* were meant an (or) would be inserted, thus (twartri) a few, (twaa or trii) two or else three.—*over, ought*, in these two words I recognised (ou), otherwise I generally heard (au, á'u).—*wrong*, the *w* with a distinct syllabic value, and the (æ) fully as fine as in s.England.

8. *how*, as far as I could ascertain this was the only word in which (h) was replaced by (t), and I do not under-

stand why (fuu) should have been used here and in No. 5, and not in No. 6 and No. 7. It is evident that (t) must arise from the older form *huw*, which also = why, in which sense also (fuu is used.—*calls*, Miss M. knew (KEEZ) best, Mr. Laurenson (kaaz).—*man*, obs. (mE'n) sg. and (mE'n) pl., the word *husband* is not used.

9. *own*, a slight fracture as in *safe*, par. 4.—*eyes*, (in) not (in'), vowel short.—*stretched*, this was the only word in which I observed dental (tɪ'). *road*, the vowel decidedly short; *lane* is not used in the country, in towns it is called a (kl'o's) close.

10. *in the dorts*, in the dumps; "DORT, s. pet, commonly in pl." *Jam. Dict.* Miss M. considered this paragraph the best Shetlandish of the whole version as far as words go.

11. *daughter*, those who affect English say (dakhter).—*they were been washing for they had been*, this is regular, the compound past tenses of *to be* are formed with *be* and not *have*, similarly *I am done* (əm dy,n) par. 3.

12. *kettle* or (bóiler) boiler.—*one*, (ü), R.C. wrote *ae*, implying (ee); obs. also (iin) in par. 14. The numerals are: (iin, twa, tri, fóur, fá'iv, sæks, siiv'n, akht, ná'iv, tE'n, eliiv'n, twel, twanti, hauder, thuuz'n).—*Thursday*, this seems to be the only word in which *th* becomes (t), compare Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, which make the same change.

13. *the time that is come*, the present time.—*do not*, (donə) here and in par. 14, but (dœnə) in par. 2. These variations depend upon the position of the words in a sentence, but no rule could be given.

14. *night* (ná'ikjht), obs. both the diphthong and the palatal, which I do not recollect elsewhere.—*thing*, this is one of the words which generally retains (th); but in pitying a child people will often say (pəər tEŋ) poor thing with a (t).

15. *shargs*, so Miss M. gave the word, saying that the *g* is generally preserved; here, however, she pron. (shEERks), and interpreted: scold, prattle, chatter. I cannot find the word in glossaries.—*hindmost*, (hɪn-mest) is also said.—*good-bye* is only said when parting for some time on a journey, but (sE læŋ) so long is a very usual farewell expression.

FIVE INTERLINEAR VERSIONS OF CHAP. I. OF THE BOOK OF RUTH.

Arranged to compare three characteristic Lowland Scotch with two characteristic English dialects, one M. and the other S.

1. D 33, *Teriotdale*, from the pal. version in Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. of Scotland*, p. 241, written by him from personal knowledge as a native. In this pal. Dr. M. introduces *é, é', é è* in a sense different from that which I assign to these symbols, I have therefore replaced them by (*e¹ e₁, e¹ e₁*). The notation is however still slightly different from that adopted in the Hawick cs., *suprà*, pp. 682, 684, which was written subsequently by Dr. Murray. The medial vowels are here written short for convenience.

2. D 35, *Ayr*, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Messrs. Heron Duncan and W. Duncan, and revised by Mr. Giffen, of whom more under D 35, printed in Dr. M.'s *DSS.*, p. 240, intended to represent the Central Group, D 34 to 37.

3. D 39, *Buchan*, ne.Ab., now called Deer and Ellon, beyond the rivers Dovern and Ythan, once a county by itself, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Forrest, and revised by his brother Mr. W. Forrest, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Melville Bell, by whom the sounds were written in Visible Speech characters. For further remarks on Buchan speech see under D 39.

4. D 25, *s.Ch.*, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington from personal knowledge as an illustration of his *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, and here transliterated into pal. from p. 97 of that work. For the characters of D 25, see p. 409, and Beckley dt., p. 411. The (r) was probably (r), although (r) was written.

5. D 10, *w.Sm.*, written in glossic by Mr. F. T. Elworthy from personal knowledge for the purpose of comparison with Nos. 1, 2, 3, printed in his *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*, p. 105, whence it was pal. by A.J.E., and finally corrected from Mr. Elworthy's dictation. See pp. 146 to 153.

1.	1	<i>Teriotdale</i> , D 33.	ná'u,	et	kam	əbu't	e)dhe)dee ₁ z
	2	<i>Ayr</i> , D 35.	nuu,	et	kam	əbu't,	'n)dhe)dee ¹ z
	3	<i>Buchan</i> , D 39.	nuu,	et	hap'nt		y)dhe)dee ¹ z
	4	<i>s.Cheshire</i> , D 25.	nái	it	apent		i)th diiz
	5	<i>w.Somerset</i> , D 10.	ne'u	et	vaald	e'ut	in dhee deez

1	kəhən	dhe	dʒədʒiz	rə'uld,	et	dhe	wəz	e		
2	kəhən	dhe	dʒədʒez	ruult,		dha't	dher	wəz	ə	
3	fʏn	dhe	dʒɪudʒez	ruu'lt,	et	dher	wyz	ə		
4	wen)th		dʒu _o dʒiz	wən	rə'ulɪn,	ez	dher	wəz	want	v
5	han	dhe	dʒə'dʒez	wəz	ɛryy ₁ 'vlin,	in)s	dher	wəz	v	

1	dærth	e)dhe)laand	en)e)sært'n	mæn	thræ			
2	dee ¹ rth	y)dhe)laan	ɛn)ə)sært'n	mæn	bilaqən	te		
3	fee ¹ men	y)dhe)laan.	yn dher wyz	e mæn	bilaqen	ty		
4	bred	i)th kə _o ntri,	ɛn v saartɪn	mon		v		
5	dærth	in dhe kən'tri.	ɛn)v)saartɪn	me'ven		o		

1	:bæthlem	:dʒə'udə	g'i'd	əwee ₁	te	bé'id	e	kəh'é:il
2	:bethləm	:dʒuudə,	gje'd	əwaa	te	ste'i	ə	kəhe'i:l
3	:bethlem	:dʒuudə ¹	gje'd		ty	bə'id	ə	fə'il
4	:be'thliəm	:dʒə'uudə	went			liv		
5	:bæthl'e'em	:dʒy ₁ de,	i ween	vúuuth	vər	tə	bá'id	

- 1 e)dhe)kən·tri ə :moob, he¹m, en)ez)wé'if, en)ez)twii'
 2 y)dhe)kyntrah ə :moob, hem, en)ez)wá'if ən)ez)twaa
 3 y)dhe)kwintre¹ ə :moob, hee¹m yn)yz)wá'if yn)yz)twaa
 4 i)th ku_ntri v :moob, im en iz wé'if en iz tæ'u
 5 in dhe kəntri v :moob, ii ded, en ez wá'if, en ez tyy₁

1 sənz.

2 sənz.

3 see¹nz.

4 su_nz vlu_qg widh im.

5 zə¹nz laaq)we)en.

2. 1 en dhe manz ni¹m wəz :eli·melek, en)dhe)kaad
 2 ən dhe nəm v dhe mən wəz :ilə·melek, en ez gjyd
 3 yn dhe manz ne¹m wyz :eli·melek, yn dhe kaad
 4 en th)mən)z niim wəz :eli·melek, en iz wé'ifs
 5 en dhi)ki me¹en wəz ekjaal :elə¹məlik, en ə¹z wá'iv

- 1 dhe gəd we'if :naoo·mi en dhe twii' kalənts
 2 wá'ifs ne¹m wəz :náoo·me, en dhe kaad ez ladəz
 3 yz wé'if :neoo·mi, yn dhe twaa ladiz
 4 niim wəz :nee)oo·má'i, en iz tæ'u ladz wən kaad
 5 ər wəz ekjaal :neoo·má'i, en ez tyy₁ bwóiz wəz ekjaa¹

- 1 :maakwhlen en :kil'ən, :ii'frethə'its
 2 :makhlən ən :kil'n :e·frəthə'its
 3 :meelen yn :kil'ən :ee¹frethə'its
 4 :maalen en :tjil'ən, en dhi) wən aa ən em :iifrethə'its
 5 :méelen en :tjə¹l'ən, dhe wəz aal o¹)m :ee¹frethə'its

- 1 thrə :bæthlem :dʒə'udə. en dhe kam entə dhe
 2 ə :bethləm :dʒuudə. ən dhe kam ent¹l dhe
 3 fi :bethlem :dʒuudə¹. yn dhe kam ent¹l dhe
 4 áit v :be·thli'em :dʒə'udə en dhi) kə'um intə)th
 5 E'ut o :bæthle'em :dʒyydə en dhe kamd intə dhe

- 1 kəntri ə :moob, en bed dhii'r.
 2 kyntrah ə :moob, en stá'it dheer.
 3 kwintre¹ ə :moob, yn be¹d dheer.
 4 ku_ntri v :moob, en dhier dhi) meed'n dher wəm.
 5 kəntri v :moob en dhéer dhe bá'id.

3. 1 en :eli·melek, :naoo·miz gədmən déid, en shə wəz
 2 ən :ilə·melek, :naoo·mez gjyɔdman diit, ən shy wəz
 3 yn :eli·melek, :neoo·miz man diit, yn shi) wyz
 4 en :eli·melek, im ez wəz u_zbend tə :nee)oo·má'i déid,
 5 en :eelə¹məlik, dhat)s dh)azben v :nee)oo·má'i zo tə

- 1 læft wə dhe twi' laadz.
- 2 læft hæ'n ɛr twaa kæ'nz.
- 3 læft yn ɛr twaa see'nz.
- 4 ɛn soo æ'u wɛz læft bi' ɛrse'l, ɛr ɛn ɛr tæ'u laɔz.
- 5 spæek ii dá'id; ɛn ɛr wɛz elæ'f, ɛr waaɔ, ɛn ɛr
tyy₁ zə'nz læaq)wɛ'ɛr.

4. 1 ɛn dhe_{ee}₁ tæk dhɛrsɛlz wɛ'ivz θræ maq dhe wəmin
- 2 ɔn dhe^l tæk dhɛrsɛlz wɛ'ivz v,dhe wimɛn
- 3 yn dhe merɛt wɣmɛn bilæqɛn ty dhe kwintre^l
- 4 ɛn dhe tæ'uk'n éitɣ ɛn ɛm v :moob wu_omɛn fɛr dhɛr
- 5 ɛn dhe tæ₁kt dhɛrɔzɔlz v wá'iv v piis, é'ut v dhe wəmin

- 1 ə :moob, dhe nɛ'm ə)dhe)ti'n wɛz :ɔrpə, ɛn dhe nɛ'm
- 2 ə :moob, dhe nɛm ə)dhe)jɛn wɛz :ɔrpə, ɔn dhe nɛm
- 3 ə :moob, dhe nɛ'm ə)dhe)ti'n wɣz :ɔrpɛ^l, ɛn dhe nɛ'm
- 4 wɛ'if; t)ɔnz niim wɛz :aarpɛ ɛn t,u_odhɛrɔz wɛz :ræ'uth;
- 5 v :moob, waaɔ v dhe wɛz ɛkjaa'l :aarpɛ, ɛn dhe t)ædher

- 1 ə)dhe)tædher :ræθ, ɛn dhe bɛd dhii'r dhe fææk ə
- 2 ə)dhe ydher :ruth; ɔn dhe stæ'it dheer dhe fææk v
- 3 ə)dhe tidher wɣz :ruth, ɛn dhe dwalt dhe'r niir əbut
- 4 ɛn dhi' livd i dhat ku_ontri ɛbá'it tɛn iɛr.
- 5 o)'m wɛz ɛkjaa'l :Ræθ, ɛn dhe liivd in dhiki plɛs

- 1 tæɛn iir.
- 2 tɛn iir.
- 3 tɛn iir.
- 4
- 5 bɛ'ud v tɛn jær.

5. 1 dhan :maakwɛlɛn ɔn :kiliɛn déid tæ, bi'th dhe
- 2 ɔn :mæklɛn ɛn :kil'n diit tee^l, bee'th
- 3 yn :meɛlɛn yn :kiliɛn bee^ldh diit tii',
- 4 ɛn :maalen ɛn :tɣiljɛn déid ɛz wɛl,
- 5 ɛn :mɛ'ɛlɛn ɛn :tɣæ^llɛn dhe dá'id tyy₁ dhe

- 1 twi' ə dhɛm; ɛn dhe wəmin wɛz læft ɛr li'n,
- 2 ə dhɛm; ɔn dhe wəmin wɛz læft əlɛn,
- 3 yn dhe wə'if wɣz læft ɛr li'n,
- 4 bæ'uth ɔn ɛm; soo dhe wu_omɛn wɛz læft ɔɔ elæ'in,
- 5 báudh o)'m; ɛn so dh')ɛmin wɛz elæ'f ɛdhe'ut

- 1 wə nɛdher bɛrn nɛr mæn bilæqɛn ɛr.
- 2 wɣ nɛɛ'dher mæn nɛr wɛɛn.
- 3 wɣthut ɛɛ'dher bɛ'rn ɔr mæn.
- 4 nái ɛr tæ'u su_onz ɛn ɛr ɔ'ud mɛn wɛn gɛn dɣɛd.
- 5 ædɛr wæn ɛv ɛr tyy₁ zə'nz ɛr it ɛr æzɔn.

6. 1 dhan shə ree¹z əp, her en er twii' gəd dokhterz,
 2 dhen shy ree¹z wy ər twaa gjyd dookhterz,
 3 dhen shi got əp wii er gwid daatherz,
 4 dhen æ'u got u_op wi ər də'uter in laaz
 5 dhan ər gaat ap we ər daarterlaaz

- 1 te gaq hēm əgi'n thræ dhe laand
 2 fər te gjæq əwaa hēm fe dhe kyntrah
 3 ty gjæq he'm əgje'n fi dhe kwintre¹
 4 fər goo bak áit vth ku_ntri
 5 in)s ər mə'd gə₁ bak vgi'en vrəm dhiki kantri

- 1 ə :moob, for shə ed hard e dhe kəntri ə :moob,
 2 ə :moob, fər shyy'd hard tel y dhe kyntrah ə :moob,
 3 ə :moob, fər shii'd hard tel y dhe kwintre¹ ə :moob,
 4 v :moob, fər æ'u'd ierd wel æ'u wez dhier, vth
 5 v :moob, vər ər'd vər'd

- 1 hau ət dhe :loord hed ləkit æfter ez
 2 dha't dhe :loord had tee'n thookht te ez
 3 et dhe :loord hyd luket efr)yz
 4 ái dhe :laard v^d teen éid en iz oon
 5 E'u dhet dhe :la'urd v^d teed emá'inded ə'z oon

- 1 fu'k, en gin dhem brid.
 2 fək, ən gin dhem brid.
 3 fək, yn gin dhem brid.
 4 fooks, en v^d gjem em bred.
 5 vöks, in gi'in o)m breed.

7. 1 sii' shə gi'd əwe₁ ut thræ dhe pl's vth shə
 2 see' shy gjed əwaa fe dhe ple's kwhaar shy
 3 yn shii gjed ut ə dhe ple's faar shi
 4 en soo æ'u staartid əf áit vth plis wéier æ'u
 5 zo ər ween vth E'ut v dhiki ple's wər ər

- 1 wəz ət, ən dhe twii' gəd dokhterz əla'q wə)r;
 2 wəz stop'n, wy ər twaa gjyd dookhterz əla'q wyy)r;
 3 wyz, her 'n er twaa gwid daatherz wii,er;
 4 wəz, en ər te'u də'uter in laaz əlu_oqg widh ər;
 5 wəz, en ər ty₁ daarterlaaz laq)we) ər

- 1 en dhe tək dhe gi't te gaq bak te dhe
 2 ən dhe tək dhe wə'i te gjæq əwaa bak hēm te dhe
 3 yn dhe tuk dhe gjæ't bak vgi'e'n t'l dhe
 4 en dhi gət'n vth rood fər ku_m bak tth
 5 en dhe weent aan pen dhe rhoed vər tth gə₁ bak te dhe

- 1 laand ə :dʒʊ'udə.
 2 laand ə :dʒuude.
 3 laan ə :dʒuude¹.
 4 land ɐ :dʒə'udə.
 5 læn ɐ :dʒyɪdɐ.

8. 1 dhæn kwə :naoo'mi tæ er twi' gəd dokwhterz :
 2 dhæn :naoo'me sed te ɛr twaa gjyd dookhterz :
 3 yn :neoo'mi sed t'i er twaa gwid daatherz :
 4 ɛn :neejoar'mái sed tɛ ɛr tə'u də'uter-in-laaZ :
 5 ɛn :neoo'mái'i zed ty₁ ɛr tyɪ₁ daarterlaaz :

- 1 "gaq əwee₁! gi' bak elk jæn o)i te ir ee₁n
 2 "gjeq əwaa! bak elk ɛn e)jə te jær
 3 "gjeq əwaa! ɛn gje bak bee¹dh ə)ji ty jir ee¹n
 4 "ku_om, goo jær wiiz bak, bæ'ueth ɛn)ji te jær
 5 "gə₁! gə₁ bak eetj wan o)i tɛ jær

- 1 mædherz hus! dhe :loord béi gəd te)i ez ii)v
 2 mydherz hus! ɛn dhe :loord bi gjyd te)jə ɔz ji' he
 3 mädherz hus! dhe :loord bi gwid ty)jɛ ɔz ji' he
 4 mu_odherz áis, dhe :laard déivl kéindli wi ji ez jee)n
 5 madherz ɛ'uz! dhe :la'erd de'vɫ ká'inli laaq)wee)i,

- 1 bin gəd te méi, ɛn te dhem et)s gi'n.
 2 bin gjyd te mii, ɛn te dhem dhaht)s əwaa.
 3 bin ty mii, yn ty dhe¹m et)s əwaa.
 4 delt wi dhem ez bin dʒed, ɛn wi méi.
 5 se'em)s jyy₁)v vde¹ved laq we dhee dhet bi deed, ɛn
 laq)we)mii.

9. 1 dhe :loord grant et ii mæ fend ræst, elk in o)i
 2 dhe :loord gii jə te fən rest bee¹th e)jə
 3 dhe :loord grant jɛ, ɔt ji me fen rest, elke in y)jɛ
 4 dhe :laard grant ji te fáind rest bæ'ueth on ji
 5 dhe :la'erd grant)i, in)s i mə'd vá'in ras, eetj wan)o)i

- 1 e ir ee₁n hus, wə e mən ə ir ee₁n." dhæn
 2 wy ə hus ɛn ə mæn ə jær aan." dhæn
 3 wy ə man yn ə hus y jir ee¹n." sə'in
 4 i jær u₁zbendz áis." dhæn
 5 in dh)ɛ'uz ɐ jær ɛzben." dhæn

- 1 shə kest dhem, ɛn dhe bigə'd ə-grit'in lud ɛn see₁r.
 2 shy kest dhym, ɛn dhe bigu'd ə-grit'in ɛn grat seer seer.
 3 shi kest dhem, yn dhe roort yn grat.
 4 ə'u kist ɛm, ɛn dhi oop'nt áit ɛn skrúkt.
 5 ɛr kiist ɛn, ɛn dhe lefted ap dher va¹is ɛn weepud.

10. 1 en dhe sæd tel)er: “æ·bæt, wéi)l gaq hïem
 2 ən dhe sæd te)er: “naa! naa! wi)l gjæq
 3 yn dhe sæd t'l)er: “ee·byt! wii)l gjeq he'm
 4 en dhe sed'n, “wéi)n saart'inli goo wi)jē bak
 5 en dhe zed te ær: “shúvrlá'i wi wul gæ₁ bak

1 wə jæ'u tə ir ee₁n fu'k!”
 2 we jə bak te jər frinz!”
 3 wy jē ty juur føk!”
 4 tē juur ku_ntrifooks.”
 5 laq)wē)i tē jiiēr vōks!”

11. 1 bæt :naoo·mi sæd: “tærn əg'i'n mæ dokchterz!
 2 ən :naoo·mi sæd: “ji man tærn mæ dookchterz!
 3 yn :neoo·mi sæd: “gjeq bak əgje'n my dakhterz!
 4 en :nee)oo·mái sæd: “tærn ji bak egjen mi d'uterz, en
 5 en :neoo·mi zed: “tærn jærzælz bak egien, mi daarterz;

1 kəhat wad ii gaq wə méi for?
 2 kəhat fər wəd ji gjæq wy mii?
 3 fat wyd ji dii', gjaan wy mii?
 4 goo jər wiiz; wət)'n ji want goo elu_og wi méi fer?
 5 wa)d)i wish vēr gæ₁ laq)ō)mii var?

1 em aa gaan tə hææ oni mi' bernz te béi mæn
 2 dyj jə theqk aa)'l hee one mee'r wee'nz te bii laadz
 3 ym áai gjaan ty hee' oni mee'r be'rnz ty bi mæn
 4 iz dher ani mæ'uer su_nz i)mi wu_om jet tē béi jər
 5 ə'z ər ə'ni múēr zə'nz in má'i ə₁m ne'u in)s dhe mæ'd

1 for i?
 2 tē jə?
 3 t'l jē?
 4 u_ōzbendz?
 5 kaam vēr tē bi jər æzbenz?

12. 1 tærn bæk, mæ dokchterz, gaq ir
 2 gjæq əwaa, mæ dookchterz, gjæq jər aan
 3 gjeq bak, my dakhterz, gjeq jir
 4 tærn ji bak egjen, mi d'uterz, goo jər
 5 tærn jærzælz bak egien, má'i daarterz, gæ₁ jər óörn

1 wee₁z, for aa)m our aald te hææ v
 2 gjæt, fər aa)m faar æ'ur aal tē hee ənydher gjyd
 3 waa'z, fər aa)m æ'ur aal ty hee' ənidher
 4 wiiz, fər ái)m tæ'u ə'ud tē av v
 5 weez, vēr ái bi tyy₁ ool vēr t)ee'v v

1 man.	ef	aa	wəz	te	see,	“aa)v	
2 man.	ən	gʷn	aa	shyd	see,	“aa	hee
3 man.		gʷn	áai	syd	see ^t ,	“áai	he ^t
4 u _o zbend.	iv	ái	wəz	te	sii,	“ai)m	i gu _o d
5 azben.	nif	á'i	wəz	vər	zee, e'u	“á'i)v	vgat

1 hǽp,”	æ'i,	en	ef	aa)d		e	man
2 hoop,”	ææ,	ən	gʷn	áa'	həd	ə	man
3 hǽ'ups,”	áai,		gʷn	áai	syd	hee ^t	ənidher man
4 bi'oops,”		iv	a	wəz	te av	e	u _o zbend
5 oops,”	nif	á'i	wes	t)E'v		e	azben,

1	dhes	væ:rə	nekjht,	en	wəz	te	hæ	bərnz	əs	wil,		
2	dhe		nekht,	ən	həd	sənz	tee ^t ,					
3	dhe		nekht,	yn	syd	he ^t	be ^t rnz	əs	wil,			
4	dhis	veri	néit,	en	beer	su _o nz	en	aa,				
5	tyy,	dhiez	vəri	neet,	en	if	á'i	wəz	vər	te	béer	zə'nz,

13.	1	wad)i	wə't	on	dhem	kʷhəl	dhe	grə'u	əp?	
	2	wad)jə	wət	fər	dhem	təl	dhe	həd	grə'un	əp?
	3	wyd)ji	wə'it	fər	dhem	t'l	dhe	wyr	grə'uən	əp?
	4	wu _o d ji	wiit	on	əm	dhen	dhi	wən	groom	u _o p?
	5	wə'd jy ₁	wə'it	var)en		gə'n	dhe	wəz	ugróed	ap?

1	wad)i	stéi	thræ	hææ'in		mæn	for	
2	wad)ji	kip	fe	taak'n		mən	fər	wə't'n
3	wyd)ji	bə'id	fi	tak'n	idher	mən	ty	wə'it
4	wu _o d ji	stəp	fər)em	en	béi	báit	u _o zbendz?	
5	wə'd jy ₁	staap	vər	dhee	vrem	ee'in	e	azbenz?

1	dhem?	naa!	naa!	mæ	dokwhterz,	for	aa)m	see'r	
2	ən	dhem?	naa!	naa!	mæ	dookhterz,	fər	aa'm	
3	fər	dhem?	naa!	naa!	my	dakhterz,	fər	aa'm	see'r
4		mi,		mi	də'uterz,	fər	aa)m	teerb'l	
5		noo!		má'i	daarterz,	vər	ət		

1	vækst		for	jə'ur	sí'ks,	et	dhe	haand		
2	gə'i	ən	pət	əbut	fər	juur	səks,	dha't	dhe	haan
3	vækst		ən	juur	əkunts,	ət	dhe	haan		
4	gréivd		fər	jeeer	siiks	ez	dh)ənd			
5	griivth	mi	təreb'l	vər	jí'vər	sé'ks,	e'u	dhət	dh)ən	

1	ə	dhe	:loord	hez	gʷ'n	sii'	əgi'n	ez."	
2	ə	dhe	:loord	hyz	gjen	se	see'r	əgjenst	mi."
3	y	dhe	:loord	hyz	gje'n	əgje'n	my	se ^t	mək'l."
4	e	dhv	:laard)z	gən	áit	vgen	mi."		
5	e)	dhv	:la'vrd)z	vgə ^t	e'ut	vgə'n	mi."		

14. 1 en dhe kráid ut lud, en grat əgʷ'n, ən
 2 sá'in dhe bigur'd ə-grit'n əgjen, ən
 3 yn dhe bigur'd v-grit'n əgje'n, yn
 4 en dhi líftid u_op dher váis en skráikt egen, en
 5 en dhe lefted ap dher vá'is, en weeped egen, en

- 1 :orpə kest er gəd mǎdher, bat
 2 :orpə kest ər gjyd mydher, ən gjəd əwaa, bat
 3 :orpə kest ər gwid mǎdher, byt
 4 :ARpə kíst er mu_odher-in-laa, be
 5 :ARpə kiist er mǎdher-laa, bet

- 1 :rəth haq béi)er.
 2 :ruth haq tee)er.
 3 :ruth wyd)ne gjeq əwaa fi)er.
 4 :rə'uth u_oq tə'u er.
 5 :rə₁th er kleevəd ty₁ er.

15. 1 en shə sed: "sái, ir gəd sester)z gi'n əwe₁
 2 ən shy sed: "lək-sii, jər gjyd syster hys gjən əwaa
 3 yn shi sed: "luk, jir gwid sester hys gj'e'n
 4 en ə'u sed: "si)dhí, dhi syster-in-laa)z gən
 5 en ər zes: "lə₁k)i, zii, ə'u dhi zə'ster-laa)z egə₁

- 1 liem tə)er ee₁n fu'k, en tə)er goodz;
 2 bak tə)er fok, ən tə)er goodz,
 3 bak t'l)er ee'n fok, yn t'l er goodz,
 4 bak tə er oon ku_ontri fooks en er oon gədz;
 5 bak ty₁ er vòks, en ty₁ er gadz;

- 1 gi' wee₁ jə'u tə əfter)ir gəd sester."
 2 gjæq juu əwaa æftr)er.
 3 gjeq ii bak eftr)er.
 4 goo dhi wiiz bak egen afte_r dhi syster-in-laa."
 5 dy₁i ne'u gə₁ bak aader dhi zə'ster-laa.

16. 1 en :rəth sed: "oo, de)nə trit on)əs te
 2 ən :ruth sed: "de)nə aask mə tə gjæq əwaa
 3 ən :ruth sed: "de)nə sik my ty gjeq əwaa
 4 en :rə'uth sed: "du_o)nə beg v mi tə
 5 en :rə₁th zed: "doo)ni bæg)omi vər tə

- 1 liiv)i, or tə gaq bak thre kamin æfter)i, for
 2 fe)ə, or tə tərn bak ən nōo gjæq wy)ə, fər
 3 fi)ə, or ty gjeq bak fi folə)en)ə, for
 4 liiv)ə er tə goo bak frəm fə)ə)n afte_r ə; fər
 5 lef)i, er vər tə gə₁ bak vrem vaali)in aader)i; vər

1 *kʷer* ever ʷii *gaq* aa)l *gaq*, en *kʷhee*₁rʷii
 2 *kʷer* *yver* juu *gʷæq* aa)l *gʷæq*, ən *kʷer* juu
 3 *faar* ii *gʷeq* aa)l *gʷeq* tii', *yn* *faar* ii
 4 *wʷier* juo *gən* ái)l *goo*, en *wʷier* juo
 5 *wʷer*ʷə'vʷer jʷy₁ de *gəə*₁ aa)l *gə*₁ tʷy₁; en *wʷer* jʷy₁ de

1 *bé*'id aa)l *bé*'id; juur *fu*'k)l *béi* *maa* *fu*'k en
 2 *bə*'id aa)l *bə*'id; juur *fək* əl *bii* *maa'* *fək* ən
 3 *bə*'id aa)l *bə*'id; juur *fək*)l *bii* *máai* *fək* *yn*
 4 *ləd*'n, *ái* *ləd*; juor *fooks*)s'n *bi* *mái* *fooks*, en
 5 *lad*ji aa)l *lad*ji tʷy₁; jóer *vöks*)shel *bii* *mái* *vöks*, en

1 juur :good *maa* :good.
 2 juur :good *maa'* :good.
 3 juur :good *máai* :good.
 4 juor :gəd *mái* :gəd.
 5 jóer :gəd *mái* :gəd.

17. 1 *kʷhee*₁r ʷii *déi* aa)l *déi*, en *béi* *led* e *dhe*
 2 *kʷer* juu *dii* aa)l *dii*, ən *bi* *led* y *dhe*
 3 *faar* ii *dii* aa)l *dii*, *yn* *bi* *byrit* *dhee*'r
 4 *wʷier* juo *déin*, ái)l *déi*, en *dh*'ier
 5 *wʷer* jʷy₁ de *dái* a)l *dái* en *dhe*'er

1 *gr*'i'v *dh*'i'r əsé'id)i: *dhe* :loord *də* *si*' te *méi*
 2 *ɔ*'rth əsə'id)jə. ən *dhe* :loord *dyy* *ty* *mii* əs
 3 *tii'* *dhe* :loord *dii* *see*' *ty* *mii*,
 4 a)l *bi* *ber*'id; *dhe* :laard *də*'u *soo* te *méi*,
 5 aa)l *bi* *əb*'er'id, *dhe* :la'erd *d*y₁ *zə* te *mi*

1 en *mee*₁r ef *ok*'ht *bət*
 2 *mək*'l, *æ*'ə, ən *mee*'r *tee*'l, ef *one* *theq* *bət*
 3 *dai*, *yn* *mee*'r *tii'*, *gjin* *əkht* *byt*
 4 en *mə*'vʷer en aa, *iv* *óut* *bə*
 5 en *mó*ʷer tʷy, *nif* *ó*ʷert *bəd*

1 d'th *kəm* *ətwin* *ɔ*'u en *méi*!"
 2 de'th *pə*'rts *əs*!"
 3 deth *pert* juu *yn* *mii*."
 4 dɛth *paarts* juo en *méi*."
 5 dæth *də* *pə*'ert jʷy₁ en *mii*!"

18. 1 *kʷhən* *shə* *saa* *ət* *shə* *wəz* *sət* on *ə-ga*qin
 2 *kʷhən* *shy* *saa* *dha*'t *shy*)d *feerli* *məd* *ap* *ər* *má*'in *tə* *gʷæq*
 3 *fyn* *shi* *saa* *ət* *shi* *wyz* *bent* on *gjaan*
 4 *wen* *ə*'u *séid* *ət* *ái* *ə*'u *wəz* *set* *əp* *gə*'u)in
 5 *han* *er* *ziid* *ə*'u *ər* *wəz* *vəl* *má*'indəd *vʷer*

1 wæ)r, shə gæ óur spi'kin tel)er.
 2 wyy or, shy left af spik'n tee)er.
 3 wi)er, dhən shi gje á'u:á'r spik'n t'l er əbut it.
 4 wið er, dhən æ'u gen oor tAAK'n tæ'u er.
 5 g₁ lAAQ)wee)er, dhoo er læf oof speekin ty₁ er

19. 1 sii' dhe twii'sam gi'd, t'l dhe kam te :bæthlem,
 2 see¹ dhe twAA gjed on, tæl dhe kam te :bæthlöm,
 3 see¹ dhe gje'd on dhegidher, t'l dhe kam ty :bethlem,
 4 soo dhi went'n bæ'ueth ən um tegjedher tən dhi kæ'umin
 5 zoo dhe ty₁ went vLAAQ, gin dhe KAAM te :bæthléem,

1 en kəhən dhe wan te :bæthlem, kəhat bat
 2 ən kəhən dhe wan te :bæthlöm,
 3 yn fyn dhe kam ty :bethlem,
 4 te :bethlöm. en soo it kæ'um vbat)at ez wen dhi wen
 5 en et apt in)s dhe wuz vKAAM te :bæthléem, dhət

1 dhe hiel tun wəz en)e stiir əbut dhem; en kwə dhe₁,
 2 dhe hee¹ tun wəz en)ə stiir əbut dhem; en dhe sed te
 3 dhe hee¹ tun wyz yn)ə stiir əbut dhem; yn dhe sed
 4 ku_om'n te :bethlöm, dher wuz v stər i)dh æ'u:el tain vbat)it
 5 dhe wool sət)i wuz vZAAT ap vbe'ud)em, en dhe zed,

1 "ez dhes :naoo'mi, theqk we?"
 2 jen ənydher, "es dhat :naoo'me?"
 3 "kyn dhes bi :neoo'mi?"
 4 em, en fooks wen sii)in: "iz dhis :nee)oo'mái?"
 5 "ə'z dhə'shJA'R :neoo'mái?"

20. 1 en shə sez te dhem: "de)nə kaa méi :naoo'mi,
 2 ən shyy sed ty dhem: "de)nə kAA mi :naoo'me,
 3 yn shi sed ty dhem: "de)ne kaa mi :neoo'mi,
 4 en æ'u sed tæ'u em: "du_o)n v kAA mi :nee)oo'mái,
 5 en er zed ty)em "doo)n)i kjaal mi :neoo'mái,

1 kaa)me :maa'rə, for dhe :alme'kjhti hez
 2 byt kAA)mi :maa'rə, fər dhe :alme'khti həs
 3 kaa)my :maare¹, fər wil)a)wə'it dhe :alme'khti hyz
 4 kAA mi :mee'və: fər :gəð :AAMái)ti v
 5 kjaal mi :mE'və, kəz dh) :AAlmái)ti)th

1 di'lt wə)me vərə beteri.
 2 delt wi)mi gə'i ən beteri.
 3 delt wy)my beteri yn)ukh.
 4 delt veri bitur wi mi.
 5 vde'vled tərbb'l bə'ter lAAQ we)mi.

21. 1 *aa* *gid* ut *fá'u* en dhe :loord hez brokuht
 2 *aa* *gjed* ut *fuu*, en dhe :loord hez bræq
 3 *aa* *gje'd* ut *fuu*, *yn* dhe :loord)z brokht
 4 *a* went áit *fuo*_l, en dhe :laard)z brø'ut
 5 á'i weent E'ut *və*_l en wool en dhe :la'erd)dh vbraat

- 1 *me* hēm təm: hā'u wad i *kaa*)me
 2 *mi* hēm əgjen tɨm: kəhət wā'i wad jə *kaa* 'mi
 3 *my* hē'm tɨym: fuu *kaa* mi
 4 *mi* wəm egen empi. wət)n *ji* *kaa* mi
 5 *mi* a'm egien eempti ænded: wā'i)d)i *kjaal* mi

- 1 :naoo'mi, sen dhe :loord hez
 2 *naoo*'me dhyn, syn dhe :loord hyz
 3 :neoo'mi, sen dhe :loord)z
 4 :nee)oo'má'i fer, kensí'derín á'i dhe :laard)z gen
 5 :neoo'má'i dhæn? VAAR i de zii E'u dhe :la'erd)dh

- 1 watnest əgi'n me, en dhe :almekjhti hez gin
 2 tæstifit əgjenst mi, en dhe :alme'khti hæz bin
 3 watnest əgje'n my, yn dhe :alme'khti hyz bin
 4 wít'ns egen mi, en á'i :gød :AAMÁ'i'ti)z
 5 utæstifá'id egin mi, en dh) :AALMÁ'i'ti)th

- 1 *me* see_r træb'l."
 2 see_r on mi?"
 3 se^l see_r əpə'mi?"
 4 a'mild [= 'ill-treated, abused, overworked,' *Glossary*] mi.
 5 eflæktəd mi.

22. 1 *si'* :naoo'mi kəm hēm, en :rəth dhe
 2 see^l :naoo'me kəm bak, ən :ruth dhe
 3 see^l :neoo'mi kəm hē'm, yn :ruth dhe
 4 en soo :nee)oo'má'i kə'um bak, en :rø'uth dhø
 5 zoo :neoo'má'i ween bak, en rə'th dhø

- 1 :moobé'ites, her gəd dokuhter wəə)r,
 2 :moobə'ites, ər gjyd dookhter əlæ'q wyy)r,
 3 :moob la's, her gwid daather wi)er,
 4 :moob wu_omən, ɐr də'uter-ín-laa wídh ɐr,
 5 :moobá'i'tis, ɛr daartərlaa laq wee)er,

- 1 ·her et kəm ut e dhe kəntri ə :moob;
 2 ·hər ət kəm ut ə dhe kyntrah ə :moob;
 3 ·her yt kəm fi dhe kwəntre^l y :moob;
 4 ɛr wət kə'um bak áit v)th :moob kuntri.
 5 wat ɛd ekəm bak· E'ut o dhe kəntri o :moob;

1	en	kʷhən	dhe	kam	te	:bæthlem,	et	wæz	ɛbut
2	ən	kʷhən	dhe	kam	te	:bæthləm	et	wæz	niir baa'
3	yn		dhe	kam	t'l	:bæthlem	'n		
4	en		dhi	kə'um	te	:bæthlɛm	dʒu _o st	ɛt)th	fəst
5	en		dhe	kam	te	:bæthlɛv'm	dʒə's	te	

1	dhe	fuu'r	ænd	ə	dhe	baarli	hærst.
2	dhe	foor	een	ə	dhe	baarle	hee'rst.
3	dhe	bige'nen		ə	dhe	baarli	hee'rst.
4		staart		ɛ)th		baarli	aarvist.
5	dhe	bigi'nin		v		baarli	ar'vɛs.

D 33. = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*.

Boundary. Begin on the Tweed by Carham near Coldstream on the nw. angle of Nb. Follow the Tweed by Kelso, Rx., and Melrose, to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb. Then turn sw. along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, Se. Continue along the border of Pb. and Lk. to Queensberry Hill, Df., at the s. of Lk. Then go s. and se. to e. of Dumfries, to Caerlaverock on the Solway Frith. Continue along the s. coast of Df., to join the s.L. line 10 (p. 21), and continue along that line to the starting-place, Carham.

The s. boundary here differs from that assigned by Dr. Murray, which at Gretna, Df., turns n., and goes w. of Langholm, Df., when it turns e. along the Cheviots to Peel Fell, and then crosses into Nb. almost as far as Otterburn, Nb., whence it turns n. to the Cheviot Hill itself, and then follows the Nb. b. to Carham. The part of D 33 which is thus excluded by Dr. M. as part of England lying between his s. b. and mine, I will distinguish as Var. i, the rest of the district being Var. ii. Dr. Murray's exclusion of V. i makes Canobie (6 s. Langholm), and Liddesdale, together with Bewcastle to Longtown, Cu., English and not L. It seems that the inhabitants regard these s. parts as English in character, just as the speech about Carlisle and Brampton, Cu., is called Scotch by the natives. Both conceptions are incorrect as will be seen. To keep my division distinct from Dr. M.'s, I have, as just stated, erected two varieties, his English L. being V. i, and his Scotch L. being V. ii. But so far as I have been able to obtain information, there seems to be no real difference in speech between these two varieties.

Area. In England a strip of the n. of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviots. In Scotland, Rx., Se. and e. and m. Df. Or, as Dr. M. expresses it (DSS. p. 80), "the dales of the Teviot, the Esk, and the Anna, the Ettrick and the Yarrow," to which I add that of the Liddle, which he excludes. The n. b. separating D 33 from D 34 is indistinct. The w. b. dividing Df. is very sharp.

Authorities. Dr. J. A. H. Murray's "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," 1873 (abbreviated to DSS.), with the pron. in systematic spelling or palaeotype, is the principal authority, and he has given me much additional information by word of mouth. This is one of the very few books which conveys trustworthy accounts of pron.

Mr. A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech contains several sentences in this dialect, dictated by Dr. M., and afterwards transliterated into pal. by me, and corrected for this work by Mr. A. Melville Bell, his son, Prof. A. Graham Bell (now of telephonic celebrity), and Dr. Murray, by word of mouth in conclave, 13 June,

1868. Similar sentences from other dialects inserted in Visible Speech were corrected in the same way by the same persons, at the same time, and will be referred to hereafter.

See also the Alphabetical County Lists for Scotland, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., ‡ per JGG., || per Dr. Murray, ° io.

Cu. ‡ Bewcastle to Longtown, ° Longtown.

Sc. ‡ Selkirk town.

Rr. || Hawick, ‡ Liddlesdale Head, ‡ Roxburgh town, ‡ Teviotdale Head, * Yetholm.

Characters. The vowel system is described by Dr. M. in DSS. pp. 103–117. See *Introd. to Hawick es.*, p. 682. He considers it to be (1*i*, 2*i*, 3*i'*, 4*e*, 5*e*, 6*æ*, 7*a*, 8*ɑ*, 9*o*, 10*u'*, 11*u*, 12*ə*), and those are the vowel signs which are used in his *Hawick es.* [except that in the *es.* (*i'*₁, *u'*₁) are used for (*i'*, *u'*)], the *Ruth chap. i.*, and the *ewl.*, p. 716. In unaccented syllables, however, he employs (ə), for which in the *cwl.* (v) has been used. This analysis is rather rough, and he has supplemented it by additional observations, here abstracted. The vowels are generally medial in length, and should therefore be written (i̇ i̇ i̇') etc., as in the *Hawick es.*, but this grave accent is generally dispensed with. Occasionally they are long, and are then much longer than in English, and should be written (i̇̇, i̇̇̇) etc., but this grave accent indicating the drawl is also usually omitted.

1. (i), the pure Fr. and It. sound, even when short (medial) in closed syllables, in which case it sounds as (ii) to an English ear. Stopped and medial in length (sik, fit, dip, lin, tist) seek, feet, deep, lean, feast, before voiceless consonants and (l, m, n). Brief, and generally really short, in prefixes, as (hila'q, dimi'n, rig'e'rd) belong, demean, regard. Long, when final accented, as (wii, ii) wee, ye, or before (r, z, dh, v), as (wiir, liiz, miidhz, diiv, weir, leeze, meethes, deeve (in Dr. M.'s spelling). The medial (i) case is the only one which offers difficulty to an Englishman. It seems also to occur final, see (*i*).

2. (i), Dr. M., in deference to the opinions of Mr. Melville Bell and myself, admits (i) in final accented syllables, but Dr. M. himself inclines to (i) in such cases. I think in my own case the (i) arose from a misapprehension, and a confusion of D 33 with D 34. JGG. used (i^l) in such cases for D 33, which is practically not easily separable from (i). If this latter view is correct, (i) does not exist in D 33, except as part of the next vowel.

3. (i'), this is a decided fracture, the same as (i̇v) in D 30, but the second element is far more fugitive in D 33, and hence I reduce it to (') in writing. The fracture is so rapidly pron. that the (') is scarcely heard in closed syllables as *beat* (bi't), so that the effect is almost like (i₁, e^l). At Liddlesdale Head JGG. used (i₁y, ee^lv, ii.v), and finally (i₁e^o) for this fracture. I had often great difficulty in separating the sound from (ii₁, ee^l) in Dr. M.'s own pron. At the beginning of a word the (i') develops into (i̇v, i̇é, i̇á'), the latter being more recent forms, as (i'n, Jen) one, written ane. D 33 differentiates many words as (i, i'), thus (mil, mi'l) meal flour, and meal repast; (sin, si'n) seen, scene, (hil, hi'l) heel, heal, (bit, bi't) beet, beat, (fit, fi't) feet, feat.

4. (e), this is rather (e) to my ear, Dr. M. considers it an opener sound than Fr. é. It is perfectly simple and has no tendency to fall into (e'j) with a vanish, as in English. It occurs both long and stopped (medial) in D 33, as (wæe, bædh, wæe; wèt, tēl) were, bathe, way; wait tail, these last two words being quite different from Engl. wet, tell.

5. (e). Here there is considerable difficulty. The sound is not (ɛ), but Dr. M. considers it to be the received (e) as used in London (net, men) as distinguished from (NET, MEN). It is at any rate a degradation of (i), passing to (i, i₁, e^l), and as I heard it in L. *fill pit* was rather (fe^l pe^t) than (fel pet). But then Dr. M. identifies it when final unaccented with (v); "in emphasizing

and prolonging the final vowel in such words as *America, dynna, weido*," America, do not, widow, "the sound I hear," says he, "is the same as that in *kyll, bynd*," where he uses *y* for this sound. I must own that his pron. did not strike my ear in the same way. To Dr. M. also the (ə, ah) or (a¹) are all "so near when brief and unaccented that it is difficult to distinguish them." This vowel replaces written *i* frequently, written *y* in old books, and it seems the beginning of an obscuration of *i* which is more developed in D 39, where it will be specially considered; it occasionally sounded to me as (i, e, ə, a). After (w) this sound regularly develops (ǣ), as (wǣl, wǣt, wǣn, kǣchan) will, wit, win, whin.

6. (æ) here again when I heard Dr. M. pron. I did not recognise my own (w), or any trace of that quality. I rather heard (ɛ, ɛ₁), or a very deep form of (ɛ). The quality of sound seems to belong to my *men* as different from my *man*. But I have judged it right to retain Dr. M.'s (æ).

7. (ɑ) is the deeper French form of *â*, it is decidedly broader than (a), and is sometimes identified with German (ɑ) in Mann. It is constantly confused with (o) by Londoners, who hear (mǎn) as (mǎn) and write it *mon*, which conveys the very different sound (mon) to L. ears.

8. (ǣ). This occurs only as a stopped vowel, it is the deep form common in England, but sometimes appears to be somewhat higher (ǣ¹).

9. (o). This is fully identified with Italian *o aperto* by Dr. Murray; it is always pure, and never vanished into (oo'w).

10. (u'). This is another fracture, of which the first element seems to be rather (u₁), while the second is as hurried and obscure, as in the third vowel (i'). The result is very like Italian *o chiuso*, a sort of (oo¹) or (uuh). It distinguishes pairs of words in L., as (boor, buu'r), boar, bore, (room, :ru'm) roam, Rome.

11. (u). The long and short (medial) forms have the same quality in L., where (u) is never heard. Compare English *pool*, Fr. *poole*, Eng. *pull* (puul, pul, pal), but as the L. makes the vowel rather medial in length, it seems to an Englishman to have no short (u) at all. And certainly Scotch writers on English pron. (as the late Prof. Clarke, of Aberdeen) do not use a mark to differentiate either the length or quality of the vowels in *foot*, *food* (fut, fuud).

12. (ɔ). This identification did not seem quite correct to my ears, and (y₁) or (ɔ¹) seemed nearer, but (ɔ) will be retained. This replacement of O' in L. varies much in the different dialects, ranging from (ɪ) to (œ) or deeper.

The diphthongs in D 33 are heard by Dr. M. with final (i, u) and not (i, u) as in England, doubtless from the absence of these vowels. He recognises the following forms.

The (i) series: 1. (ēi) nearly (e'j), and hence resembling the vanishing received *ē*. 2. (éi) having the vowel No. 5 for the first element, so that the distinction (ēi, éi) is delicate; this is however common. 3. (æ'i) is rare except in contractions (hæ'i, mæ'i) have you, may you. 4. (āi), the regular "broad i," as distinguished from (éi), the "thin i." 5. (óí), distinct from Engl. (o'i, A'i).

The (u) series: 1. (óu). 2. (ǣ'u). 3. (áu). 4. (æ'u) occurring in (mæ'u) to mew. 5. (ɔ'u).

Of the consonants only *h, ch, r* need be noticed. The aspirate is never omitted, except, as almost universally, in *it*, but even here it is found occasionally in D 39, 40, and regularly in D 41. In one word *us*, when emphatic, it is inserted as (hæz). This also happens in the N. div.

The guttural (kh) appears in three forms (kh, kjh, kǣch), but does not follow the usual German rule. Thus:

1. faugh! ugh! = (fikh, hukh).

2. high, eight = (hekjh, ækjht).

3. laugh, loek, rough, laughed, low, dough = (lakwh, lokwh, rakwh, lǣkwh, lii'kǣch, dii'kǣch).

and (kǣch) frequently occurs initial. In ML. dialects, D 34 to 37, (kjh, kǣch) appear not to occur.

The trill of *r* is always strong, whether before or not before a vowel, but a sound of (ɐ) is generally developed before the (r) in the latter case, which, however, Dr. M. does not write in.

The general characters of the D 33 are these :

A- = (*i'*) as (*ni'm*, *ti'l*) name, tale, as in D 30, p. 496.

A: = (*a*) as (*land*) land, peculiar.

A' frequently = (*i'*) as (*ti'*, *ti'd*) toe, toad, as in D 30.

E'-, EO'- = (*éi*), this is also frequent in N. div.

I generally (*i*), or at most (*i'*).

I' = (*ái*) when open accented, or before voiced consonants, otherwise generally (*éi*) or perhaps (*é'i*).

O = (*u'*) frequently, especially before (*r*), the (*'*) being slightly heard, but also often (*o*).

O' frequently (*ə*), occ. (*oo*).

U: regularly (*ɶ*), even in cases when (*u*) is heard in rec. sp. as (*fæl*) full.

U' when final and open is regularly (*ɶ'u*), which is a special feature in D 33; it is occ. met with in D 32, V vi; but when a consonant follows, it is (*ù*), as a brown cow = (*v brùn kɶ'u*), and never (*ú'u*).

It is by all these characters together that D 33 must be defined, and comparing the subsequent Liddlesdale Head cwl. with Dr. Murray's, it will be found that they both agree in these characters.

The essential characters which distinguish the L. from N. are the regular use of (*ɶ*) for U, the regular use of (*uu*, *ù*) for U' before a consonant, and absence of (*ú'u*, *ó'u*) from U' words, the regular use of the guttural (*kh*), the strong trill of the (*r*).

The difference of D 33 from D 34 is shewn by the fractures (*i'*, *u'*), the use of (*éi*), which JGG. writes (*éii*), for E' EO', and of (*ɶ'u*) for U' when final, and the three forms of the guttural (*kh*, *kjh*, *kwh*).

TREATMENT OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

The examples given by Dr. M., DSS. p. 135, are here transcribed in his order and groups without comment.

1. (*viizəb'l*, *fi'i'zəb'l*) visible, feasible; (*vbi'let*) ability.
2. (*stənek*, *məzɪk*) stomach, music.
3. (*pələs*, *fɔrbəs*, *nɔtɪs*, *həgɪs*) palace, Forbes, notice, haggis; (*paltəs*) poultice.
4. (*pri'i'ləsi*, *pɔləsi*, *fɹənsi*) prelacy, policy, phrenesy.
5. (*mənɪdʒ*, *məriɟ*, *kɔlɪdʒ*) manage, marriage, college; (*kəbɪtʒ*, *pɔrɪtʒ*) cabbage, porridge; (*bɔndɪdʒər*) bondager.
6. (*hələn*, *sɑ:rtən*, *bɑ:ren*, *gɑ:rtən*, *lɛtɪn*, *sɛqɪn*, *béi'in*) hallan [a screen], certain, baron, garter, Latin, singing, being [as verbal noun]; (*həme'nɪti*, *devɪnɪti*) humanity, divinity; (*mətəni*, *hɑ:moni*) mutiny, harmony; (*gɑ:rdɪn*, *tʃɛldrɪn*, *lenɪn*, *ulɪn*, *fləni*) garden, children, linen, woollen, flannel; (*setən*, *béiən*, *kəmeɪn*) sitting, being, coming [as participle]; (*w'ɹet'n*, *st-d'n*, *həd'n*, *ɔp'n*, *wɛk'n*, *kəʃət'n*) written, stoođen, holden, open, weaken, whiten.
7. (*óurens*, *empidens*, *sapiens*) owerance [=superiority], impudence, sapience.
8. (*kələnt*, *pɑ:arent*) callant, parent.
9. (*-ɹr*) -ar, -yr; (*vri*) -ary, -ery, -ory; (*hɛstəri*) history.
10. (*kɶ'uerd*, *gɶizert*) coward, guisart.
11. old (*mɪ'ɹit*, *ɔdʒəkəbɪt*) merit, Jacobite; new (*pupɹt*, *vɔmɹt*, *rəbɹt*, *hɛrmt*) pulpit, vomit, rabbit, hermit.

12. (fædher, rædher, kundes, weekest) father, rather, countess, weakest.
13. (muthfæ, thokæchtfæ) mouthful, thoughtful.
14. old (tærufi), new (tæriféi) or (-féi) terrify.
15. old (man)hid, meeden)hid) manhood, maidenhead; new often (-hæl).
16. older (rapid) rapid; newer (viivad, tipud) vivid, tepid.
17. (wi'kriif, kaaldrif) wakerife [= watchful], cauldrite [= causing the sensation of cold, cool = indifferent].
18. (komænien) communion.
19. (pærish, finish) parish, finish.
20. (ol'iv) olive.
21. accented (baptii'z, siivulii'z, eksersii'z) baptise, civilise, to exercise; unaccented (e'ksersiz) an exercise sb.
22. new (teeb'l, han'l, mor'l, bar'l, diiv'l dil) table, handle, moral, barrel, devil deil; old with (-el).
23. (thóulus) thowless [= inactive].
24. (fe'tlenth) foot-length.
25. purposely accented (tr'u'läi) truly; unaccented (-li).
26. (-men) both *-man* and *-men*.
27. (djudgment) judgment.
28. (hærmæni, a'grimæ'ni) harmony, agrimony.
29. (bænmest, hænmust) boonmost [= above most, uppermost], hindmost.
30. (switnus) sweetness.
31. (aamæs) almous = alms; (-ies) -ious, -eous gen. but (rekjhtwæs, pitwæs) pitwæs) righteous, piteous.
32. (frindshup) friendship; old retained (hæ'ziskæp, eersæp) housewifeship, heirship.
33. (disii'ziv) decisive, and so often (-ziv) for *-sive*.
34. (tæfersam, -sam) firesome.
35. old (:galaa'shæuz) Galatians; new (neeshen, neeshenæl) nation, national; (-ashen, -iizhen, -oozhen, æzhen) -assion, -ession, -ition, -otion, -ution, but (okeshen, tranzishen) occasion, transition; (peeshæuz) patience.
36. (preeshies, gloorius) precious, glorious; (-ties, -djes) -teous, -geous, -gious, as (plenties, prodidjies) plenteous, prodigious.
37. (ofishiæl, parshia'letfi) official, partiality.
38. (kænti, kænteli) canty [= cheerful], cantily; old remaining (bunteth, pærteth, denteth) bounty, poverty, dainty.
39. (neeter, læzer, mezer) nature, leisure, measure.
40. (dunwert) downward.
41. (léikwez lekwez, séidwez) likewise, sidewise.

Illustrations.

1. *Bewcastle* es., in the 8 interlinear es. in the introduction to the L. div., No. 1, pp. 682, 684.
2. *Hawick* es., in the same 8 es., No. 2, pp. 682, 684.
3. *Teviotdale* version of Ruth, chap. i., in the 5 versions of this chap. in the introduction to L. div., No. 1, p. 698.
4. Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences as written in his *Visible Speech*, and corrected in the manner already detailed, see bottom of p. 709. These sentences are given on the next page.
5. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, p. 715.
6. Dr. Murray's wl. from his DSS. rearranged as a ewl. and augmented by many new words supplied by himself, p. 716.
7. JGG.'s Liddlesdale ewl., shewing the essential similarity between V i and V ii, p. 721.

MELVILLE BELL'S TEVIOTDALE SENTENCES AS CORRECTED,
p. 713, No. 4.

1. dhe beernz wəz laakwʰən
ən skraakwʰən a'ma'q dhe saakwʰs
dun e)dhe haakwʰ.
2. dhe)r təkʰwʰ saakwʰs gróuən
e)dhe :rəkʰwʰ :həkʰwʰ :haakwʰ.
3. whət ɛr i oond əm? ɛ)m
oond əm nəkʰwʰt.
4. héi ləkʰwʰ ət dhe lí'kʰwʰ door-
hid.
5. hæ i enəkʰwʰ ɛ di'kʰwʰ.
6. ee whóu, beernz, ət)s a'
rakʰwʰ nekjht. hæ'u dhe wand)z
sə'ukʰwʰən e)dhe tʰimle hid.
7. héi)l béi óur dhe nóu ná'u
8. ɜ'u ɛn méi)l gəq óur dhe
déik ɛn pə'u ɛ péi.
9. kam tə méi ə)dhe mənθ ɛ
méi.
10. pə'u ir tʰéi'r foret tɛ dhe
féi'r.
11. əz ir feedhər ət hím dhe
híel dee loq?
12. héi gí'd tɛ dhe w'ra'q séid
ɛ dhe gí't fər dhe w'rekjht's
shop.
13. elkə blí'd ɛ gərs kee)ps
əts ee'n drop ɛ də'u.
14. mi' beernz ɛn meer tɛ gii
dhem.
15. ii)v enə'u ə putʰez, ef ii)d
enəkʰwʰ tɛ fel dhem.
16. dhe wækjht garz dhe streq
heq strækjht.
17. dhe kat mæ'uz ɛn dhe ketlen
wæ'uz.
18. nur :kersti wəz wəshən ət
dhe wəsh)ɛn ɛ dhe blaqkəts.
19. kwheer)i gaan?
20. ɛ dəl mək nekjht ɛn ni'
mən.
1. The bairns were laughing
and scratching among the willows
down in the haugh [=meadow].
2. There are tough willows grow-
ing in the Reugh Heugh Haugh
[name of a meadow near Hawick].
3. What are you owing him? I'm
owing him nought.
4. He laughed at the low door-
head [=lintel].
5. Have you enough of dough?
6. Ah woe! bairns, it is a
rough night. How the wind is
soughing in the chimney head [=top].
7. He will be over the knoll now.
8. You and me [I] will go over the
dyke [wall] and pull a pea.
9. Come to me in the month of
May.
10. Pull your chair forward to the
fire.
11. Is your father at home the
whole day long?
12. He went to the wrong side
of the gate [street] for the wright's
[carpenter's] shop.
13. Each blade of grass keeps
[=catches] its own drop of dew.
14. Mo [more pl.] bairns and more
[sg.] to give them.
15. You have enow [pl.] of
pouches if you'd enough [sg.] to
fill them.
16. The weight gars [makes] the
string hang straight.
17. The cat mews and the kitten
wews.
18. Our Christie was washing
[participle] at the washing [verbal
noun] of the blankets.
19. Where are you going?
20. A sad [deuil, Fr.] mirky night
and no moon.

THE SCOTCH HUNDREDTH PSALM

in Liturgical or Scotch English, Genuine SL., pron., and Vernacular SL.
From Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 138-140.

This Scotch-English is mainly liturgical, or used for the language of the Bible: "It is English read with a northern [or L.] conception of the southern [or received] vowels. As a specimen I [Dr. M.] give the Hundredth Psalm as it was read in school and from the pulpit, within my own recollection, and may still [1873] be heard in any cottage in Teviotdale." The versions are here printed interlinearly, omitting the received English pron.

1. Liturgical Scotch-English.
2. SL. pron. of the word, leaving the English idioms.
3. Idiomatic SL. rendering, from DSS. p. 140, transliterated from Dr. Murray's peculiar spelling.

1. 1 *Liturgical.* aal piip'l dhat on ærth du dwæl,
2 *Local Pron.* aa fu'k æt on ɛrth dez dwæl,
3 *Idiomatic.* aa fu'k æt hiivz [dwælz, wonz] onə dhə ɛrth,

1 siq tu dhə :loord with tjiirful vóis ;
2 seq tɛ dhə :luu'rd wə tjiirfə vóis ;
3 seq tə dhə :lu'rd wə v tjiirfə vóis ;

1 him særv with merth, hiz preez forth tæl,
2 hem sæær wə merth, hez preez færth tæl,
3 sər ɛm wə merth, tæl færth ez preez,

1 kəm ii bifoer him and ridjóis.
2 kəm ii vfuu'r ɛm ɛn ridjóis.
3 kəm ii vfu'r ɛm ɛn ridjóis.

2. 1 noo dhat dhə :loord is :good indid,
2 kæn ɛt dhə :luu'rd ɛz :good ɛndid,
3 kæn ii dhə :lu'rd ɛz :good ɛn tróuth,

1 witha'ut a'ur əd hi dæd ɛs meek ;
2 wəthuut uur hælɸ héi dæd ɛs miək ;
3 héi mi'd ɛs wəthuut ooni hælɸ o uuz ;

1 wi aar hiz flok, hi doth ɛs fid,
2 wéi ɛr hez hers'l, héi dez ɛs fid,
3 wéi)r hez hers'l, ɛt héi fidz,

1 ænd foer hiz ship hi doth ɛs teek.
2 ɛn foer hez ship héi dez ɛs tiək.
3 ɛn héi ti'ks ɛs for ez ship.

3. 1 oo! ænter dhæn hiz geets with preez,
2 oo! kəm ɛn dhɛn ɛt ɛz jææts wə preez,
3 oo! kəm ɛn, dhɛn, at ɛz jææts wə preez,

1 upro'tɣ with dʒói hiz korts antuu'!
 2 gɑq foret wə dʒói huz kurts tə,
 3 gɑq foret tə ez koorts wə dʒói,

1 preez, laad, end bles hiz nem aalwee'z,
 2 preez, láud, en bles ez n'ém éi,
 3 éi preez en láud en bles ez n'ím,

1 for it iz simli soo tu duu.
 2 for et ez farrent si' tu də.
 3 for et)s farrent tə də siə.

4. 1 for whái? dhə :loord ɹ'ur :good iz gud,
 2 for kwái? dhə :lu'rd uur :good ez gəd,
 3 kwat for? dhə :lu'rd uur :good'z gəd,

1 hiz gudnes iz for ever shə'ur,
 2 huz gədnəs ez for ever səɹ,
 3 hez gədnəs ez səɹ for éi,

1 hiz trə'uth at aal táimz fermli stud,
 2 hez trəth et aa téimz fermli stəd,
 3 hez trəth stəd sekər et aa téimz,

1 ænd shəl from edɣ tu edɣ end'ur!
 2 en səl frə ɪndɣ tu ɪndɣ endə'r!
 3 en et)'l læst frə i'dɣ tə i'dɣ.

SOUTH LOWLAND cwl.

Hawick, Rx. This contains the words excerpted from Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. Scotland*, pp. 142-149, being the wl. there given, rearranged and placed in order of the cwl., with many additions given to me by Dr. Murray. All words in Dr. Murray's list belonging to "Central Scotch" are given in a separate cwl. under D 34. All Dr. M.'s indications of pron. are transliterated into pal. As this was not constructed from my original wl., many words are omitted, and large additions are made, especially in the English and Romance sections. In this list I have used (e) instead of (ə) for the unaccented "obscure" vowel. The medial length has not generally been marked, all vowels marked short should probably be read as medial.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — ti'n [taken]. — kræd'l [cradle]. — sed'l [saddle]. 8 hæv. 10 haakwə [a haugh or low lying enclosure]. 17 laa. 19 t'i'l. 25 m'e'n. — iep iep [old people, (ap) ape]. — kepen [capon]. 28 her. — fer [fare]. — wer [ware]. 32 bədh. 33 rədher [emphatic (ree-)]. 34 læst.

A: — kran [crane]. — baand [band]. 43 haand. 44 laand. — staand [stand]. — gæner [gander]. 50 taqz [old], teqz [new]. — maqer [monger] 51 man. — ɹrk [an ark]. 55 as. 56 wəsh.

A: or O: 60 laq. 61 amaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 65 saq. 66 thwaq, whaq [old], whəq whéəq whéiq [new].

A' — 67 gi'. — slé' [a shoe]. 70 t'i'. 71 wi'. 72 kwə'i'. 73 si'. 74 twi'. — krook [croak]. 75 strook. 76 t'i'd. 77 lu'rd. 78 ánun. 79

áaun aan [later (*een*)]. — *poop* [pope]. 84 *meer*. 85 *seer*. — *sori* [sorry]. — *roor* [roar]. — *uuz* [ooze]. 92 *k'naa*. 93 *snaa*. 94 *kraa*. 95 *th'raa*. 96 *saa*. — *blaa'n* [blown]. — *maa'n* [mown]. 100 *saa'n*. — *leevrik* [the lark, bird].

A': 104 *rood*. 105 *red*. 106 *brí'd*. — *hedi* [lady]. — *groov* [grove]. — *druu'v* [a drove]. 108 *deckjh di'k'ch*. 109 *laa leekh li'k'ch*. 113 *hi'l*. — *pol* [pole]. — *fi'm* [foam]. — *loom* [loam]. 117 *i'n j'en*. 118 *bi'n*. — *hu'n* [hone]. 122 *i. ni'n, ñ. ni'*. — *shen* [shone]. 124 *sti'n*. 126 *oor*. — *boor* [a boar]. — *garlik* [garlic]. 129 *g'st*. — *reez* [rose, pt.]. — *blæster* [bluster]. 135 *klí'th*. — *raa róu* [a row or rank]. 136 *ii. or*.

Æ- 138 *fædher*. — *hædher* [ladder]. — *blædher* [bladder]. 144 *agi'n*. 148 *far*. — *ant* [an ant]. 149 *bliiz*. 150 *list*. 152 *weter*.

Æ: — *wi'k'n we'- waa-* [waken]. 156 *glæed*. — *ædher* [adder]. — *hæd* [had]. — *gædher* [gather]. 158 *æfter*. 159 *hæz*. 160 *æg*. 161 *dee*. — *slekjht* [sleight]. — *hæth* [health]. 169 *k'chan*. — *ep'l* [apple]. 171 *berli*. 172 *gers græs*. — *list* [lest]. 174 *aesh*. — *læs* [less]. — *glæs* [glass]. — *fæs'n* [fasten]. — *kert* [cart].

Æ'- 182 *séi* [(sü-shoor) sea-shore]. — *blitj* [bleach]. 185 *rid*. 187 *liiv*. 189 *wéi*. 191 *hi'l*. 192 *min*. — *lin* [lean]. — *wapen* [weapon]. — *tiiz* [tease]. — *tiiz'l* [tease].

Æ': — *spraed* [spread, pt.]. 206 *ræd*. 210 *kléi*. 211 *gree*. 213 *ædher*. 214 *nædher*. — *teud* [teud]. 216 *dí'l*. — *míl* [meal, food]. 222 *hær*. 223 *dhi'r*. 224 *k'cheer*. — *last* [to last]. 227 *wit* [v. and sb.], *wat* [adj.]. 229 *bræth*. — *slooth* [sloth]. — *w'reeth* [wrath].

E- 232 *brek*. 233 *spik*. — *bræktfest* [breakfast]. 234 *næd*, [older form (*k'næd*)]. — *træd* [to tread]. — *wædher* [weather]. 235 *wiiv*. — *hevi* [heavy]. 239 *sel*. 243 *plee*. 244 *wil*. 245 *mil*. 247 *wi'n*. — *biir* [to bear]. — *piir* [a pear]. — *tiir* [to tear]. 248 *mir*. 249 *wiir*. — *wæzel* [weasel]. — *it* [to eat]. — *bit* [beet]. — *fædher* [feather]. 254 *kæther*.

E: — *w'ratj* [wretch]. — *wab wob* [web]. 256 *strik* [stretch]. — *hiiv* [to heave]. 259 *wæp*. 260 *lee*. 261 *see*. — *bad* [bed]. — *bid* [a bead]. — *wad wadin* [to wed, a wedding]. 262 *wéi*. — *welkem* [welcome]. — *fid* [field]. — *sæl* [to sell]. — *wal* [a well]. — *ham* [a hem]. — *w'rensh* [wrench]. — *kwensh* [quench]. 278 *wensh*. — *sænd* [send]. — *pen* [a pen]. 284 *thræsh*. — *wæst* [west]. — *sæt'l* [settle]. 288 *lat*. — *bæst* [best]. E'- 290 *héi*. 292 *méi*. 293 *wéi*. — *sik* [to seek]. 301 *hiir*.

E': 305 *héikjh héi hái*, [(hi) in (hiilant) highland]. 306 *héikjht*. — *sin* [seen, pp.]. 312 *hiir*. — *briir* [a briar]. 313 *hærk*. 316 *nikst mist*.

EA- — *haak* [hawk]. 320 *ker*. — *nerw* [narrow]. EA: — *djóul* [jowl]. 322 *lak'ch*. 324 *akjht*. — *lak'chter* [laughter]. 325 *waak*. 327 *baald*. 328 *kaald*. 329 *faald*. 330 *haald*. 331 *saald* [(sæld) scalded]. 332 *taald* [(tæld) telled]. — *hapni* [halfpenny]. 337 *waa*. 338 *kaa*. — *maat* [malt]. — *saat* [salt]. — *bærd* [beard]. — *mærk* [mark]. — *spark* [spark]. 340 *jeerd*. — *hard* [hard]. — *wærd* [a ward]. 342 *èrn*. — *hèrn* [harm]. 343 *wærm*. — *swèrn* [swarm]. — *tern* [tern]. — *shèrp* [sharp]. — *wèrp* [warp]. — *jern* [yarn]. — *wèrn* [warn]. 345 *daar*. — *pèrk* [park]. — *shaa* [to shew]. — *eks* [an axe].

EA'- 347 *hid*. 348 *éi*. — *dái* [to dye]. — *dáier* [dyer]. 349 *f'u*.

EA': 350 *did*. 351 *lid*. 352 *rid*. 355 *dif*. 356 *lif*. — *tái* [tic]. 357 *thoo*. — *hip* [heap]. — *lous* [loose]. 366 *gret*. 367 *thri't*. 368 *dí'th*. 369 *saa*. EI- 372 *æ'i*. 375 *rez*. 376 *bet*. EI: 378 *week*. 379 *hel*. 380 *dhem*. 382 *dheer*.

EO- — *tær* [tar]. 387 *n'u*. EO: — *jook* [yoke]. — *wik* [candle wick]. 389 *jóuk*. 390 *sæd*. 395 *jæq*. — *dærk* [dark]. 396 *wærk*. — *bærk* [to bark]. 397 *sæ'rd*. — *kærv* [carve]. 398 *stærv*. — *færm* [farm]. — *ær'l* [earl]. — *kærl* [churl]. 402 *l'ern*. 403 *fær*. 404 *stær*. — *shæ'rt* [short]. — *hært* [heart]. — *smært* [to smart]. 405 *hærth*. 406 *úrth*. 407 *færdin*. — *straa* [to strew].

EO'- 409 *béi*. — *k'néi* [knee]. — *fréi* [free]. — *tréi* [tree]. — *fléi* [to flee and fly]. 415 *léi*. — *jæl* [yule]. 416 *i. ii. diir*. — *tjóiz* [to choose]. — *friiz* [to freeze]. — *siidh* [to seethe]. — *r'u* [to rne]. 420 *fóur*.

EO: 422 sik [sick]. — krùd [crowd]. — thif [thief]. 423 thèi. 426 fækjht. 427 hèi. 429 fint. 430 frind. 432 fòurt. 433 brist. 434 bi't. 435 ja'u. — tróu [to throw]. 437 tr'uth. EY- 438 déi.

I- — stærn [stern]. 447 her [neither (HER) nor (har)]. — jes [yes]. 449 get gi't. I: 455 lái. — med'l [middle]. 458 néikjht. 459 réikjht. 460 wækjht. — skil [skill]. — geld [to guild]. 469 wæl [to will]. — suum [to swim] — steqk [stink]. — sweqk [swink]. 473 blend. 475 wænd. — wände [window]. 476 bend. 477 fend. 478 grend. — hent [hind]. — a-hént [behind]. — kern [to churn]. — ren [run]. — ræsh [a rush, plant]. 485 thres'l. 488 jet. — brø [bree broth]. — set [sit]. — wat [wit]. — watnes [witness].

I'- 490 báí [of place], béi [of agency]. 491 séikjh sái. — stá [sty]. — páip. 497 ráiz. 498 w'reit. I': 500 lek [(leklé) likely]. 502 fáiv. 505 wéif wéivz. 506 waman. — hési [hay]. 508 máil. — réim. 511 wáin. — bláidh. 517 ja'u.

O- — brók'n [broken]. 518 bu'di [(bu'dis) bodice, properly pl.]. — æn [oven]. 520 bóu. — su'l [sole of foot]. 522 u'p'n. 523 hu'p. — pápi [peppy]. — fuu'r [fore]. — buu'r [to bore]. — tu'rn [torn]. — snuu'r [to snore]. — bu'rn [born]. — shu'rn [shorn]. — forlu'rn [forlorn]. 524 wor'ld world. — hooz [hose]. — ku't [cot]. — rot'n [rotten]. — smør [smother].

O: — trok'uh [trough]. 527 bok'ut. 528 thok'ut. 529 brok'ut. 531 dok'ut. 532 kau'l. 533 dæl. 535 f'k. 536 guuld. 538 wald wad. — k'nou [knoll]. — tol [toll]. 542 bolt. — kout [colt]. 544 dhæn. — su'p [sop]. 546 for. — goor [gore]. 548 færd. 549 hord. 550 ward. — borø [borrow]. — sorø [sorrow]. 551 stu'rn. 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. — mu'rn [morn]. — thu'rn [thorn]. — pu'rt [port]. — nu'rth [north]. — fru'st [frost]. — boks [box]. — foks [fox]. — post [post]. — bodem [bottom].

O'- 555 shæ. 556 tæ. — foder [fodder]. 559 madhur. — uu [to woo]. — gæm [gum of teeth]. 562 mæn. — mænth [month]. 564 sæn. 566 ædher. 568 brædher. — glou [to glow]. — glour [to glower]. — gróun [groan].

O': 569 bæ. 570 tæ. 571 gæd. 572 bæd. 573 fæd. 575 stæd. — koov [a cove of the sea]. 578 plæk'uh [sb.], pl'æu [vb.]. 579 anæk'uh [sg.], an'æu [pl.]. — floum [flown]. 584 stæ. — dæm [doom]. — buun [boon]. 586 dæ. 587 dæn. 590 flær. 592 swær. — bæ's'm [bosom]. 595 iet [in some dialects (fat)]. — stou [a stow or store place].

U- 599 abæ'n. — wad [wood]. 600 lv. 602 sæ'u. 603 kæm. — mæqk [monk]. — heni [honey]. 605 sæn. 606 dær. — net [nut].

U: — snæb [to snub]. — waf ulf [wolf]. 609 fæl fa'u. — pal [to pull]. 610 ul. — fuler [a fuller]. 612 sæm. 612 hand hund. 615 pænd. 616 grand. 617 sænd. 618 wund. — bæn [bound]. 619 fænd [pp.], fænd [pt.]. 620 græn [ground, pt.]. 621 wæn. — wænder [wonder]. 625 tæq. — tæn [ton]. 630 wæn. — bræk'uh [broch brough borough]. — fer [fir]. 634 thruu thruu. — mærn [mourning].

U'- 640 kæ'u. 643 næ'u. 644 suk [to suck]. 646 bæ'u. — thum [thumb]. 648 uur. — plum [plum]. 650 abæt. 652 kæd. 653 bæd.

U': — klæd [cloud]. 657 bræn. 660 buur. 663 hüs. 665 müs. 667 üt.

Y- 673 mækl. Y: 686 báí. — ræth [ruth]. 688 bæd [(bælt) built]. — gelt [guilt]. — hel [hill]. — kæmli [comely]. 695 hærk'n. — wæri [worry]. — wærm [worm]. 700 wars [(warst) worst]. 701 ferst. — wart [wort]. — kest [a chest]. Y'- 705 skái. — hæid [hide]. — fóurtin [fourteen]. — drip [drip]. Y': 709 fáir. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. :izaa'k [Isaac]. :belaam [Balaam]. :kenaan [Canaan]. bab [babe]. :bæb'l [Babel]. kæbin [cabin]. dæb'l [dabble]. bæ'bi [baby]. heek [hack]. kææk'l [cackle]. tæek'l tæk'l [tackle]. :i'dem [Adam]. dædi [daddy]. dæd'l [daddle, a pinafore]. pæd'l [paddle]. 717 dæd. 718 træd. læd'l [ladle]. næeg [a nag]. kræeg [a crag]. deeg'l [daggles]. heg'l [haggles]. weg'l [waggles].

maak [maggot]. pleed [plaid]. dreg'l [draggle]. vi'grent vagrent [vagrant]. :abrehaa'm [Abraham]. bæld [bald]. :pada'n-:avaa'm [Padan-Aram]. glæns [glance]. waand [wand]. meeuer [mauire, formerly spelled 'mainer']. :pi's [Pasch = Easter]. berd [bard]. skær [scare]. sark [sark]. snarl [snarl]. dærn [darn]. nesti [nasty]. :sat'n :saathen [Satan]. petat'ez [potatoes]. ræv'l [ravel]. si'vin [savin or willow]. kreez [craze].

E. trad'l [a treadle]. wæth [wealth]. pit [peat]. breedth [breathe]. hædher [heather]. ende'ver [endeavour]. walt [welt]. jærk [yerk, jerk]. bles [bless]. pet [pet].

I. and Y. vâiel [phiale]. trâiel [trial]. weked [wicket]. pâi [pie]. vâi [vie]. whæg [whig]. rig [rig]. kæhim [whim]. whæn [whim]. prin [pin]. weq [wing]. whap [whip]. kæhisht [whisht]. wasp [wisp]. dril [to drill]. split [split]. spâi [spy]. prái [pry]. trái [try]. w'rái [wry].

O. ad' [ado]. 761 li'd. sook [soak]. room [roam]. roon [roan]. bost [boast]. flot [float]. tokæher [tocher, dower]. klok [clock]. kod [cod]. su'd [sod]. sode [soda]. sofe [sofa]. bu'g [bog]. ku'g [cog]. flog [flog]. bu'g'l buug'l [bogle]. kok [coke]. bóu [boll of a plant]. skould [scold]. dæfe [doleful]. góuf [golf]. dol [doll]. pol [poll]. strol [stroll]. ka'lier [collier]. kron [crone]. dru'n [drone]. maqrel [mongrel]. maqki [monkey]. want [wont]. póuni [pony]. luup [loop]. gruuv [groove]. kop [cope]. skop [scope]. ku'rd [cord]. bu'rder [border]. kork [cork]. warn [worn]. wæset [worsted]. snort [snort]. spu'rt [sport]. pu'rtli [portly]. toori [tory]. tos [toss]. lu'st [lost]. pu'si [posy]. troth [troth]. bódiur bóder [bother]. sekæh [to sough]. pætes [poultice]. flæns flæ'uns [flounce]. pæns pæ'uns [ponnee]. buunderi [boundary]. mántibaqk [mountebank]. spræt [sprout]. roov [rove]. slæ'u'æn [sloven]. tóu [tow]. dróun [drown]. gróul [growl]. próul [prowl]. bói bái [boy].

U. ræbish [rubbish]. dæk [duck]. kæd [cud]. pædin [pudding]. hæd'l [huddle]. bl'ú [blue]. gi'ni [guinea]. buk [bulk]. buldʒ [bulge]. bælwark [bulwark]. tæp [tup]. bloor [blur]. kærl [curl]. bæsh [bush]. pusí [pussey]. flæster [fluster]. 808 pet. stæt [stutter]. bez [buzz].

III. ROMANCE.

A. ebi [abbey]. laaber leber [labour]. labrer lebrer [labourer]. iste·blish [establish]. fébrik [fabric]. vi'kenz vi'genz [vacance]. plækærd [placard]. sææk [sack]. 810 fi's. segaas'hius [sagacious]. :djaa'kabbit [Jacobite]. sekrfis [sacrifice]. vi'geben [vagabond]. a'djænt [agent]. pedjænt [pageant]. :speenjærd [Spaniard]. drægon [dragon]. tri'z'n [treason]. gáí [gay]. máí [May]. 824 tjeir tjeír [chair]. tí'lier [tailor]. fi'l [fail]. tjin [chain]. saut [saint]. èr [air]. kliir [clear]. pliiz [please]. fi'z'n [pleasant]. si'sin [seisin]. plizer [pleasure]. dæ'zert [desert]. 835 ri'z'n. 836 si'z'n. fi't [feat]. fi'ter [feature]. pis [pease]. pí'lin [paling]. baa [ball]. aam [alum]. veli [valley]. halv [halo]. vèlv [value]. demish [damage of fruit, other damage (dæ·midʒ)]. kambrik [cambric]. kæm'l [camel]. fæm'li [family]. fæmin [famine]. fæmish [famish]. enflæ'mæb'l [inflammable]. demson [damson]. tjaamer [chamber]. hæns [haunch, to jerk from the hanch]. bræns [branch]. mændʒer [manger]. tæns [tench]. stæns [to staunch]. ænz'l [angel]. graand [grand]. demaand [demand]. komaand [command]. 847 dændʒer. 848 tjeandʒ. rændʒ [range]. mæner [manner]. 851 ant. tjeant [chant]. dænt [daunt]. dreper [draper]. tjeplet [chaplet]. meri [marry]. hænt [haunt]. vænt [vaunt]. tjepl [chapel]. sapient [sapient]. keri [to carry]. 852 epren. bar [bar]. par [par]. fars [farce]. ærtʒ [arch]. gerdin [garden]. dert [dart]. mærtjænt [merchant]. merket [market]. lerdʒ [large]. wæran [warrant]. 854 bærel. mærl [marl]. tjeiri [Charley]. ælern [alarm]. hermeni [harmony]. ærmi [army]. sku'rn [scorn]. pæris [parish]. nærtiv [narrative]. skærs [scarce]. gærtæn [garter]. kerd [card]. ært [art]. pært [part]. tjearter [charter]. :mertænnes [Martinmas]. mæs [mass]. pæs [pass]. pæst [past]. sti't [state]. bat'l [battle]. pí'st [paste]. kas'l [castle]. stræte [strata]. fat'l [fatal]. :lætin [Latin]. sætin [satin]. næshæn [nation]. næshænæl [national]. raashænæl [rational]. raashæn [rations]. láand [land]. láudnem

[*laudannum*], *audiens* [audience], *paatriark* [patriarch], *maatren* [matron], *paatren* [patron], *meter* [matter], *steete* [statue], *steeter* [stature], *si v* [save], *hokwhti* [haughty], *stai* [stay], *pauper* [pauper], *autografi* [autograph], *gracvat* [cravat], *teevren* [tavern], *hezurd* [hazard].

E. . . *i-di-pri-ri-si* [-e-de-pre-re-se-unaccented], *i'-ri'-pri'* [-e-re-pre-accented], *di'-* [de-accented, except when followed by two consonants, when it is (dæ)], *si'* [-se-accented], *idiie* [idea], *riël* [real], *djāient* [giant], *thieter* [theatre], *krēter* [creature], *sil* [seal], *pil* [peel], *ri'konsiil* [reconcile], *preshius* [precious], *dī'sent* [decent], *si'kent* [second], *si'kret* [secret], *deræk* [direct], *pen* [pain], 872 *tip*, 874 *rin*, *ven* [vein], *strind* [-strained], 877 *eer*, *dūrist* [deist], *plæt* [plait], *dī'eti* [deity], *i'ligent* [elegant], *i'limbūt* [element], *i'lifent*, *pæket* [pellet], *skū'm* [scheme], *thū'm* [theme], *kōntin* [contain], *menti'n* [maintain], *i'feminin* [feminine], *dems'l* [damsel], *mænd* [mend], *si'n* [scene], *avendj* [avenge], *vendjens* [vengeance], *djū'nes* [genius], *i'fi'mere* [ephemera], *sent* [scent], *vant* [vent], *tent* [tent], *plenti* [plenty], *vānter* [venture], *servēe* [survey], *dītær* [deter], *vi'nes* [Venus], *i'rb* [herb], *pūrtj* [perch], *si'rtj* [search], *marsi* [mercy], *pū'trik* [partridge], *revi'r* [revere], *friir* [friar], *sensī'r* [sincere], *pērs* [pierce], *prīfær* [prefer], *ærber* [arbour], *nary* [nerve], *si'rdjēt* [sergeant], *trāk'l* [treacle], *pū'riod* [period], *klērk* [clerk], *mærl* [merle, blackbird], *pū'er'l* [pearl], *fērm* [firm], *konzær'n* [concern], *særpent* [serpent], *ær* [ear], *hērs* [hearse], *særtēn* [certain], *alē'rt* [alert], *dizi'rt* [to desert], *ensī'rt* [to insert], *asi'rt* [assert], *deskonsi'rt* [disconcert], *divē'rt* [divert], *ensī'rshēn* [insertion], *sær* [serve], *prī'zēnt* [a present], *dæ'spēt* [desperate], *æm* [aim], *ræ'set* [resin], *fræ'zēr* [treasure], *pæst* [pest], *mēzər* [measure], *rist* [to rest = be restive], *ræst* [to rest = be quiet], *krist* [crest], *tæst* [test], *ræstles* [restless], *net* [neat], *djēt* [jet of water], *komplīt* [complete], *bist* [beast], *fīst* [feast], *dē'zert* [desert], *deskreshēn* [discretion], *dæ'stitūt* [destitute], *ari'st* [arrest], 893 *fluur* [flower and flour], *flarish* [flourish], *æurop* [Europe], *kōnsi'v* [conceive], *kōnsi't* [conceit], 894 *disi'v*, 895 *risi'v*, *læv'n* [leaven], *tækst* [text].

I. . . and Y. . . *dinaiel* [denial], *poli't* [polite], *librari* [library], *fizi'shēn* [physician, and so on for -ition, -ician], *benēfit* [benefit], *difāient* [defiant], *plāient* [pliant], *plāi* [ply], *spāi* [spy], *krāi* [to cry], *krāier* [a crier], *griiv* [grieve], *oblidj* [oblidge], *kōndē'q* [condign], *fī'rs* [fierce], *pūir* [pier], *djig* [jig], *pil* [pill], *pin'ien* [pinion], *finish* [finish], *lāien* [lion], *rāiet* [riot], *tip* [type], *frāi* [fry], *si'lēnder* [cylinder], *mēlē'q* [malign], *binē'q* [benign], *sæspi'shūs* [suspicious, and so generally for final -icious, -itious], *séiv'l* [civil], *kritik* [critic], *sāiz* [size], *tjēstii'z* [chastise], *advērtii'z* [advertise], *bēptii'z* [baptise], *siiveliiz* [civilise], *advērtii'zment* [advertisement], *mūizer* [miser], *siti* [city], *sit* [cite], *envi't* [invite], *piti* [pity], *posi'shēn* [position, and so for all -ition].

O. . . *rāb* [rob], *rāber* [robber], *proob* [probe], *goblet* [goblet], *kōotj* [coach], *krōkēs* [crocus], *brā'tj* [brooch], *ood* [ode], *kod* [code], *mōdērn* [modern], *lādj* [lodge], *koor* [core], 916 *eqn*, 917 *roog*, *droog* [drug], *iēth* [faith], *stā'ik* [stoic], *buund* [to bound], 920 *pōint*, *djōok* [joke], *stū'ri* [story], *læzēr* [leisure], 922 *bāshel*, *sū'djēr* [soldier], *kōlōni* [colony], *dramēderi* [dromedary], *pāmel* [pommel], *kāmpēni* [company], *toon* [tone], *æns* [ounce], *fūund* [to found], *kōon* [cone], *djūpon* [depone], *splāndj* [sponge], *onēr* [honour], *māni* [money], *bū'ni* [bonny], *wānt* [mount], *frānt* [front], *kāntri* [country], *fāntēn* [fountain], *fōuntēn*, 936 *fānt* [font], *mū'niment* [monument], *stoor* [store], *fū'rs* [force], *ordēr* [order], *stork* [stork], *skardj* [scourge], *soor* [soar], *fū'rdj* [forge], *bārn* [bourn], 938 *kōrnēr*, *kōrnet* [cornet], *skōrpiēn* [scorpion], *kōrps* [corpse], *horid* [horrid], *ripū'rt* [report], *sū'rt* [sort], *pū'rtent* [portent], *pū'rter* [porter], *pū'rshēn* [portion], *kā'rel* [coral], *fārm* [form, seat], *iōrm* [form, shape], *fū'rtin* [fortune], *dūw'z* [a dose], *klū's* [close, adj.], *klūw'z* [to close], *prooz* [prose], *kōmpōū'z* [compose], *sūpōū'z* [suppose], *rūw'z* [rose, flower], *klū'set* [closet], *pū'setiv* [positive], *kru'zier* [crozier], *kōot* [quote], *kōst* [coast], *hōst* [host], *ōslēr* [ostler], *nū't* [note], *rū'st* [roast], *tū'st* [toast], *kū't* [coat], *vū't* [vote], *kloov* [clove], *tāu'el* [towel].

kā'uerd [coward]. trəb'l [trouble]. 942 buttər. ku'kuu [cuckoo]. tatt [touch]. sōuder [solder]. hóu [hoe]. l'uel [fuel]. 947 bóil. 948 bóul. róu [roll]. kaler [colour]. truup [troop]. súp [soup]. 951 káp'l. fəriŋ [forage]. torment [torment]. djərnəl [journal]. fər [fur]. nəriʃ [nourish]. tuur [tower]. pəʃ [push]. gəʃet [gusset]. 953 kəzɪn. 954 kəʃən. bot'l [bottle]. kətler [cutler]. kəst [cost]. gətər [gutter]. kə'vi [covey]. mɔv [move]. puur [power]. prɔv [prove]. kevr [cover]. kɔvet [covey]. dezn [dozen]. djə'uel [jewel]. emplɔi [employ]. bə'uel [bowel]. frɛ [to fray]. U.. d'ú [due]. trə'uan-d [truant, the (d) sometimes added]. grə'uel [gruel]. wig [wig]. skí'litən [skeleton]. də'uel [duel]. krə'uel [cruel]. trə'uel [trowel]. embr'ú [imbrue]. wət [wait]. kwɛstɪn [question]. kɔrist [quest]. 965 óil. kweɪ [quill]. brəz [bruise]. 966 frət. djɔdʒ [judge]. məl [mule]. kum [culm]. kɔnsəm [consume]. tən [tune]. pupet [pulpit]. skrɔp'l [scruple]. kɔr [cure]. endɔr [endure]. 969 sɔr. djɔis [juice]. əs [the use]. ɔz [to use]. refɔz [refuse]. djɔst [just]. fɔsti [fusty]. rikrɔt [recruit]. lət [lute].

LIDDESDALE HEAD CWL.

Near Thorlishope (12 sse.Hawick), pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Jackson, of Cateleugh, Keilder (27 nw.Hexham, Nb.), then 75 years acquainted with the dialect. This was gone over by AJE. with JGG. It was not originally intended for publication. It is here reproduced to shew that Liddesdale is distinctly L. and not N. Only the Wessex and Norse section was written.

To facilitate comparison with Dr. Murray's cwl. several of his pal. signs have been adopted, but JGG. analysed the sounds differently. Thus (i') became to JGG. (i₁e^o), which was very closely compressed so as to feel like a single vowel, the glide being extremely short, the (i₁) being a deep form of (i), and (e^o) being some indistinct form of (e) not sensibly different from (i) or (u). The (ə), which I retain, JGG. preferred to write (ə') between (u₁) and (e) or (i₁), but "distinctly not rounded." There was a variety of this which was a 'rounded' form of (e') or (i₁), which I write (ə₁); it seemed to be due to the influence of (r), see Nos. 547, 590. The (u'), also retained, was written (ú ə) very close, and resembling (oo), the last element "brief, but very distinct (ə)." These are all clearly slight varieties of Dr. Murray's sounds, (e') is used for Dr. M.'s (e) or y as he writes it.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bi'k. 4 t'k. 5 mi'k. 6 mi'd. 7 si'k. 8 æv. 9 bihi'v. 10 haa [(aa) very slightly broader than (aa) throughout]. 12 saa. 15 aa₁ [intermediate between (aa, AA)]. 16 daan. 19 ti'l. 20 li'm. 21 ni'm. 23 se'm. 24 shi'm. 25 mi'n. 26 wi'n. 27 ni'v. 28 heer. 30 keer. 33 reedher. 34 last. 35 [(elsyn) used]. 36 thou. 37 klaa.

A: 39 kam. 40 ki'm. 41 tha'qk. 43 haan. 44 laau. 46 kán'l. 48 saaq. 50 ti'qz. 51 man. 55 as. 56 wæsh. 57 as. A: or O: 58 thra'. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 e'maq. 62 straq [this (t,r) was not acknowledged by Dr. Murray]. 64 wràq. 65 sàq. 66 kəh'q.

A': 67 gràq. 70 ti'. 71 woo. 72 whi'. 73 soo. 74 twi'. 75 s'trook. 76 ti'd. 77 luurd. 78 aan. 80 ho,lydø. 81 loonyu. 83 mi'n. 84 meer. 85 seer. 86 iets. 87 kl'z. 88 kl'dh. 89 bi'th. 90 blaa [(blián) pt.]. 91 maa [(mián) pt.]. 92 [(ken) used]. 93 snaa [(sniú) pt.]. 94 kraa [(kriú) pt.]. 95 thraa [(thriú) pt.]. 96 saa [(siú) pt.]. 97 sool.

A': 101 i'k. 104 rəd. 105 ri'd. 106 br'i'd. 107 li'f. 108 diukw. 109 kúkw. 111 oo,kucht. 112 hi'l. 115 hi'm. 118 bi'n. 121 gi'n. 122 ni'n. 124 sti'n. 125 onli. 127 hi'rsh. 129 goost. 130 bóvt. 132 het. 133 wr'it. 134 ooth. 135 kl'ith.

Æ- 138 fe'dher. 140 h'l. 142 snel. 144 egèn. 145 slèn. 146 mèn. 147 brèn. 148 ieer. 150 list. 152 wa'ter. Æ: 155 tha'k. 157 rə'n. 158 æftər. 160 æeg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 s'ed. 166 m'ed. 167 di'l. 168 tale. 169 kəhan. 170 ha'rst. 171 baarle'. 172 gars. 173 waz. 174

æst. 175 fast. 178 nat. 179 kəchat. 180 bəth. 181 pæ'th. Æ'- 182 sée'i. 183 titp. 184 lid. 185 rid. 186 brēith. 187 liiv. 190 kée'i. 191 hi'l. 192 min. 193 klin. 194 oni. 195 mo₁ni. 196 war wər. 197 tɔz. 199 [(bleer) used]. 200 kəhit. 201 hi'dh'n. 202 hit.

E': 203 spitp. 204 did. 205 thrid. 206 red. 207 mid'l. 210 kléeji. 211 gree. 213 ədher. 215 təkəcht 216 di'l. 217 [not used]. 218 ship. 219 slip. 221 fī'r. 222 heer. 223 dhī'r. 224 kəcheer wheer. 226 mi'st. 228 swi't. 229 breth. 230 fa't.

E- 232 brək. 233 spik. 234 ne₁d. 235 wev wiiv. 236 fever. 237 bleen. 238 hæedp. 239 seel. 241 reen. 243 plee. 246 kwin. 248 mi'r. 249 wī'r. 250 swī'r. 251 mit. 252 ke₁t'l [almost (kiet'l)]. 253 net'l. 254 lədher. 255 wədhur.

E: 257 æedp. 259 wədp. 261 see. 262 wee. 263 eel. 267 iild. 268 [(aalde₁st)=oldest, used]. 270 i. beli₁z. ii. be₁el. 272 æl'm. 273 nuen. 274 bənsh. 276 the'qk. 277 drensh. 278 wənsh. 280 eli-v'n. 281 lenth. 282 st₁renth. 283 mēre₁. 284 thrash. 285 kresh. 286 hærə. 287 bæzem. 288 let.

E'- 289 ii. 290 héii. 292 méii. 293 wēii. 294 fid. 296 beliiv. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 hi'r. 302 mit. 303 swit. 304 bi'l. E': 306 hē'kh. 308 mid. 309 spid. 310 hīl. 311 tæen. 312 hūjer. 314 hæerd. 315 tit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gi'p. 320 keer. EA: 322 ləkəh. 323 fūkəcht. 324 ækjht. 325 waak. 326 aald. 327 bə₁l'd. 328 kaal'd. 329 faul'd. 330 hod. 331 [(sel'd) sold, used]. 332 [(ta₁l'd) telled, used]. 333 kət. 334 hāf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 340 iēerd. 342 eerm. 345 daar. 346 iet.

EA'- 347 hid. 348 e'i. 349 fiuu. EA': 350 did. 351 lid. 352 rid. 353 brid. 354 shi't. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 thoo. 359 mibur. 360 t.m. 361 bin. 363 tɔp. 365 ni'r. 366 greet. 367 thri't. 368 di'th. 369 slaa. 379 raa. 371 stri'.

EI- 372 ææ'i. 373 dhee. 375 rīz. 376 beet. EI: 377 sti'k. 378 week. 382 dheer. EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hev'n. 385 enee th. 386 iou. EO: 388 me'lk. 389 iook. 390 shud. 393 iont. 396 wə₁rk. 397 sa'rd. 398 steerv. 402 la'rn. 403 faer. 404 stern. 405 haarth. 406 ierth. 407 faardi₁n. 408 nūn. EO'- 409 béii. 411 thréii. 412 shéii. 413 di'v'l. 414 flē'i. 415 le'i. 417 tɔou. 418 briuu. 420 foor. 421 forte₁. EO': 423 théii. 424 rəkəh. 425 ləkjht. 426 fækjht. 427 béii. 428 séii. 430 frin'd. 431 biier. 432 fōrth. 433 bree₁st. 434 bat. 435 iuu. 436 tɔriuu. 437 tɔriuu₁th. EY- 438 de'i. EY: 439 tɔrast.

I- 440 wik. 441 siiv. 442 aive₁. 446 ne'in. 448 dhī'. 449 get. 450 tiuuzde₁. 451 siuu. I: 452 aai. 454 watp. 455 lai. 457 mækjht. 458 nækjht. 459 rækjht. 460 wækjht. 462 sækjht. 464 kəchatp. 465 sek. 466 [(heern) used]. 467 we'il'd. 471 te'mer. 472 shre'qk. 473 ble'n'd. 474 re'nd. 475 wan. 476 be'n'd. 477 fe'n'd. 478 gre'n'd. 479 wan'd. 481 fe'qər. 485 thre's'l. 486 iest. 487 iestərdel. 488 iet.

I'- 490 bāai. 491 sækjh. 493 drāiv. 494 te'im. 496 æren. 497 ere'iz. 498 wre'it. 499 bi'l. I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'id. 502 fāiv. 503 le'if. 504 ne'if. 505 we'if. 506 women. 507 wime'n. 508 me'il. 509 kəche'il. 511 we'im. 513 waaier. 514 e'is. 515 we'is. 516 we'isdem. 517 iuu.

O- 520 bou. 521 fa'l. 522 oop'n. 523 hoop. 524 war'l'd. O: 526 kokəh. 527 bokəcht. 528 thokəcht. 530 wrokəcht. 531 dokəchter. 532 ku'l. 533 dal. 534 hu'l. 536 gool'd. 538 ud wad. 539 bou₁. 540 hole₁. 542 bəlt. 545 hōp. 547 bæœp₁d. 548 fœœp₁d. 550 wād. 551 stu'rm. 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. 554 kros. O'- 555 shəə. 557 tə. 558 lək lək. 559 mādher. 561 bləm. 562 mən. 563 mände₁. 564 sən. 566 ədher.

O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 573 fləd. 574 brəd. 575 stəd. 576 wed'nzde₁. 577 bou. 578 plīkəcht. 579 enūkəh. 580 tīkəh. 581 sokəcht. 582 kuul. 584 stəl. 585 brəm. 586 dəə. 587 dən. 588 nən. 589 spən. 590 floœp₁r. 591 mœœp₁r. 592 swœœp₁r. 593 mast. 594 bət. 595 fe't. 596 rət. 597 sət.

U- 599 eb'n. 600 lav. 601 fuul. 602 sæu. 603 kam. 605 sən. 606 door. 607 bat₁tər. U: 608 agle₁. 609 fəl. 610 uu. 611 balək.

612 sam. 613 draɣk. 614 hænd. 615 pæn. 616 græn. 617 sæʹund [Dr. Murray gives (sʹund), but JGG. got (sʹ₁und) from Selkirk town, and (sə₂ʹunʹd) from Roxburgh town, where (ə₂) is nearly (æ), but these seem town pron.]. 618 uund. 622 ænder. 625 tæq. 626 hæqer. 629 sæn. 630 wæn. 631 tharzde^l. 632 æp. 633 dæp. 634 thræʹu. 636 [(fæærær) is used for both farther and further]. 637 tæsk. 639 dast.

U'- 640 kæʹu. 641 hæʹu. 642 dhæʹu. 643 næʹu. 645 dæʹu. 648 uur. 649 thuzent. 652 kud. 653 bat. U': 654 shʹrud. 656 rùm. 657 brùn. 658 dùn. 661 shuur. 662 az [never (haz) as in Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 188, but this may have been an individuality]. 663 hùs. 664 lùs. 665 mùs. 666 hæzbent. 667 üt. 668 prüt. 669 ænkuuth. 670 bũth.

Y- 673 makʹl. 674 leʹi. 675 d₁ræai. 678 deʹn. 679 kark. 680 belze^l. 682 leʹtʹf. Y': 683 meʹd₁. 684 breʹg. 685 reʹg. 686 báai. 687 flækjht. 689 bæʹd. 690 keʹinʹd. 691 meʹinʹd. 693 seʹn. 696 berth. 697 bære^l. 698 merth. 699 wrækjht. 700 wæar. 701 ferst. 703 peʹt. Y'- 705 skúai. 706 [replaced by (kwat fæ) what for]. 707 thertin. 708 háaiær. Y': 709 fáaiær. 711 leʹis. 712 meʹis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 mect. E. 746 bræedh. 750 bææg. O. 761 liʹd. 769 móude^l. U. 808 pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 rin.

D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife.*

Boundary. Begin just n. of the Liberties of the town of Berwick, and, joining the Tweed, follow it to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb., then turn along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, and continue along first the e. b. of Pb. and then the e. b. of Lk. to Kirkintillock, Dm. (18 e. Dumbarton), and to the head of Carron Water. Then suddenly back to ne. and pass just s. of Stirling and n. of Allod, Ce., and Kinross and w. of Cupar, Fi., to fall into the Firth of Tay a little w. of Newport, Fi. (opposite Dundee, Fo.). Of course this boundary is merely approximative, and means that the ne. part divides Sg. and Fi., so that the whole country for some miles on each side of the Firth of Forth is included.

Area. Most of Bw., Ce., Ed., Hd., Kr., Ll., and Pb., or in Scotch parlance the Lothians (Ll., Ed., Hd.) and Fife, whence Dr. Murray's name *Lothian and Fife*. The country included was the seat of government under the Scotch Kings, and was hence the centre of its English Literature.

Authorities. Dr. M.'s DSS. is very scanty on this dialect, because it furnishes "received Scotch," and is hence as well known to a Lowlander as "received English" to an Englishman. But I have made the best use I could of his scattered hints. Next I had 18 sentences for the Lothians and 4 for Fife from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709, at bottom. For the rest see Alphabetical County List under.

Bw. °Chirnside.

Ed. ‖Edinburgh.

Hd. °Haddington.

Illustrations.

1. The es. for Edinburgh pal. by JAHM. from dictation of Mrs. C. Murray, a native, p. 683, No. 3. The Hd. es., which was in io., is almost exactly the same word for word as the Ed. es., and hence is not given.

2. Melville Bell's Lothian and Fife sentences.
3. The numerals 1 to 12 with 20 from Ph., Ed, Fi., compared with those from Rx. and Ab. from Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*.
4. The Chirnside dt.
5. A ewl. made up of the words thus obtained, and a wl. from Chirnside.

Characters. From these illustrations, especially the last, the following have been deduced.

A- generally (*e, è, ee*) or according to JAHM. (*e'*) as (*te'^l, ne'^lm*) tale, name. This is quite distinct from the (*i'*) of D 33. There is no fracture in D 34.

A: regularly (*a, à*) and not (*a'*) as in D 33, nor (AA).

A' regularly (*e, ee*) the same as A-, though (*a, AA, o*) are also heard, as (*wha, whAA, tood, ròd*) who, toad, road.

Æ- tends the same way as A-, as (*fèdhr, wæter dee'*) father, water day.

Æ' is usually (*ii*), but there are many exceptions.

E' is normally (*ii*), as *he, me*, and not (*éi*) as in D 33.

EAL is usually (AA) as (AA, Aald, SAAT) all, old, salt.

EA', EO' normally (*ii*) with a few exceptions.

I' has two sounds (*ái, éi*) or (*ǣ'i, E'i*), informants differ. (*éi*) or (*E'i*) is used before voiceless consonants and mutes.

O' is regularly (*yy*) inclining to (*y₁, ø*), and varying as (*iu, i*) as (*skəl, sy₁n, eniukh, fit*) school, soon, enough, foot.

U: closed, is regularly (*ǣ*) as (*grǣn, ǣp*) ground, up.

U' is always (*uu, ù*) even in open syllables, and at the end of a word as (*kuu, hùs*) cow, house, thus differing from D 33.

Among the consonants there is only one form of (*kh*) used in all positions, (*kjh, kwch*) are unknown. At Chirnside initial *ch* is pron. (*sh*), as (*dher*)z ez gy₁d shiiz i :shirset az waz ever shóud wi shafts there is as good cheese in Chirnside as ever was chewed with jawbones. We have a similar usage at Chillingham, Nb., D 32, V v, p. 641.

Mr. Collette, a Fifeman, in Oct. 1880. informed me that he had often heard (*aa*)z for *I am* from Fife lads. But possibly it was only for *I shall*, which is common. It has however been heard as far north as Dumfries.

LOTHIAN SENTENCES FROM MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH,
CORRECTED AS THOSE IN D 33, p. 709.

Here (*i₁, a¹, e*) are used for (*y, ah*) and unaccented (*ə*).

LOTHIAN.

TRANSLATION.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. hers'l i₁n ba¹ jər kripi
[kriipi], i₁n bers'l jər teez i₁t dhi
eq'l.</p> | <p>1. Hustle in by [push forward]
your creepy [stool] and warm your
toes at the ingle [fire].</p> |
| <p>2. ee fikh ! kle'pshirz 'n
golakhs !</p> | <p>2. Ah fangh ! earwigs and clocks
[beetles].</p> |
| <p>3. djast a¹ rek'l v stenz.</p> | <p>3. Just a loose heap of stones.</p> |
| <p>4. hooht, mən ! whəm'l)t ǣp !</p> | <p>4. Hout, man ! turn it up !</p> |
| <p>5. sek neer'i₁l₁ ne'p₁tn₁'s bets
AA dh₁t i₁vər v hard o !</p> | <p>5. Such narrowly niggardness beats
all that ever I heard of ?</p> |
| <p>6. niver ky'ljiz nee kenni's.</p> | <p>6. Never coax is no kindness.</p> |
| <p>7. she)z noo skremi't o kynzi
[kyni] bi't kana' bi fasht !</p> | <p>7. She)s not stingy of coin [money],
but cannot be bothered.</p> |

8. v)l noo fekht Ji beeth et Jens,
bi₁t a)l tak Ji bi Jens₁z.

9. whar i i₁ gAAAN?

10. shu)z v siv'l widi wamen.

11. ee! sek a' pitil! ti₁ sii dh₁
wii bi₁t laami steket.

12. fre :demideks, dhi idher dee,
ti₁ :djini :diinz v ben't mi wéi,
bæt dil)hed kahd á'i dæə, ohr see,
bæt—whes'l æ'ur dhi leev oh)t.

13. kanti karl [kærl] kəm prii
mi₁ muu.

14. hee, mæn! kAA dh₁ jæ'uz
ti₁ dh₁ nã'uz.

15. wha whə'pæt dh₁ laadhi?
hiz fedher did wəz)ð, tē mak i₁m
gaq ti₁ dh₁ skəl.

16. huu)z AA wi i et heem?
gēiliz', thaqk Ji fer spiir'n.

17. gaq vwaar, ladi, gee tē dh₁
hohrs, see L! L! en shuu i₁m bak
vgi'n.

18. v braa shərt-gun AA djæ'upet
wi glaar.

8. I'll not fight you both at once, but
I'll take you by onces [one at a time].

9. Where are you going?

10. She's a civil widow woman.

11. Ah! such a pity! to see the
wee bit lambkin stuck.

12. From Dumbiedykes the other
day

To Jeanie Dean's I bent my way,
But devil head [devil a bit] could
I do or say,

But—whistle over the leave [re-
mainder] of it.

13. Lively fellow, come prove
[make trial of] my mouth [=kiss me].

14. Heh, man! call thy ewes to
the knolls.

15. Who whipped the laddy? His
father indeed was)it, to make him
go to the school.

16. How is all with you at home?
Gaily [very well], thank you for
speering [asking].

17. Go away, laddy, go to the
horse, say, cl'ck, cl'ck! and shoo
[scare] him back again.

18. A brave [smart] shirt-gown
[bodice] all besprinkled with mud.

FIFE SENTENCES FROM MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH, CORRECTED
AS THOSE IN D 33.

1. od, dh₁r)z twAA :wæli
:wælis'nz, en twAA :robi :robis'nz,
en twAA :djimi :djimis'nz, en
twAA kœt lægut suuz.

2. ær Ji en, :djini :wɪl'ms'n?
—whæt er Ji wan'n? di i no ken
et's dh₁ saabi₁th dee? — v)m
wan'n a' baabi wërth v saat en
a' peniwerth v mæstərht, a' len i
er [JER] ket'l, en a' blaa i er
[JER] beles, en hiir)z mi₁ mēdherz
mæt) t'l mæn₁ndee!

3. dh₁r) kintri kəz'nz jə ki'n.

4. od)iv)i)ker)i)mii! sek v
bleedher'n tjil!

1. 'Od, there's two Willy Will-
son's, and two Robby Robisons,
and two Jamie Jamiesons, and two
cut-lugged [crop-eared] sows.

2. Are you in, Jeanie Williamson?
What are you wanting? do you not
know it's the sabbath day? I'm
wanting a bawbeeworth of salt, and
a pennyworth of mustard, a loan of
your kettle, and a blow of your
bellows, and here's my mother's cap
till Monday.

3. They are country cousins you
know.

5. 'Od-have-a-care-of-me! such
a blethering chiel [fellow].

NUMERALS.

Mid L. compared with south and north L. numerals from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, where they had been written from the dictation of natives, 1, Peebles, D 34, from Mr. G. Elphinstone; 2, Midlothian, D 34, from Mr. Archibald Bell; 3, Fife, D 34, from Rev. D. S. Drysdale; 4, Teviotdale, D 33, from Dr. Murray; 5, Aberdeen, D 39, from Mr. J. Forrest.

	<i>one</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>seven</i>
1 <i>Peebles.</i>	jen	twee	thrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks	siv'n
2 <i>Midlothian.</i>	jen en	twəə	khrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks saks	siv'n
3 <i>Fife.</i>	e'n	twaa	thrii	fæ'ur	fæ'v	seks	siv'n
4 <i>Teviotdale.</i>	jen	twee'	threi	fóour	fa'iv	seks	siv'n
5 <i>Aberdeen.</i>	in	twaa	thrii	fa'u'r	fa'v	sa'ks	seiv'n

	<i>eight</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>eleven</i>	<i>twelve</i>	<i>twenty</i>
1	aakht	néin	teen	i ₁ li·v'n	twəhl	twi ₁ nti.
2	eekht	néin	ten'	i ₁ li·v'n	twel	twi ₁ nti.
3	ekht	ne'in	teen	eli·v'n	twel	twinti.
4	aakjht	néin	tæn'	i ₁ li·v'n	twəhl	tunti.
5	akht	ne'in	ten	i ₁ leiv'n	twal	twi ₁ nti.

CHIRNSIDE (8 WNW. Berwick) dt.

Written by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, or Old Luce (15 w-by-n. Wigton), and palaeotyped by A.J.E. from his explanations and notes. The dialect is "broad and slow."

1. See a *see*, nibærz, i sii náu at a)m rikht abùt dhat lat'l wansh kamin thre [fre] dhæ skyl dhoner.

2. shy'z gaq'n dùn dhæ ròd dheer thruu dhæ rid jeet on dhæ w'raq séid o dhæ geet (rood).

3. shy'r eníukh dhæ beern)z geen strekht ap tæ dhæ door o dhæ w'raq hús,

4. wheer shy'l jib'lz [me)bi] find dhat dræk'n dif wæz'nd falí at)s kAAD [at dhæ kAA] :tam.

5. u AA kèn hím vérv wíl.

6. wæ)na dhæ Aald sha'p syn lern er noo tæ dy'd ugen, py'r theq!

7. sii! iz)na dhat truu? [iz dhat noo truu?].

e.MID LOWLAND ewl.

This is made up from the following sources :

E Edinburgh es. in introduction to L., No. 3, p. 683.

L. Lothian sentences from A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected. The Lothians are the counties of LL., Ed., Hd., respectively, w., m., and e.

F Fife, ditto.

C Chirnside wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson.

M Words marked Central Scottish in Dr. Murray's wl., in his DSS., of which the parts for D 33 are given on p. 716. Possibly many of these words belong properly to D 35. Probably all the words in Dr. M.'s D 33 list, not here specially marked as different, have the same sound in D 33 and D 34.

The pron. of all these places is presumed to be practically identical, and as I have no means of discriminating them, I put them all together in one list, distinguishing the sources.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 L tak. 5 LE mak. — M *te'n* [taken]. 19 M *te'l*. 21 C *ncem*. 25 M *me'n*. — C *geet* [roadway]. A: 39 E *kām*. 41 L *thaqk*. — C *fan* [fand, pt. of find]. 49 E *hèq'n* [hanging]. — L *kāna'l* [can't]. 51 E *mān*. 54 E *wānt*, F *wan'in* [wanting]. 56 C *WAAsh*, E *wāsh'n* [washing]. A: or O: 58 E *fe*, C *thrè fe*. 59 L *kaami*. 60 M *laq*. 61 M *ama'q*. 62 M *straq*. 63 M *thraq*. 64 E *ràq*, MC *w'raq*. 65 M *saq*.

A'- 67 L *gaq*, [*gee*] imper., LE *gaan*, C *gaq'n* [going]. 70 LC *tee*. 72 E *whaa*, L *wha*. 73 EC *see*, C *soo*. 74 EF *twaa*, C *twec*. 76 C *tood*. 77 M *leerd* [lord of the soil]. 79 E *ce'n*. 82 E *jèns*. 86 C *jāts*. 87 EC *kleez*. 88 C *klīd*. 89 E *bee'th*, L *beeth*. 90 FC *blaa*. A': 102 E *aks*, C *Aask*. 104 C *rōd*. 110 E *noo'l*. 111 C *ookht*. 113 E *hee'l*. 115 EL *heem*. 122 ii. E *nee*, L *noo*. 124 L *stn*. 125 E *onli*. 133 M *w'ret*. 134 E *ee'th*.

Æ- 138 ELC *iedher*. 144 L *egyn*. 152 C *wecter*. Æ: 154 E *bāk*. 160 M *eg*. 161 E *dee'l*, FC *dee*. 164 E *me*. — M *slekt* [sleight]. 169 EC *whan*, E *kēchan*, C *whan*. 173 E *wyzz*. 174 C *ceesh*. — M *les* [less]. 177 E *dhat*, L *dhyt*. 179 E *kuchet*. Æ'- 182 M *sii*. 187 L *leev*. 189 C *wii*. 194 E *onl*. 195 E *moni*, C *mani*. 197 C *shiiiz*. 200 C *whiit*. Æ': 204 L *did* [indeed]. 205 C *thrid*. 208 L *ivur*. 214 E *nee'dher*. — F *len* [a loan]. 223 E *dhce'r*, C *dheer*. 224 E *kucheer*, EC *whcer*, L *whar*. 227 C *wa't*. 228 C *swiit*.

E- 232 C *brik*. 233 C *spik*, E *spik'n* [speaking]. 234 *ne'd*. 235 *wiiv*. 244 E *wil*. 248 E *me'e'r*, C *miir*. 252 EF *ket'l*. — M *set'l* [settle]. E: 256 *striket* [stretch]. 261 E *see'l*, LC *see*. — M *bed* [bed]. 262 E *wee'l*, C *wéi*. 263 L *ewaa'*, C *a'waa*. 265 C *strekht*. 270 F *i. belus*. — M *sel* [sell]. 271 E *tel*. — M *hem* [hem]. 276 E *the qk*. 278 C *wānsh*. — M *send* [send]. 281 E *lenth*. 287 C *biz'm*. 288 M *let*. — M *best* [best]. E'- 289 C *ii*. 290 M *hii*. 292 EM *mii*. 293 EM *wii*, C *uu*. E': 305 C *hāi*, M *hekh hii* [M (hiilan) highland]. 306 *hekht*. 312 E *hiir*, F *hir*. 314 EL *hard*.

EA- — L *neerlyly* [narrowly]. 320 E *ke'e'r*. EA: 321 E *saa*. 322 EM *laakh*, C *laakh*. 324 M *akht*. 326 EC *aald*. 330 E *hād*. 335 L *aa*. 338 ELC *kaa*. — F *saat*. 340 E *jee'rd*. 345 C *daaf*. 346 C *jet jeet*. EA'- 347 C *hiid*. 348 M *ii*, E *in* [eyes]. — L *bet*. EA: 350 C *diid*. 352 C *rid*. 355 C *diif*. 357 C *thoo*. 359 E *nibar*. 364 C *sha'p*. 366 C *grit*. 367 C *thret*. 368 C *deeth*. EI- 372 E *æe*. EI: 378 C *weck*.

EO- 386 L *jā'u*, C *jāu*. 387 E *nīuu*. EO: 390 *shəd*. 394 E *sonder*, C *dhonor*. 395 E *jaq*. 399 E *brekht*. 402 C *lern*. 409 M *bii*. — M *frii* [tree]. — M *k'nii*. 411 E *khrii* [in the phrase *twaa'khrii* two or three, *i.e.* a few], C *thrii*. — M *trii* [tree]. 412 C *shii shy₁*, L *shu*. 413 L *dil*. 414 M *thi*. — M *fii* [to flee]. 415 M *lii*. EO': 423 MC *thii*. 424 C *rakh*. 425 C *lkht*. 426 MLC *fekht*. 427 M *bii*. 428 C *sii*. 435 EM *juu* [E (jir) your]. 436 C *truu*. 437 EC *try'th*. EY- 438 MEC *dii*. EY: 439 E *træst*.

I- 446 E *na'an*. I: 452 E *a'l*, C *a*. 454 C *wa'tj*. — L *widi* [widow]. 458 E *ne'kht*, M *nekht*. 459 C *rakht*, M *rekht*. 460 C *wekht*, M *wakht*. 465 E *sèk'n*, L *sek*. 466 C *shéld*. — L *yn*, F *en* [in]. 477 C *find*. 480 EC *theq*. 482 E *e's*. 484 E *dhe's*. — L *whas'l* [whistle].

I'- 490 L *ba't*. M *bii* [by, agent]. 491 M *sa'ikh sāi*. 492 C *sé'd*. 494 E *ta'im*. — M *pe'ip* [pipe]. 497 M *ra'iz*. 498 M *w'ra'it*. — M *blæ'adh* [blithe]. I': — M *da'ik*. 500 E *la'ikli*. 502 C *faiv*. 503 *léf*. 505

[M (wə'ivz) wives]. 506 LC wəmen. 508 M mə'il. — M rə'im [rhyme]. 510 ii. mə'l. 511 M wə'n.

O- 519 E ə'nr. 520 C bə'u. 524 C wərldt, E wərlɔd. O: 531 C dɔkhtər, E dɔɔkhtər. 535 E fə'uk. 536 M gɔud. 538 E wəd wəd. — M hɔu [hollow]. — L nə'uz [knolls]. — L hɔlɔrs [horse]. O'- 555 C shy. 557 E tʃy. 559 E mɔdher. 560 L skɔl, C skyl. 563 L mənɔndɛ. 564 C syn. 566 E ədher, L idher. O': 570 C tʃyk. 571 E gʃyɔd, EC gyd. 577 C buu. 578 C pləkh. 579 E enɔk, C enɔk. 580 C tɔuk. 586 EF di, L dɔ, [C (dʃ)d do it]. 587 E dyn. 588 E ɛtɛrnɔn. 594 C byt. 595 C fɪt.

U- 602 MFC sun. 603 L kəm. 604 E sɛ'mɔr. 605 C sɛn. 606 EC dɔɔr. U: 616 E græn. 629 E sɛn. 631 E fhɛrzdɛl. 632 C ɛp. 634 EC thruu. 635 F wərth. U'- 640 MC kuu. 641 EL huu. 643 ME nuu. 645 C duu. 646 M buu. 650 E ə'bʊt, C ɛbʊt. 651 E wəthʊt. 652 L kɔhd, C kyd. 653 C bɪt. U': 658 EC dʊn. 663 EC hʊs. 667 E ʊt. 671 L muu.

Y- 673 E mək'l. 674 E ded. 681 E bɛlznɔs. 682 C lɪ'l lɪf'l. Y: — L kɛmɔs [kindness]. 697 C byri. 700 C wɔar. 701 C fɛrst fɛrst. Y'- 705 C skɔi. — M hɛ'ɪd. Y': 709 M fɛ'ɪr, C fɛ'ɪr. 712 M mə'is, C mə'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 L laadhɪ. 736 M las. E. — M pɛt [pet]. I. and Y. — L ɛql [ingle, fire] — L whɔ'pɔt [whipped]. O. — M pɔu [poll, head]. 790 L gun. U. 797 E skwekɪn. 798 E kwɪr. 804 EC drɔk'n. — E hɛri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 M fɛ's. 815 E fɛks. 820 [L (gɛ'iliz) gaily]. — M pɛ'lɪn [paling]. 857 E kɛ'ɛs. 860 M pɛ'st. — rɛ't [rate]. 862 M sɛ'f. 864 E bɪkɔz. — M haakhtɪ. 866 C pyr. E.. 867 E tɪi. — M dɛrɪk [direct]. — M pɛlet [pellet]. — M pɛn [pen]. — M mɛnd [mend]. — M sɛnt [scent]. — M tɛnt [tent]. — M vɛnt [vent]. — M vɛntɛr [venture]. 885 E vɛ'ri. — pɛst [pest]. — M tɛst [test]. — M rɛstlɛs [restless]. — M tɛkst [text]. I.. and Y.. — L sɪv'l [civil]. O.. 920 E pɔ'ɪnt, M pɛ'nt. 925 E vɔ'is. 935 M kɪntre. 938 E kɔrnɛr. — M kɔnɔrd [coward]. 947 M bɛ'ɪl. 950 E sɛpɛr. 953 F kɔz'n — F mɛstɛrlɪt [mustard]. 955 E dʊt. — L priiv [prove, try]. — M buɛl [bowel]. — M tuɛl [towel]. U.. 961 M gruuɛl. — M truɛl [trowel]. 963 E kwɔ'ɪt. 969 EC shyɪr. 970 E dʃɪst, L dʃɛst. — E brɪ't [brute].

D 35 = wML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's

Clydesdale.

Boundaries. Begin at the s. extremity of the CB. or Celtic Border in Scotland, and proceed along it as far as Glendouglas, between Lochs Long and Lomond. Then skirting first the w. and then the se. side of Loch Lomond to the b. of Sg., run e. across Sg. over the Campsie Hills to join the sharp angle at the w. of D 34, about 12 w. of the se. angle of Loch Lomond. Then go sse. to b of Lk. near Kirkintilloch, Sg. Pursue the border of Lk. till it reaches Ay., and then cross Ay. to the w., s. of Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Ayr to the sea, separating the Ayrshire district of Kyle on the n. from that of Carrick in the s. Then by the sea coast to Bute again. Of course the b. across Ay. is not very distinct, and the pron. of the n. of this extensive district may be in several respects different from that in the s., which has most literary interest as the land of Burns.

Area. A narrow slip to se. of Ar., the s. of Bt., the n. of Ay., the e. and s. of Dm., Lk. and Rf.

Authorities. Mr. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences in his *Visible Speech*, corrected as for D 33 and 34, p. 709. Dr. Murray's notes and Ayrshire Ruth, p. 698, No. 2. Account of pron. in Kyle by Wm. Simson, schoolmaster in Cumnock, given on pp. 681-693 of Wm. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Air." Glasgow, 1811. The above are from printed books. The following are special communications. See Alphabetical County Index under the following names, where || indicates systematic and ' informants' orthography.

Ay. °Coylton, ||Kilmarnock, °Ochiltree.

Lk. °Glasgow.

Rf. °Lochwinnoch.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "1. The Clydesdale dialect [D 35] is distinguished from that of Lothian [D 34] chiefly by its broader vowels. 2. The long (aa) especially is almost, if not quite, (AA) in (twAA, awAA, wAAk) two, away, wake. 3. It is heard also in the combination -and, where the *d* is regularly dropped, as (laan, haan) land, hand; so 4. (een, meîn, fen) end, mind, find. 5. Long *i* becomes broad 'a'i), (wa'ivz, ba'id, sta'i) wives, bide, stay. 6. The (yy, əə) is scarcely labial (dɔə, tɔə, wɔə), etc., being undistinguishable from (dee, tee, wee) or (dii, tii, wii). 7. Short *o* before a consonant has a tendency to be replaced by (a, a), as in (pat, tap, stap, paritj, drap, banet, af, aft, hap, wartj) pot, top, stop, porridge, drop, bonnet, off, oft, hop, world. This change does not appear in the Early or Middle Scotch, and is probably of Celtic origin. In modern times it has gained a wide currency from being used by Burns in this dialect."

These characters shew the salient points of difference between the n. forms of D 35 and those of D 34. But a comparison of the cwl. already given for D 34 with that given below for D 35 will shew that they do not quite agree for the s. parts of D 35. To take each point separately, as I have numbered them, we find 1. that it is not quite possible to attach a meaning to 'broader vowels' generally; 2. that in the particular instances given, although they all occur in Dr. M.'s Ruth, yet at any rate (twa) is repudiated at Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), where (twee) is used, and that this form is also found at Coylton (5 e.Ayr), though (twaa) seems to have been also heard, as well as at Glasgow. I think the (AA) was due to Mr. Giffen, who represents s Rf. The (wAAk) wake was heard by Dr. M. (DSS. p. 77, note) from some "Wast Cuintrie folk," when travelling, but the precise locality of the speaker is not given, and was probably not known. 3. (laan, haan) land, hand, occur at Coylton and Ochiltree, but Dr. M. gives (laan, haan) in D 33, which is nearly the same. I have not got the words for D 34, nor can I compare for *end*, *mind*, but *find* has the *d* at Chirnside, Bw. The omission of *d* after *n*, as in the pp., is so common that it scarcely becomes a character. 5. Long *i* = (a'i) I have continually as "central Scottish" from Dr. M.'s lw., but perhaps he meant D 35 rather than D 34. My own accounts from s.D 35, as Coylton and Ochiltree, give (éi) or (Ei) generally, and (ái) before voiced

consonants, in fact the prevalence of (éi) is very conspicuous; my examples of (á'í) are from Dr. M. 6. As to the pron. of (yy, əə) as (ii, ee), this seems to belong to w.l.k. or Rf., that is, to Mr. Giffen, see notes to Tam o' Shanter below, especially v. 89, 122, 143, 183, but on the contrary (yy, əə) are constantly given from Coylton and Ochiltree. 7. Here I have from Simson, quite independently of Dr. M. or Mr. Giffen, (drap, hap, stap, lapster) drop, hop, stop, lobster, but this use of (a) for O: does not seem to be the rule, on the contrary (o) is more frequent, as (hól, fók, bólt, stórn, kórnr, hórnr, krós) hole, folk, bolt, storm, corn, horn, cross. And Simson gives (a'u) which I cannot further analyse, but which may be (óu, á'u) in (ha'up, fa'uk, ga'ud, ta'ul, ba'ul, ha'u, ha'um, ka'ult) hope, folk, gold, toll, bowl, hollow, holm, colt, where the diphthong is mainly due to a suppressed (l). For myself, I have not been able to ascertain any certain characters by which D 35 as a whole can be separated from D 34 as a whole. But then in these extensive districts there must be much local variety, some notion of which may be obtained from Mr. D. Patrick's Lochwinnoch, Rf., below, and also from the differences given in the cwl. below for the places there named.

Illustrations.

1. Dr. Murray's Ruth, chap. i., for Ay., has been already given in Introduction to Lowland, p. 698
2. Mr. Melville Bell's few Clydesdale sentences, immediately below.
3. Rev. Neil Livingston's dialect test from Coylton (5 e.Ayr) on next page.
4. Tam o' Shanter, from several sources, see the Introduction to it on next page.
5. Cwl. for all D 35, compiled from Dr. Murray's Ruth, and notes, Rev. Neil Livingston's Coylton wl., Mr. J. Alexander's Glasgow wl., Simson's Kyle, and Mr. David Patrick's valuable and complete wl. for Ochiltree.
6. Mr. D. Patrick's notes on Lochwinnoch, Rf.

The three principal wl. by Messrs. Livingston, Alexander, and Patrick, have been of great service to me. Mr. Patrick, who had special opportunities when young of becoming perfectly familiar with the dialects of Ochiltree and Lochwinnoch, took the greatest pains, by long notes and illustrations, to convey the sounds to me. The version of Tam o' Shanter has been executed with much care from several sources, and probably represents Burns's district as well as can be hoped. The notes explain the varieties.

MR. A. MELVILLE BELL'S CLYDESDALE SENTENCES, CORRECTED AS IN D 33, p. 709, at bottom.

CLYDESDALE.

TRANSLATION.

1. a)m grn əp dhí₁ :gal'vɣí₁t
tə kəə ɛpí₁n :sani :makfərs'n.
2. wɛ:l et wɛr brɛd 'n bæ;ɛr
dun dhu wə;ɛr.
3. maa' kɔnshɛns! haɣ v bɛ'ili!

1. I am going up the Gallowgate
to call upon Sandy (Alexander)
Macpherson.
2. Will eat our bread and butter
down the water.
3. My conscience! hang a Baillie!

DISTRICT OF KYLE, Ayrshire, dt.,

Written in io. by Rev. Neil Livingston, Free Church Manse, Coynton (5 e. Ayr),
pal. by A.J.E. from the indications furnished.

1. *see a see, meets, ji sii nuu dhat a)m re^lkht vùt dhàt wii g^erl kàmen fre dhe^l skyył joner.*

2. *shii)z gAAN dùn dhe^l rood dheer thruu dhe^l rid jET on dhe^l left HAAN séid o dhe^l wéi.*

3. *shyyr vñàkh [unàkh] dhe^l ween he'z geen strakht ap te dhe^l door o dhe^l raq hùs.*

4. *whaar shi)l me)bi fe'n dhàt drak'n diif we'z'nt falò o dhe^l neem o :tàmùs.*

5. *wi AA ken)em vera wil.*

6. *wà)ne dhe^l aal tjàp shyyr leern ur noo te dee)t vgeen, pyyr the'q!*

7. *lak, e'z)ne it truu?*

TAM O' SHANTER.

In this land of Burns (b. 25 January, 1759, in a small cottage near Ayr, d. 21 July, 1796), an attempt must be made to give the pron. of one of Burns's poems. But Burns is a very difficult writer to deal with. He is the typical modern Scotch poet, yet his writings are generally much more than half ordinary English. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 76) gives the following figures:—

	has different words,		of which the un-English are only
1. A man's a man for a' that	115	.....	18
2. Dumcan Gray	117	.....	30
3. Auld Lang Syne	80	.....	24
4. Scots wha hae	100	.....	9
5. The Death of Poor Mailie	461	.....	71
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	873		152 = 17·88 p. cent.

“And yet,” says Dr. M., “if a countryman of the poet were to recite these poems to a Southern audience, it is not too much to say that not more than three words in a hundred would be heard as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling.”

And not only are the words chiefly English, but the construction is often merely English. “Scots wha hae,” remarks Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 71 note), “is *fancy* Scotch—that is, it is merely the English ‘Scots who have’ spelled as Scotch. Barbour (1489) would have written ‘Scottis at hes,’ Dunbar (1475) or Douglas (1474–1522) ‘Scottis quhilkis hes,’ and even Henry Chatteris, in the end of the xvth century, ‘Scottis quha hes.’ . . . The vernacular is still ‘Scots at hæs,’ which Burns apparently considered ungrammatical, and therefore shaped the words after an English model. Much of the contemporary Scotch is of this character; it is Scotch in spelling, English in everything else.”

Now what was to be done with this English, in the disguise of Scotch or L. In 1848 Mr. Thomas Lang, now of Melbourne, Australia, but then resident at Kilmarnock, where Burns's poems were first published in 1786, and in a house built by one of Burns's heroes, Tom Samson, in sending me a phonetic transcript in the alphabet I then used (explained above in Part IV. p. 1183), adopted the principle of giving the English words in English Scotch (see D 33, p. 715), and the L. words in the local pron. Subsequently on the suggestion of the late

Mr. Carstairs Douglas (then a student at Glasgow, and subsequently a missionary in China), who, with a committee of six other Ayrshire students, carefully reviewed the version, he adopted local pronunciation throughout. The version was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848, with a glossary and observations on pron. (pp. 145-152, and 227-229). It was submitted to several other Scotch gentlemen, and finally was pal. with corrections. Afterwards, in November, 1883, Mr. R. Giffen (the well-known statistician), a native of Strathavon (:streeth'n), Avondale (12 w. Lanark), who had revised Dr. Murray's Ayrshire Ruth, chap. i. DSS. p. 239, note 1, had the kindness to go over the whole with me, though he feared that long residence in the s. of England had taken off the edge of his memory of the pron. As thus revised and corrected I now present it as the best I have been able to accomplish. But I am still not satisfied, especially with the treatment of the English portion of the poem. In fact the poem would have to be rewritten to reduce it to vernacular L. of D 35. I have considered it best to follow "the original MS., reproduced by the Photo-Chromolith Process, with an Introduction by Moy Thomas, Esq.," and published by Adams & Francis, 59, Fleet Street, no date (but the MS. was written in 1790), with the exception of four lines following v. 142, here and usually omitted, and not given by Mr. Lang. This original has been printed by side of the pronunciation in smaller type, following its usage of spelling, capitals, and punctuation. The small capitals represent larger handwriting. The words in [] are alternatives written over the preceding word in the MS. The italic *o'*, verse 55, was accidentally omitted in the MS., when making an alteration of *taden wi'* into *wi lades o'*. In the following notes referring to the numbers of the lines, I have endeavoured to explain the varieties of pron. and the difficulties of meaning.

:tam o :shanter.

when tɔpɪmən bɪlɪz liiv dhu strit,
 en druthi niBERz niBERz mit.
 az market deez er wi:ɹen let
 en fɔk bi:ɹn tɛ tak dhu get :
 whɛil wi sɪt buuzən at dhu napi,
 en geten fuu en ɛqke hapi,
 wi thi:k)ne on dhu laq :skɔts mɛilz,
 dhu mosɪz, wateɹz, slaps, en stɛilz,
 dhɪt lɑi bitwin us an ur hɛm,
 whar sɪts ur sɛlki sɛlen dem,
 gedhɹen hɛr brauz lɛik gedhɹen stɔɹm,
 nɛɹsen hɛr rath tɛ kip ɪt wɔɹm.

dhe's truth fan onest :tam o :shanter
 az hii fre :eer jee ne'kht did kanter,
 (Aal :eer wham niir v tun serpa'sez.
 far onest men, en boni la'sez).

o :tam ! hadst dhuu bat bin se wɛis
 az teen dhɑi een wɛif :keets advɛis !
 shi taal dhi wil dhu wɛz a ske'lem
 a bledhɹen, blastrɛn, drak'n ble'lem,
 dhut free :nɔvɛmber tɪl :ɔktɔɔber
 jee market dee dhu wɛz)ne soober ;
 dhut ilke melder wi' dhu mɪlɛr,
 dhu sat az laq az dhuu had sɪlɛr ;
 dhut evri neg wɛz kaad a shyy on,
 dhu smɪth en dhii gat roorɪn fuu on ;
 dhut at dhu :loordz hus in on :sɛnde,
 dhu dra:k wi :kert'n :dʒin tɪl mɛnde.

TAM O' SHANTER—A tale.

WHEN chapmen billies leave the street,
 And drouthy neebors, neebors meet ; 2
 As market-days are wearing late,
 And folk begin to take the gate ; 4
 While we sit bowsing at the nappy,
 And getting fou, & unco happy, 6
 We think na on the lang Scots miles,
 The mosses, waters, slaps & styles, 8
 That lie between us & our hame,
 Where sits our sulky, sullen dame, 10
 Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
 Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.— 12
 This truth fand honest TAM O' SHANTER,
 As he frae Ayr ae night did canter : 14
 (Auld Ayr whom ne'er a town surpasses,
 For honest Men, & bonnie lasses). 16
 O Tam ! hadst thou but been sae wise,
 As taen thy ain wife KATE's advice 18
 She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum ;
 A bletcheru, blusterin, drunken blemum : 20
 That frae November till October,
 Ae market day thou was na sober : 22
 That ilka melder, wi' the Miller
 Thou sat as lang as thou had siller : 24
 That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,
 The Smith & thee gat roarin fou on 26
 That at the L—d's house, even on Sunday,
 Thou drank wi' Kirkton Jean till Monday.—

shi profesáid, dhut leet ar shyn
 dhu wad bi fan dip drund in :dyn,
 ar katjt wi waarleks ii dhe merk
 bi :a'lowuz aal hantid kerk.
 aa! djent'l demz! it garz mi grit
 te thiik hu maní kuns'lz swit,
 huu maní lenth'nd seedj advé:suz
 dhe hazben fre dhe wéif despáuz!
 bat tyy, wer teel:—*Jee* market
 ne'kht,
 :tam had got planted anku re'kht,
 fast báí an iq'l, bliizin féinli,
 wi riimen swats, dhat draqk divéinli;
 and at hiz elbe, suter :djoní,
 hiz anshent, trásti, druthi kroni:—
 :tam lyyd him léik a vara bridher;
 dhee had bin fuu far wiks dligi'dher:
 dhe ne'kht dreev on wi saqz an
 klater,
 en éi dhi jel waz gra'uum báter:
 dhi la'nkadi en :tam gru greeshas,
 wi siikret feeverz, swit en preshas,
 dhe suter taald hiz kwiirest stórez,
 dhe lanberdz lakh wuz redi koras:
 dhe storm udhu't me'kht reer en ras'l—
 :tam didyne méin dhe storm a whas'l.
 :keer mad te sii a man se hapi,
 in drund himse'l ama'q dhe napi!
 az biiz fli heem wi leedz o trezher,
 dhe minúts wúqd dher wéi wi plezher.
 kíqz me bi blest, bat :tam wuz glóriús
 or AA dhi ilz o léif víktóriús.
 bat plezherz ar léik popiz spred,
 ju siiz dhe fluur, its bluum iz shed;
 ar léik dhe snAA, fa'z in dhe river,
 a móment whéit—dhen melts far
 EVER;
 ar léik dhe borià'lis rees
 dhat flit iir juu kan péint dher plés,
 ar léik dhe reenbooz lavli form,
 ivanishin amí'd dhe storm.
 ne man kan tedher téim ar téid.
 dhe uur aprotjez :tam men réid.
 dhat uur, o ne'khts blak eertj dhe kii-
 steen,
 dhat drii'vi uur hi mánts hiz biist in.
 an sík a ne'kht hi tuk dhe rood in.
 az niir pyy,r síner wuz abroad in.
 dhe wán bluu az t)wéd bla'n its last;
 dhe ratlín shuurz rooz on dhe blast;

She prophesied, that, late or soon,
 Thou wad be found, deep drown'd in Doon; 30
 Or catch'd wi' warlocks in the mirk,
 By Aloway's auld, haunted Kirk.— 32
 Ah, gentle dames! it gars me greet,
 To think how many counsels sweet, 34
 How many lengthen'd, sage advices,
 The husband frae the wife despises! 36
 But to our Tale: ae market night,
 Tam had got planted unco right; 38
 Fast by an ingle, bleezin finely,
 Wi' reaming swats that drank divinely: 40
 And at his elbow, Souter Johnie,
 His auncient, trusty, drouthy crony; 42
 Tam lo'ed him like a very brither,
 They had been fou for weeks thegither.— 44
 The night drave on wi' sangs & clatter,
 And ay the ale was growing better: 46
 The landlady & Tam grew gracious,
 Wi' secret favors, sweet & precious: 48
 The Souter tauld his queerest stories;
 The Landlord's laugh was ready chorus 50
 The storm without might rair & rustle,
 Tam didna mind the storm a whistle.— 52
 Care, mad to see a man sae happy,
 E'en drown'd himsel amang the nappy: 54
 As bees flee hame, wi' lades o' treasure,
 The minutes wing'd their way wi' pleasure:
 Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,
 O'er a' the ills o' life victorious! 58
 But Pleasures are like poppies spread,
 You sieze the flower, its bloom is shed; 60
 Or like the snow, falls in the river,
 A moment white, then melts for ever; 62
 Or like the Borealis' race,
 That flit ere you can point their place; 64
 Or like the rainbow's lovely form,
 Evanishing amid the storm: 66
 Nae man can tether Time or Tide,
 The hour approaches Tam maun ride; 68
 That hour, o' Night's black arch the key-
 stane,
 That dreary hour Tam mounts his beast in;
 And sic a night he took the road in,
 As ne'er poor Sinner was abroad in.— 72
 The wind blew as 'twould blawn its last,
 The rattling showers rose on the blast, 74

dhe spidi glimz dhe daarknes swalød,
 lund, dip, an la'q dhe thæner belød.
 dhæt ne'kht a tjeild me'kht æmberstaan
 dhe dil had b'znes on hiz haan!

wil mænted on hiz gree miir, :meg,
 e beter never liftid leg,
 :tam skelpit on thruu dæb an máir,
 dispái:zen wæn, an reen, an fáir,
 whéilz hadin fast hiz gyd bluu banet,
 whéilz kryynin æ'ur en aal :skots

sonet;
 whéilz glá'urin run wi aqshes keerz,
 lest bog'lz katj him anaweerz;
 :ke'rk :alowe wuz draa'in náí,
 whar geests an houlets ne'khtli krái.

bái dhe's téim hii wuz kros dhe
 fyrd,
 whaar in dhe snaa dhe tjamæn
 smyyrd;

an past dhe be'rk an mik'l steen,
 whaar drak'n :tjeerli brak)s nek been;
 an thruu dhe whænz, an báí dhe keern,
 whaar hænters fan dhe mærdærd beern;
 an niir dhe thorn abyn dhe wæl,
 whaar :mæ'qez midher haqd herse'l.
 bifoer him :dyn poorz aa hiz flædz,
 dhe dæblen storm roorz thruu dhe
 wædz;

dhe lekhtuinz flash fre pool te pool,
 niir an moor niir dhe thænerz rool,
 whæn glimræn thruu dhe groonæn triüz
 :ke'rk :alowe simd in a bliiz,
 thru ilke boor dhe bimz wer glansen,
 an lud risu'nit me'rth an dansen!

inspáir'in baal :djon :barli'korn!
 what deændjerz dhuu kanst mak us
 skorn!

wi tîpeni wi fir nee iiv'il,
 wi æ'skwibee wi)l fees dhe diivil!
 dhi swats se riimd in :tamiz nod'l,
 feer plee, hi keerd)ne dilz a bod'l.
 bæ't :magi styd re'kht seer asto'nisht,
 tel báí dhe hiil an haan admo'nisht
 shi venturd farwærd on dhe le'kht:
 an, wæ'u! :tam saa an ække se'kht!
 waarleks an wætjiz in a dans—
 ne kotiljøn brent níuu fre :frans,
 bat haarpéips, djigz, straspéiz an
 riilz,
 pat léif an mæt'l in dhe'r hiilz.

The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed,
 Loud, deep, & lang, the thunder bellowed: 76

That night a child might understand
 The deil had business on his hand.— 78

Weel mounted on his grey meare, Meg,
 A better never lifted leg, 80

Tam skelpit on thro' dub and mire,
 Despising wind, & rain, & fire; 82

Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet;
 Whiles crooning o'er an auld Scots sonnet, 84

Whiles glowing round wi' anxious cares,
 Lest bogles catch him unawares: 86

Kirk-Aloway was drawing nigh,
 Where ghaists & houlets nightly cry.— 88

By this time he was cross the ford,
 Where in the snaw the chapman smoor'd: 90

And past the birks, & meikle stane,
 Where drunken Charlie braks neck-bane, 92

And thro' the whins, & by the cairn,
 Where hunters fand the murder'd bairn; 94

And near the thorn, aboon the well,
 Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel.— 96

Before him Doon pours all his floods;
 The doubling storm roars thro' the woods; 98

The lightnings flash frae pole to pole;
 Near, & more near, the thunders roll: 100

When, glimmering thro' the groaning trees,
 Kirk-Aloway seem'd in a bleeze, 102

Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing,
 And loud resounded mirth and dancing.—104

Inspiring, bold John Barleycorn!
 What dangers thou canst make us scorn! 106

Wi' tîpeny, we fear nae evil;
 Wi' usquabae, we'll face the devil! 108

The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle,
 Fair play, he ear'd na deils a boddle; 110

But Maggy stood, right sair astonish'd,
 Till, by the heel & hand admonish'd, 112

She ventur'd forward on the light,
 And, wow! Tam saw an unco sight. 114

Warlocks & witches in a dance,
 Nae cotillon brent new frae France, 116

But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, & reels,
 Put life and mettle in their heels.— 118

a wənək bæqker in dhi ist
 dhe'r sat aal :nik, in sheep o bist ;
 a tuuzi téik, blak, grim un leerdj,
 tē gii dhēm myyzi'k wəz hiz tjeerdj,
 hi skruud dhe péips ən gert dhēm
 ske'rl,

tīl ryf ən rafterz AA de'd de'rl.
 kofinz styd run, léik op'n presiz,
 dhat shaad dhe did in dhe'r last dresiz.
 an báí sām diivlish kantrip sle'kht,
 itj in its kaald haan haad a le'kht.
 báí whətj hirōō'ik :tam wəz eeb'l
 tē noot əp'ən dhe heeli teeb'l,
 a mærdreuz beenz in dʒibet eernz ;
 twee span-laq, wii, ənkris'nd beernz ;
 a thif niu-kæt'əd fre a reep,
 wii hiz last gasp hiz gab de'd geep ;
 fáiv tomahaa'ks, wi bly'd rid ræst'əd,
 fáiv simitarz, wi mærdreuz kræst'əd ;
 a gærtər whətj a beeb had straq'lt ;
 a nái, a feedherz throot had maq'lt,
 wham hiz een sən o léif birē'ft,
 dhe gree heerz jet stak tyt dhe heft,
 wi meer o horib'l an aafē,
 whətj in tē neem wad bii ənlaa'fb.

az :tami gl'aurd ameezd an kyvriis,
 dhe me'rth an fan gru fast an fyvriis :
 dhe péiper lud an luder bluu,
 dhe danserz kwik an kwik'er fluu,
 dhe riilt, dhe set, dhe krōst, dhe klik'it,
 tīl ilke keerl'n swat an rik'it,
 an kyst her dædiz ən dhe wark !
 an liq'it at it in her seerk !

nu :tam, oo :tam ! had dhee bin
 kwinz,

AA plamp an strap'n in dhe'r tinz,
 dhe'r seerks, instid o kriishi flæn'n
 bin snaa-whéit siiv'ntin hæner lín'n !
 dhe'r briks o méin, máí onli peer,
 dhat jins wër plæsh, o gyd blu heer,
 áí wad he gin dhēm af máí hærdis,
 far jee bliqk o dhe bōni bærdis !

bæt widherd beldemz, aal an dröl,
 rigwærdi hagz, wad spen a fol,
 læ'upen an fliqen ən a kræmk
 áí wæner, de'd)ne tærn dhái stæmk.

bæt :tam kent what wəz what fu
 braali,
 dhe'r wəz jee wənsəm wensh an
 waali,

A winnock-bunker in the east,
 There sat auld Nick in shape o' beast : 120

A towzie tyke, black, grim, & large,
 To give them music was his charge : 122

He screw'd the pipes & gart them sk'rl,
 Till roof & rafters a' did dirl.— 124

Coffins stood round, like open presses,
 That shaw'd the Dead in their last dresses ;

And by some devilish cantraip shagat,
 Each in its cauld hand held a light.— 128

By which heroic Tam was able
 To note upon the haly table ; 130

A murderer's baues, in gibbet-airns ;
 Twa span-lang, wee, unchristen'd bairns ; 132

A thief, new-cutted frae a rape,
 Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape ; 134

Five tomahawks wi' blude red-rusted ;
 Five scymitars wi' murder crusted ; 136

A garter which a babe had strangled ;
 A knife a father's throat had mangled, 138

Whom his ain son of life bereft,
 The gray-hairs yet stack to the neit : 140

Wi' mair of horrible & awfu',
 Which even to name wad be unlawfu'.—142

As Tammie glowr'd, amaz'd & curious,
 The mirth & fun grew fast & furious ; 144

The Piper loud & louder blew,
 The Dancers quick, & quicker flew, 146

They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they cleekit,
 Till ilka Carlin swat & reekit, 148

And coost her duddies on the wark,
 And linket at it in her sark.— 150

Now Tam ! O Tam ! had thae been queans,
 A' plump & strappin in their teens ! 152

Their sarks, instead o' creeshie flainen.
 Been snaw-white, seventeen-hunder linen :

Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,
 That ance were plush o' gude blue hair, 156

I wad hae gien them off my hurdies,
 For ae blink o' the bonie burdies, 158

But wither'd beldams, auld & droll,
 Rigwoodie hags, wad spean a foal, 160

Loupin & flingin on a crummock,
 I wonder did na turn thy stomach.— 162

But Tam kend what was what fu' brawlie :
 There was ae winsome wench & walie, 164

dhat ne'kht enli'sted in dhe koor,
 (laq efter kent on :karik shoor!
 far mani a biist te did shi shot,
 an perisht mani a boni bot,
 an shuk beeth mik'l korn an biir,
 an kept dhe kintra séid in fiir).
 her kati seerk, o :peeshi harn,
 dhàt whéil a lasi shii had worn,
 in londjityd thoo seerli skanti,
 it waz her best, an shii waz vanti.—
 aa! lit'l thokht dhái reevrend grani,
 dhàt seerk shi koft far her wii :nani,
 wi twee pan :skots (t-waz aa her
 ritjiz)

shud ever greest a dans o watziz!

bat hiir mái myyz her wiq man
 kuur,

sik fle'khts ar far biwont her puur,
 te síq huu :nani lap an flaq
 (a sup'l djaad shi waz an straq),
 an huu :tam styd, léik jen biwattj
 an thokht hiz vari in emri'tjt,
 in :saatan gla'urd an fidjd fu feen,
 an hotjt an blyy wi me'kht an meen,
 til farst jee keeper, séin an'dher,
 :tam tint hiz riiz'n aa dhig'i'dher,
 an roorz ut: "wil dyn, :kati :seerk!"
 an in an instent aa waz daark:
 an skeersli had hi :magi raliid,
 when ut dhe helish lidjen salid.

az biiz be'z út wi aqri féik,
 when planren herdz aseel dhe'r béik,
 az op'n pusiz mortal fooz
 when, pop! shi steerts bifoer dhe'r
 nooz,

az iiger rinz dhe market krud
 when "katj dhe thif" risuunz alu'd;
 see :magi rinz, dhe watziz fale
 wi mani an eldrity skriitj an hole.

aa :tam! aa :tam! dhuu] get dhái
 feerin!

in hel dheel rost dhii léik a herin!
 in veen dhái :keet awets dhái kamen!
 :keet shyn wil bii a weefu wamen!
 nuu, dy dhái spidi atmæst, :meg,
 an wan dhe kii-sten o dhe bre'g;
 dheer at dhem dhuu dhái teel mee tos,
 a rinin striim dhe daaruve kros!
 bat iir dhe kii-sten shii kœd mak,
 dhe fiint a teel shi had te sheek!

That night enlisted in the core,
 (Lang after kend on Carrick-shore, 166

For mony a beast to dead she shot,
 And perish'd mony a bonie boat, 168

And shook baith meikle corn & bear,
 And kept [held] the Country-side in fear:)

Her cutty-sark o' Paisly harn,
 That while a lassie she had worn, 172

In longitude tho' sorely scanty,
 It was her best, & she was vaunty.— 174

Ah, little thought thy reverend grannie,
 That sark she coft for her wee Nannie, 176

Wi' twa pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches,)
 Should ever grac'd a dance o' witches! 178

But here my Muse her wing maun cour,
 Sic flights are far beyond her power; 180

To sing, how Nannie lap & flang,
 (A souple jad she was, & strang:) 182

And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd,
 And thought his very een enrich'd; 184

Even Satan glow'r'd, & fidg'd fu' fain,
 And hotch'd, & blew wi' might & main: 186

Till, first ae caper, syne anither,
 Tam lost his reason a' thegither, 188

And roars out—"Weel done, Cutty-sark!"
 And in an instant all was dark: 190

And scarcely had he Maggie rallied,
 When out the hellish legion sallied.— 192

As bees bizz out, wi' angry fyke,
 When plundering herds assail their byke; 194

As open Pussie's mortal foes,
 When, pop, she starts before their nose; 196

As eager runs the market-croud,
 When, "catch the thief!" resounds aloud;

So Maggy runs, the witches follow,
 Wi' mony an eldritch skriech & hollo.— 200

Ah, Tam! Ah, Tam! thou'll get thy
 fairin!

In hell they'll roast thee like a' herrin! 202

In vain, thy Kate awaits thy comin!
 Kate soon will be a woetu' woman! 204

Now, do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
 And win the key-stane o' the brig; 206

There, at them thou thy tail may toss,
 A running stream they dare na cross; 208

But ere the key-stane she could make,
 The fient a tail she had to shake! 210

far :nani, far bifoer dhi rest,
 hard æpə noob'l :magi prest,
 an flu at :tam wi fyyriəs et'l,
 bat lit'l wast shi :magiz met'l—
 Jee spriq brokht af her meester
 heel,
 bat left bih'nt—her een gree teel!
 dhi keerlin klaakht hur bái dhe
 ræmp,
 an left pyyr :magi skeers a stamp.
 nuu, whee dhe's teel o tryth shul
 rid,
 ilk man an midherz sən, tak hid :
 whamiir te driqk ji er inklei'nt,
 ar kati-seerks rin in juur méin,
 thiqk, ji me bái dhe djóiz 3'ur
 diir—
 rime'mber :tam o :shanterz miir!

For Nannie, far before the rest,
 Hard upon noble Maggie prest, 212
 And flew at Tam wi' furious ettle,
 But little kend [wist] she Maggie's
 mettle; 214
 Ae spring brought off her master hale,
 But left behind her ain grey tail: 216
 The Carlin claight her by the rump,
 And left poor Maggie scarce a stump.—
 Now, wha this Tale o' truth shall
 read,
 Each Man, and Mother's son take
 heed. 220
 Whene'er to Drink you are inclin'd
 Or Cutty-sarks rin in your mind, 222
 Think, ye may buy the joys o'er dear,
 Remember Tam-o'-Shanter's meare.

Notes to Tam o' Shanter.

The references are to the lines. For brevity TL means Mr. T. Lang, and RG Mr. R. Giffen.

1. *when* (whan) acc., (whən) unacc. RG.—*chapman billies*, pedlars; 'chapman' is like the German *Kaufmann*, a trader of any sort, 'billies' used for young fellows, in a good sense.—RG. pron. all his close *a* as (a¹) or even (æ). This was probably due to English habits, and I have not followed it.—*street*, RG. pron. (strit) quite short, not medial, and this was his general habit before voiceless consonants, and as this could not be an English infection, I follow it.

2. *droughty*, thirsty, *neighbours*. RG. pron. something like (dry₁thi), but I leave the (u).

3. *wearing*, RG. kept (ii, r) quite pure, with no glide between. The *-ing* of the part. and vb. noun he did not distinguish, but made (-en) in both cases, compare 103–104 (glans-en, dansen), the first a part., the second a verbal noun. It will be observed that Burns himself constantly wrote *-ing* for both participle and noun.

4. *take the gate*, that is, take the street, or leave their shops, *gate* as a doorway is (3ET).

5. *while*, RG. objected that this is not L., though *whiles* 83, 84, 85, is so, perhaps (vz) as would be L.—

drinking or tipping at the ale, 'nappy' is said to be ale with a head, *nap*.

6. *uncō*, very, according to Jamieson, properly 'uncouth,' *i.e.* unknown.

7. *Scots* always, not (:skɔt̪).—*miles*, RG. did not pron. (éi), but rather (á¹i, ə¹i), and, except in the one word *knife*, which he called (náif), always used this sound even before voiced letters, as in *five*. This may have been acquired in England. On the other hand TL. always distinguished (éi, ái) as he wrote them; just as in English Greek we distinguish *ei*, *ai*, the first as the London *i* long, and the second as the Midland or German *ei*.

8. *slap*, a narrow pass between two hills.—*stile*, which RG. did not know, is used as a gap or gangway between walls in the n. of England.

10. *gathering*, or knitting, *her brows*, RG. thought that the original was (niten her bry₁z), but it is not so in the facsimile of the MS.; as to (bry₁) as in (dry₁th) v. 2, I may have mistaken RG.'s intention, as he did not use (y) where it was expressed, see v. 29; and here (y₁) seems improbable, so that I have preserved TL.'s (un).

12. *wrath* is a school or Bible word only.

13. *this*, RG. said (dhis), not (dhe¹s), see cwl. p. 744, No. 484, but I retain (e¹) here and elsewhere.—*truth*, I think RG. said (try¹th), but it may have been (trith), see cwl. p. 744, No. 437.

14. *night*, TL. wrote (nôikht) in all these words, but I think he merely implied, with Mr. Carstairs Douglas, that the vowel was between (e) and (i) as in Mr. Patrick's (e¹) in the cwl. p. 744, No. 458, which I retain.

15. *whom*, an Anglicism, the (wham) heing like (wha) in *Scots wha hae*; (dhet, ez) would be vernacular, p. 731c.

16. *bonny*, RG. used full medial (ô), almost long (oo), TL. wrote and said (booni) like our English *bony*, which however would have been (beeni) to a Lowlander.

17. *hadst thou*, this was a mere poetic fancy, *thou* is not used at all in the district, and RG. corrected to (had juu), but as *thou* occurs in the MS. I keep it here and elsewhere; it must however be remembered that it was not vernacular.—*wise*, observe final (s), not (z), see p. 744, No. 515.

19. *well* (wil) as the adv.—*skellum*, a worthless fellow.

20. *a blethering*, boasting, *blustering*, *drunken idler*.

22. *one*, thou wast not sober a single market day.

23. *each*.—*melder*, properly the quantity of corn sent at one time for grinding, here used for the grinding time.

25. *every nag that was driven a shoe on*, that had a shoe driven (KAAD) on it. *shoe* is so written by Burns, who makes it rhyme with *foe*, and hence meant it for (shuu), and so Mr. Livingston gives it at Coylton, but Mr. Patrick at Ochiltree has (shæ, shœ), the latter being common and given by RG., see p. 744, No. 555.

26. *roaring*, (roo¹ren) is more common, but (reeren) was known to RG. Burns writes *roarin* here, but *rair* v. 51.—*foe*, spelled *fow* in Jamieson, =full, drunk, not connected with Fr. *foe*, mad.

28. *Kirkton Jane* is supposed to be the landlady—Jane of Kirkton, the church town, name of a village in parish of Kilmaurs, near Kilmarnock.—*Monday*, RG. had heard (månende), but it was not common.

29. *soon*, Burns evidently meant (sun :dun), as he writes *soon*, *Doon*, but

TL. and others gave (shyn). RG. had (sin), Ochiltree gave (sh¹n), but often (shin), and Coylton had (syyn), see p. 745, No. 564. RG. continually uses (i, ee) for (y, yy) or (æ, æ) of others, apparently a local peculiarity, see DSS. p. 239, l. 5.

30. The Doon rises in Loch Enoch, Kb., and passes thirty miles to nw. through Loch Doon, Ayr., then along the Carrick b. by Dalmeilington, Alloway Kirk, the Old Bridge, and Burns's Monument to the sea, 2 s. Ayr.

31. *warlocks*, wizards or male witches.—*mirk*, darkness. TL. used (er) in this and similar words, C. Douglas used (ir), perhaps (e¹) is best.

33. *it makes me weep*.

35. *lengthened*, TL. (lêqth¹nd), all the rest (lenth¹nd).

36. *husband*, without the (d) if used at all, but RG. had not heard it.

37. *but to our tale*, RG. as usual said (tee), but (tyy, tæ, tuu) may be heard; (wæ) *our*, is used only when unaccented.

39. *ingle*, the fire itself, *ingle nook* is the fireside.

40. *reaming*, creaming, frothy, Ws. réam, cream.—*swats*, newly-brewed ale.

41. *souter*, cobbler, Latin *sutor*.

42. *ancient*, TL. wrote (eensusht).

46. *ale*, the (j) is not prefixed to Ailsa Craig.—*better*, (bæ:er), with the catch (:) for (t), is also heard. Compare (wan:¹n) wanting, p. 725, No. 2, and (bæ:er) butter, p. 730, No. 2, also p. 743, Nos. 152, 154.

47. *landlady*, though (laan) land, is said, in landlord, landlady, which are not L. words, (lan) is used.

49. *told*, (d) not to be omitted, RG.

51. *storm*, generally applied to a snow storm, hence RG. thinks (wan) wind, here and in 52, would be better.—*without*, not (widhu t), but (udhu¹t), RG.—*roar*, here Burns wrote *rair*, and TL. (reer), but none of the C. Douglas committee had heard anything but (roor), and *oar*, Ws. *ar*, is called (oor). The storm without might roar and rustle.

52. *Tom didn't mind the storm a farthing*; a *quhissel*, *whistle*, *wissel*, German *Wechsel*, change, small change, any coin, however small; 'gone to pigs and whistles' means gone to potsherd and small change, *pig* being the common word for an earthen pot.

54. *among*, RG. says (ema¹q) is

emphatic, and (emə'q) would be used here.

55. *As bees fly home with loads of treasure*; the *of* was accidentally omitted in the MS. when the first writing *laden wi' treasure* was intended to be altered to *wi' lades o' treasure*. The (trezhur, plezhur) are suspicious to me, but RG. was certain the last was right, and thought the first was also, and none of the others objected, though the forms must be very modern, compare (plizer, traezer) in D 33, pp. 719e, 720b. The whole passage 53-66 is quite English.

54, 55. *glorious victorious*, English words, the vowel modern.

56. *way*, TL. (wee), in Dr. M.'s Ruth (wə'i), in the cwl. (wéi), p. 743, No. 262.

60. *flower*, TL. gave (fla'ur), the cwl. has (fluur), p. 746, No. 893.

61. *river* as a foreign word is apt to be quite (rii'vər).

62. *or like the snow*, [which] *falls* in the river, a moment white, then melts for ever. The editions read:

Or like the snow-falls in the river

A moment white, then melts for ever,

in which case the plural subject *snow-falls* relates to the singular verb *melts*, which cannot be right. Also if the *snow-falls* were already *in the river*, they would not be white at all. In the MS. a comma, not a hyphen, is placed between *snow* and *falls*. The sense is then perfect, though the construction is rather harsh; compare a similar one in v. 160.

64. *point*, like my *pint*, never like *point*.

66. *evanishing*, an ultra-foreign word.

68. the hour approaches Tom *must* ride, (maan) emphatic.

70. *mounts*, TL. wrote (ma'unts), C. Douglas corrected.

72. *poor sinner*, RG. pron. (peer sənər). Ochiltree gave (pəər), Coylton (pəyər), and both had (sin), p. 746, No. 866.

73. The wind blew as [if] it would [have] blown its last, see v. 178.

77. *child*, as this is not L., RG. suggested (ween) wean.

79. *grey mare*, (miir) is regular N. and L. form, the (ee) in the s. seems to be a remnant of Ws. *mere*.

81. Tom jogged on at a shaking pace through pool (dab) and mire.

83. holding.

84. *an old Scotch sonnet*, so the MS.,

the editions read *some*, etc., perhaps a later correction: *crooning* is singing over in a low humming tone, properly applied to the hollow moaning of a bull.

85. *anxious*, so the MS., the editions have *prudent*.

88. *howlet* for *owlet*, this is also found in English, the (h) is adventurous.

88, 90. *ford smored*, TL. gave (fyrd smyyrd), and the cwl. agrees, but RG. read (færd smeerd) as he generally replaces (æ, yy) by (ee). This seems to be peculiar to his own locality, 10 w. Lanark, see note on v. 29.—*smored* is smothered.

93. *whins*, greenstones, the name given to trap, etc., ragstones or toadstones.—*cairn*, heap of stones.

95. *thorn*, 'tree' simply was first written.—above the well.

96. *Mungo*, a common Scotch first name, after St. Mungo. Compare the living of St. Mungo at Glasgow, and Mungo Park, the African traveller.

97. *before*, RG. prefers *afore*.—*floods*, so RG., the cwl. p. 745, No. 573, has (flyyd).

98. *woods*, TL. had (wadz), which can hardly be right. Dr. Murray's cwl. p. 718, after No. 599, has (wadz), which is true to analogy.

102. *seemed* is not Scotch, RG. preferred *looked* (lækt).

103. *bore*, hole, crack.

104. *loud*, *resounded*, that is, if the words follow analogy.

105. *bold*, without the (d).

106. *twopenny*, ale at 2d. a pint.—*civil* and *devil* have the last (i) distinct.

107. *usquebaugh* or *whiskey* (whəskə), from Gaelic *uis ge-beathar* (ushge-bi'a) water of life, *cau de vie*, distilled from malt, and hence one of the products of John Barleycorn.

110. *devil a farthing*, the *boddle* was a Scotch coin value 2d. Scotch, or $\frac{2}{3}$ d. English, and is said to derive its name from a mintmaster called Bothwell (:bodh'l). RG. said (nəd'l bəd'l), which are English corruptions.

113. *forward*, RG. said (fərit).

114. *wow!* in the MS., an exclamation, not related to *row*, which I find in the printed copies.

117. *strathspeys*, quick highland dances. I take TL.'s pronunciation, RG. had not heard the word in L.

119. *windowseat*, (wənokh) window, (bəqkər) large box used for a seat in the window.

121. *towzie tyke*, a shaggy-tousled dog.

122. *music*, RG. says (*meezik*), using (*ce*) for (*yy*) as before.

123. *he screwed the pipes and made them scream; skirl* "to cry with a shrill voice" (Jamieson) is usually applied to the scream of the bagpipe.

124. *roof and rafters all did dirl*, tingle, vibrate, thrill.—*roof*, RG. pron. (*rif*). Here was inserted originally in the MS.:

The torches climb around the wa',
Infernal fires, blue bleezing a',

but these were struck out and the four lines 125-128 written in the margin to be inserted in their place.

125. *like open presses* or cupboards, a very common word in Scotland.

127. *cantraip, cantrap, juggle*, charm, spell.—*sleight*, trick, by some magical trick.

128. *each in its cold hand held a light*.

129. *which, heroic*, neither word is L.

130. *holy table*, communion table, altar.

131. *a murderer's bones in gibbet irons*.

132. *two*, RG. (*twAA*), see cwl. p. 742, No. 74.

133. *a thief newly cut down from a rope*.

134. *gab*, mouth.

135. *with blood red rusted*.

136. Here Burns had originally inserted the lines—

Seven gallows pins three hangman's
whi . . .

A raw of weel seal'd Doctors' bottles,
which are scratched out in the MS. The word *whi* . . . was left incomplete.

137. *which and babe* not being Scotch, RG. read *that and wean* (*dhat, wiin*).

138. *knife*, here RG. said (*náif*) contrary to analogy.

139. *wham*, a Scottishly written Anglicism.

140. *to*, RG. reads (*tee*).

142. *which*, not L. After this line, which appropriately ends the par., the original MS. contains the following lines which have been cut out in the printed copies, and hence were not phonetically transcribed by TL.:

Three Lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside
out,
Wi' lies seam'd like a beggar's clout,
Three Priests' hearts, rotten black as
muck,
Lay stinking vile, in every nenk.

143, 144. *curious, furious*, RG. pron. (*keerius, fecerius*), see v. 29.

145, 146. *blew, flew*, RG. pron. (*bluu, fluu*), and said he remembered these words by a rhyme on the Glasgow coat of arms, which apparently has a bird sitting on a tree (a trii dhet never gruu. en v bard dhet never fluu). TL. gives the same pron., but it looks as if it should be (*blyy, flyy*). Instead of 'loud and louder,' Burns first wrote 'quick and quicker.'

147. *they reeled, they set, they crossed, they caught hold of each other; to cleik, clek, cleck* (*tu klik*), is to catch or lay hold of, after the manner of a hook.

148-150. *till every old woman sweated and reeked* = smoked, and cast off her duds = ragged clothes, on the work, and linked = tripped at it in her sark = shift. RG. felt quite sure of the pron. (*seerk*). The editions read *to the wark*.

149. *cast*, RG. (*kist*).

151. *now*, so MS. and printed copies. RG. reads (*oo*).

153. *greasy flannel*, the original Welsh is *gwlanen*, made of *gwlan* wool, so the L. form is more correct than the received.

154. *snow white* 1700 linen, linen with 1700 threads to a yard, and hence very fine.

155-158:

*these breeches of mine, my only pair,
that once were plush of good blue hair,
I would have given them off my buttocks,
for one blink of the bonny birds.*

159-160:

*but withered beldames, old and droll,
shaft-horsey hags, would wean a foal,
—rigwoodie.* According to Jamieson *rigwoodie* (which he considers to be a wrong spelling for *rigwiddie*, both would be pronounced in the same way), literally ridge or back withy or willow, meant originally the rope made of willow withs crossing the back of the horse to keep up the shafts; the word was then applied to the horse itself, which was necessarily thick-set, strong, "one of a durable frame, that can bear much fatigue," also used metaphorically for one of a stubborn disposition as a "rigwiddie body" or person. Also *widdie* was used as a halter, and hence for the gallows, so that "a rigwiddie earlin" is stated to be used in Ab. as "an old wife who deserves to be hanged." Here, how-

ever, it seems to be "possessed of shaffhorse properties," as opposite to the light figures of Burns's *queans*, v. 151, and the following phrase, *would spean* or *wean a foal*, seems to carry on the metaphor. The glossary to the Globe edition of Burns explains the word as "withered, sapless," for which there is no authority in Jamieson.

161. *leaping and flinging* (as in the Highland fling) *on a erook-stick*; the MS. has *crummock*, some printed copies *cummock*, Jamieson gives both forms.

162. *I wonder didn't turn thy stomach*, make you sick.

163. *bravely* = well.

164. *there was one winsom* = comely *wench*, not Scotch, and *handsome*. — "*walie*, excellent, large, ample; a *waly bairn*, a fine child," Jamieson.

165. *corps*, which Burns spells *eore*.

166. *long after known on Carrick shore*; popularly the n. of Av. is called Cunningham, the middle Kyle, and the s. Carrick.

167–169 :

for many a beast to death she shot and perished = wrecked *many a bonny boat*.

and shook (the grains from) *both much corn* = wheat and barley.

TL.'s (shuk) seems an Anglicism, but see *ewl.* p. 745, Nos. 569, 570.

171. *Paisley harden*, the refuse of the coarser parts of flax and hemp.

172–3. *scanty, vaanty* = fond of shew. TL. had (skanti, vaanti), and perhaps on the analogy of (haan, laan) hand, land, (AA) would be used in both words, but neither of them is L. — *while* is here English, RG. read (whæn).

175. *thought*, so in the MS., usually have *kent*.

176. *coft* bought, or *oped*.

177. *two*, RG. says (twAA), see *ewl.* p. 742, No. 74; two pounds Scotch are two shillings English.

178. *should*, so the MS., *wad* is usual, the *have* is omitted before *graced*, as in v. 73.

179. *muse*, not L., pron. uncertain, RG. (miuz); *her wing must droop, cower* not L.

180. RG. reads (asont), but *beyond* is in MS.

181. *leapt and flang*, as in v. 161.

182. *supple jade*, TL. (sup'l dJAAAD), RG. (sup'l dJeed), (sup'l) follows the

French, and (səp'l) is English; on *jade*, see *ewl.* p. 745, No. 717.

183. *stood*, RG. (stid).

184. *very*, the last vowel doubtful, TL. (vera), RG. (veri).

185–7. *Satan*, RG. (:sectan), *glowered and fidgetted full fain* = very pleased, and *hitched his body from side to side*, and *blew with might and main, till first one caper, then* = afterwards another.

188. *tint* = lost, from *tine* to lose.

189. *done*, RG. (din).

191. *rallied*, recovered.

193. *buzz*, RG. (biz). — *fike*, restlessness; *bike*, hive.

196–197. *before*, RG. (afoor). — *eager*, RG. (iiger), Coylton gives (*eeger*), see *ewl.* p. 746, No. 827.

199–200. *follow*, RG. (falə), TL. (folo). — *eldritch*, so MS., TL. had (eldriti) at first, and then accepted Carstairs Douglas's (eldrikh). Jamieson says: "*drishe, elriche, elraige, elrick, alrisch, alry*, expressing relation to evil spirits, preternatural, as regarding sound; hideous, respecting appearance; frightful, respecting place; uncouth, in relation to dress; surly, austere, fretted applied to a sore."

201. *fairing*, properly, a present from a fair or market; here, rewarded for your doings after the market.

204. *Kate soon will be a woeful woman* = a widow. RG. reads (sū) and (wumen), yet (wāmen) occurs in Ruth, see *ewl.* p. 744, No. 506.

205. *do*, RG. (dee).

206. *win* or gain; *bridge*, RG. (brig).

210. *the devil a tail she had to shake*. Burns rhymes as if *make* had its English pron.

213. *furious*, RG. (feerius); *ettle*, aim, purpose, design, intention.

214. *knew she*, the MS. has *kend* with *wist* written over, printed copies have *wist*.

215–216. *whole*, safe, untouched; RG. (abiu't), her own gray tail.

217–218. *the carlin* = witch, *clutched*, compare v. 147 (klikit); RG. (peer), see *ewl.* p. 746, No. 866.

219. *who*, RG. (whAA), which Mr. Patrick, of Oehiltree, especially prohibits.

221–222. *you are inclined*, RG. uses (ji er), and puts (t) at end of (inkléint), and omits (d) in (méind), though it spoils the rhyme.

223–224. *over dear, mare*.

WESTERN MID LOWLAND cwl.

Compiled from

- A Dr. Murray's first chapter of Ruth, given above in Introduction to L., 5 versions, No. 2, p. 698.
 C Coynton (5 e.Ayr), Rev. Neil Livingston's wl. and dt.
 Cl Clydesdale, Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences from his Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 714.
 G Glasgow, Mr. John Alexander's wl., omitting those words said to have rec. pron. as shown in C. and O.
 K Kyle, words from W. Simson, schoolmaster, of Cumnock, Kyle (15 e.Ayr), given in W. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr," Glasgow, 1811, pp. 681-693.
 M Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 239.
 O Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), Mr. David Patrick's wl.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 CO bèk. 4 CO tak. — A tee'n [taken]. 5 CO mak. 6 O mèd, A mèd. 7 CO sèk [acc.], O sik [unacc.]. — M wAAK [wake]. 8 A he, C heev hiv, O he hi. 9 CO biheev. — K graf [to grave]. 10 CO hAA. 11 C mAA. 12 CO sAA. 13 C nAA. 14 CO drAA. 15 C AA [O (AAfu) awful]. 16 C daan. 17 CO laa. 18 CO keek [applied to oat-cake]. 19 C teel. 20 CO lèm. 21 A nem, CO nèm. 22 CO ièm. 23 CO sèm. 24 CO shèm. 25 O mèn. 26 C ween. 27 C nèv. 28 CO heer, G her. — A gjet [gate=road]. 31 CO lét. 32 C [often] beeth. 33 CO rèdher. 35 C AAL. 36 C thaa, KGO tha'u. 37 C klAA.

A: 39 A kam, CGO kam. 40 CGO kèm. — K weem [womb]. 41 CO thaqk. 43 CO haan. 44 ACO laan. — O wan [did wind]. 46 C kan'l, GO kan'l. 47 C waner, O waner. 48 CO saq. 49 CO haq. 50 CGKO taqz. 51 AC man, O man. 52 CO wan [adj.], O wan [did win]. 54 GO want, C want. 56 CGO wash. 57 O AAZ, C ashez.

A: or O: 58 A fe, CG free, O free fri. 59 CO lam. 60 CKO laq, G laaq, [A (vlaq) along]. — bila'q [belong]. 61 CO amaq. 62 CO stroq, O [occ.] straq. 63 CGKO thraq. 64 CGO raq. 65 CO saq. 66 CO whaq.

A'- 67 A gjœq, CO gaq [not (gjaq)] gee, [Cl (gen) going, A (gje'd) goed=went]. — K sleez [sloes]. 70 CGKO tee. 71 CKO wee. 72 C whAA, KO whee [not (wha)]. 73 A see', CG [often], see, CO soo. 74 CK twee twaa, G twaa, O twee [not (twa)], A twaa twaa. 75 C strook, O [rare] streek. 76 CGO teed. 77 ACO loord. 78 CGO AA, C oo. 79 A AAN, CO een. — K heeli [holy]. 80 C holidu. 81 C leen. 83 CGO meen. 84 A mee'r, CGO meer. 85 A see'r, CO seer. 86 CO eets, [occ.] oots. 87 CGO kleez. 88 CO kliid. 89 A bee'th, CGO beeth. 90 CGKO blAA. 91 CGKO mAA, G máu. 93 CGKO snAA. 94 CGKO kraa. 95 CO throo, C thraa. 96 CGKO sAA. 97 K SAAL. O sool [rarely (SAAL)], CG sául. 99 O thraa, C thraan, [occ.] throon. 100 GO SAAN.

A': 101 CGO eek [oftener (ook)]. 102 A aash, K aks. 104 CO rood. 105 CO reed. 106 CGO bred. 107 CO loof, G leef. 108 CGO deekh, C doo. 109 GO leekh, C loo. — K fee [foe]. 110 O ne ni, C [oftenest] nat. 111 CGO okht [if used, rather (sud)]. 112 C heel. 113 A hee'l, CGO hël. 115 A hem, CGKO heem. 116 C humm. 117 O jin jee [not (een, ee)], [(A vlen, K vleen) alone]. 118 CKO been. 121 CGKO geen. 122 i. CGKO neen, ii. A naa, CKO nee. 123 CGKO neethen. 124 CGKO steen. 125 CO oonli [if used]. — K reep [rope]. 126 CO oor. 127 CGO heers. — ree'z [rose, did rise]. 128 [CGO (dhee) used]. 129 CO geest. 130 CO boot. 131 O goot, C [often] geet. 132 CGO het. 133 CO rect. 134 CO eeth. 135 CGO kleeth.

Æ- 138 CGO fædher. 141 CO neel. 142 CO sneel. 143 CO teel. 144 A'ugjen, C ugèn, O agin. 145 C sleen. 146 C meen. 147 C ugèn, O agin

[again]. — A feerli. 149 O bliiz, C bleez. 150 CO liist. 152 CGO water, Cl wa;er. 153 CGO se;ardi [very common].

Æ: 154 A bak. 155 CGO thak thik. — K rak [wreck]. 158 CGO eifer. — K haft [haft, handle]. 161 A dee^l, CO dee. 163 CO lee. 165 A sed, CO seed, O sid. 166 C meed. 167 C deel. — K smaa [small]. 168 C tåle. 169 A kwhæn, CGKO whan [interrog.], O whan [relative]. 170 CO herst, O heerst, G hervest. 171 A baarle, CG -i. 172 GO gress, CO [occ.] gers. 173 A waz, O wez, C [often] waz. 174 CO ðsh. 175 CO fast. 176 O a heem [at home]. 177 A dha^t, O [as a conjunction only, never as a relative], at, ðt. 178 C nat. — K rat'n. 179 CG what, O whit. 180 C bath. 181 C path, O peth.

Æ'- 182 CO sii. 183 CO tiitj. 184 CO liid. 186 CGO briidth. 187 C liiv, O lii. 188 [CO (ne^lker) used]. 189 CGO wii. 190 O kee, C kii. 191 CO heel. 192 CO mün. 193 CO kliin. 194 CKO onè. 195 K monè, CO manè. 196 CO war wr, C weer. 197 CO tpiiz. 199 C bliit. 200 CO whiit. 201 CO heedh'n. 202 CO hiit.

Æ': 203 CO spüitj. 204 CO diid. 205 CGO thrid. 206 CO red. 207 CO niid'l. 210 CGO klèi. 211 CO gree. 212 CGO whèi. 213 CGO eedher. 214 A nee'dher. 215 O tokht [in school reading only], C takht. 216 CO deel, [A (delt) dealed]. 217 A ðlk, C ütj. 218 CO shiip. 219 CO sliip. 221 CO fiir. 222 CO heer, G her. 223 A dheer dher. 224 A kwhaar, O whaar, C wheer. 225 CO flesh. 226 CGO meest. — K wars'l [wrestle]. 227 CGKO wat. 228 CGO swiit. 229 CO breath. 230 CGO fat.

E- 232 CGO brek. 233 CO spik, A spik. 234 CG ne'd. — K wadher [weather]. 235 CO wiiv. 236 CGO fiver. 237 C tpiibleen. 238 C hedj. 239 CKO seel. 240 O leen, C léin. 241 CO reen. 242 C tweeen. 243 O plee. — K wal [a well]. 246 i. ii. CO kwiin. 247 CO ween. 248 CGO miir. 249 CGO wiir. 250 CGO swiir. — Cl et [eat]. 251 CO miit. 252 CO ket'l. 253 CO net'l. 254 CO ledher. 255 O wadher, C wedher. — O be;er [better].

E: — K wab [web]. 257 C edj, O eedj. 258 C sedj. 260 CO lee. 261 CO see. — K wadin [wedding]. 262 A wa'i, CGO wéi. 263 A bwaa. 264 CO eel. 265 CO strekt. GO strakht, O straakht. 267 C iild, O il. — K twal [twelve]. 270 i. CO belis, ii. O beli. 272 CO el'm. — K whalp [whelp]. 273 ACO men. 274 O binsh, C bintj. 276 A theqk, C thiqk, O théqk. 277 C drintj. 278 C wántj. — A een. 280 CKO eliv'n. 281 CGO lenth. 282 CGO strenth. — K penrth [pennyworth]. — K rau [a wren]. — O ken [ken, know]. — K grin [grin]. 283 CO meri. 284 GO thresh. C thrash. 285 C [often] kras kars. 286 O hero heru, C haro. 287 C bez'm, GO biz'm. — K wast [west]. — K whatsten [whetstone].

E'- 289 A ji. CO jii. 290 O hi hi. 292 ACO mii. 293 CO wii [O never (u)]. 294 CO fiid. 295 CO bred. 296 CO bliiv. 297 K falo. 298 O fiil [but gen. (fån) find], C fiil. 299 CO grün. 300 A kip, CO kiip. 301 CO hiir. 302 CO miit. 303 CO swiit.

E': 305 CO hiikh. 306 CGO he'kht. 308 CO niid. 309 CO spiid. 310 CO hiil. 311 AC ten. 312 CO hiir. 313 CO hark'n. 314 A hard, CO hard. 315 C fiit. 316 CO nekst, O [rarely] niist.

EA- 317 C flái. 319 CO geep. 320 CO keer, G ker. — K shaa [to shew].

EA: 321 A saa, O saa. 322 CO lakh. 323 CGO fokht. 324 O eekht ikht [never (akht)], C akht, G eekht. — K kaaK [chalk]. 325 CO waaK. 326 AC aal, C aald, O aad. 327 CO baald, C baal. 328 C kaald kaal, O kaad. 329 CG faald faal, O faad. 330 CO haad. 331 K saald, CO [use (selt) selled]. 332 CGO [use (telt) telled]. O [rarely] taal. 333 CGO kaaF. 334 CGO haaf. 335 CGO aa. 336 CGKO faa. 337 CGO waa. 338 Cl koo, AK kaa. — K sa'ut [salt]. 340 CO jeerd. 342 CO eerm, G erm. 343 CGO warm. 345 CO daar, G der. — O w'raat [a wart]. 346 O jet [not (æet)], C geet.

EA'- 347 CO hiid. 348 CGO ii. 349 C fiuu. — O skruumüs [shrew-mouse]. EA': — K rak [rick], O re'k. 350 CGO diid. 351 CO liid. 352 C riid, O rid. 353 A brid, CO briid, Cl bred. 354 CO sheef. 355 CGO diif. 356 CO liif. 357 CO thoo [not (dhoo)], O the. 359 CGO niiber.

360 C tiim. 361 CO biin. — A ugjenst [against]. 362 C slee. 363 CO tpeep. — A iir [year]. 365 AC mir, O ner'. — K na'ut [neat cattle]. 366 CO greet. 367 O threet. 368 A deth, CGO deeth. 369 CO sloo. 370 CO fAA. 371 CO stree.

EI- 372 G éi. 373 ACO dhee. 374 C nee, O na. 375 C reez, O réiz. 376 CO beet. EI: 377 CGO steek. 378 CGO week. 379 C heel. 381 C sween. 382 CO dheer, dhar, G dher.

EO- 383 CGO siiv'n. 384 CGO hiiv'n, C hiv'n. 385 C biniith bineeth, O enooth. 386 CGO ja'u. 387 CO nín. EO: 388 C me'lk, O [rarely] malk. 389 CO jok. — K siler [silver]. 393 CO vaout. 396 K wark. 397 C sword, O sward soord. 398 CGO sterv. 399 CGO brékht. — CO fardhur [farther]. 400 CO eernest. 402 CO leern. 403 CGO fAAR. 404 CGO stAAR. 405 CO herth [only in (herthsteen) hearthstone]. 406 A jærth, O je'irth je'rd, C eerth. — A sîster [sister]. 407 CGO fAARD'n.

EO'- 409 CO bii. 411 CO thrii. 412 A shii, CO shii. 413 CO diiv'l diil, G diivil. 414 CG flii. 415 CGO lii. 416 CO diir. 417 CGO tja'u. 418 CO bruu. 420 CO fa'ur. 421 CO forti.

EO': 422 O sik [only feverish, not ill in general, nor nauseated]. 423 CGO thii. 424 CGO ra'ukh. 425 CGO le'kht. 426 CGO fekht. 427 CO bií bi. 428 CO sii. 429 O fiint [only in such phrases as (fiint v heet) devil a bit, *hait* = atom]. 430 CGO friin, O frend [A (frinz) friends]. 431 CO biir [when used, generally (JEL) ale]. 432 CO fort. 433 CGO briist. 434 CGO beet [meaning excelled, only]. 435 CO juu ji [not (Jo)]. 436 CO truu. 437 O trøth [often nearly or precisely (trith)], C [often] tryyth.

EY- 438 CGO dii [A (diit) died]. EY: 439 CO trast [O gen. (lip'n)]. I- 440 CO wik. 441 C siiv, O si [in composition as (me'lsí) milksieve]. — A gin [given]. 442 C éivi. 443 O fréidi. 446 O náin. 448 C thær. 449 CO get. 450 O [old] teezi [giving way to (tiuzdi)]. 451 CGO shuu.

I: 452 CIKO a, C ái. 454 CO watj. 455 C lái, O léi. 457 CGO me'kht. 458 A nekht, CGO ne'kht. 459 CGO re'kht. 460 wekht. 462 CGO se'kht. 463 A tel. 465 CO sik, CG sitj. 467 CO wéil. 468 CO tjilder [but rare now]. 470 A hem, O him. — O sklím [climb]. 471 CGO tímer. 472 C shriqk. 473 CO blin. 476 CO bin. 477 A fæn, CGKO fín. 478 CO gran. 479 CO wan, G win, C wáind. 480 O theiq. — O réiq [ring]. — O bréiq [bring]. — O séiq [sing]. — OK rin [run]. — O le'p [lip]. — K kírñ [churn]. 484 CO dhe's, G dhee. — A kest [kissed]. — K rashez [rushes sb.]. 485 G this'l, O thras'l. — K girs'l [gristle]. 487 C je'sterdi, O jesterdi. 488 CO jet. 489 A et. — O wat [wit].

I'- 490 O béi [acc.], bí [unacc. of place], baa [of agent]. 491 CGO se'kh. — A bæ'id [abide]. 492 A sá'id. 493 CO dréiv. 494 CO téim. 496 CO eern ern, G ern. 498 CO réit.

I: 500 CO léik [like]. 501 CO wéid. 502 CO fáiv. 503 CO léif. 504 CO néif. 505 A wa'if, CO wéif. 506 A wæmun, CGO women. 507 CO wimen. 509 A kuche'il, CO whéil. 510 ii. máa'. 511 CO wéin. 513 CO weer, G wer. 514 CO éis. 515 CO wéis [not (wéiz), see *Tam o' Shanter*, v. 17]. 516 O whéit. 517 C júu.

O- 519 A a'ur. 520 CGO ba'u. 521 CO fòl. — K stAA [stolen]. 522 CO op'n, K eep'n. 523 A hoop, O ha'up. — K smoor [smother]. 524 CGO worl [occ. (warlt)], M warlt.

O: 526 CG kòkh. 527 CGO bøkht. 528 CGO thøkht, A thookht. 529 CGO brøkht. 531 A dookhter, CGO dokhtur, K dokhtur. 532 CO kòl. 533 CO dæl. 534 CO hòl. 535 A fòk, K fa'uk. 536 CGO guuld, K ga'ud. 537 O mùlz mAALz [earth, especially grave], C ma'uld. 538 O wad wid, C wud, A wad. — K fa'ul [told]. — K ha'u [hollow]. 539 CGO ba'ul. 540 C hòli. — K ha'um [holm]. 542 CO bòlt. — K ka'ult [colt]. 544 A dhen, K dhan. — KM drap [drop]. — M krap [crop]. — M tap [top]. 545 MO hap, C hop. — A stop, KM stap. — K lapster [lobster]. 547 O bærd, C byyrd buurd. 548 O fòrd, C fyurd. 549 C hord. 550 O ward. 551 CGO stòrm. 552 CGO kòrn. 553 CGO hòrn. 554 C kros.

O'- 555 O shæ [often nearly (shæ)], C shuu shee. 557 O tæ, C tun, A tee'. 558 CO lak. 559 A mi'dher, CO midher. 561 O blæ'm, C blyym. 562 O

mə'n mìn, C myyn. 563 CO mändi, O [rarely] mändi. 564 O shə'n [often] shìn, C syyn. 565 CO nooz. 566 A i'dher, CGO idher.

O': 569 O buk biäk. 570 AC tak, O tuk, [very rarely] t'fak. 571 A g'jid, OG g'jd, O gid, C gyyd. 572 OG bl'd, KO blid, C blyyd. 573 C flyyd. 574 C bryyd. 575 O st'd, C styyd. 576 KO wanzdi, C wenzdi, G wenzde. 577 C ba'u bakh. 578 C pla'u plakh, O pluu piu piakh. 579 CO m'æk, C m'okh. 580 CO t'akh, CG takh. 581 CGO sokht. 582 OG k'l, O [often nearly (k'il)], C kyyl. 583 O t'l [often nearly (t'il)], C tyyl. 584 GO st'wl, C styyl. 585 O br'm, C bryyn. 586 GO ðw [and when emphatic (d'v)], C düu. 587 O d'n ðin, C ðän. 588 C n'yn, K n'in. 589 O sp'n sp'n, C spyyn. 590 GO f'ær, C flyyr. 591 GO m'ær, C myyr. 592 O sw'ær, C sw'oor. 594 GO b't, C byyt. 595 GO f'elt, C fit fat. 596 GO r'at, C ryyt. 597 GO s't, C syyt.

U'- 599 O eb'æn eb'in, C vbyyn. 600 O :l'v [as a family name, otherwise (l'av)]. 601 CG fuul. 602 O 'su, CG suu. 603 CO k'am. 604 K s'imer. — K h'ini [honey]. 605 AO san. 606 CO door. 607 CO b'ater, OCl [slovenly] b'ær. — K n'it [a nut].

U: 608 O a'gh. 609 O fu, C fuu. 610 O u [w sometimes sounded]. 611 C b'æk. 612 CO s'am. 613 O dr'æk. 614 CO ha'un. 615 CO p'an, G pand. 616 CO gran, G grand. 617 CGO s'un. 618 C wuund. 619 CO f'an, G f'and. 620 CO gran. 621 O wan. 622 O anr, C [often] unr. 625 O taq. 626 O ha'uqr [not (huqr)]. 628 O nan. 629 O san, K s'in. 631 CO thazdi, O [formerly (t'æzdi)]. 632 CCIO ap. — ap [upon]. 633 CO kap, K kap. 634 CO thruu. 635 CO w'arth. 637 C task. 638 CO bask [applied to fish-hooks]. 639 C d'ast.

U'- 640 CGO kuu. 641 CGO huu. 642 CO dhuu [seldom used]. 643 ACGO nuu. 644 CO duu. 646 CGO buu. 647 CG uul. — O huulet [owlet]. 648 OCl w'ær, CGO uur. 649 CGO thuuzen. 650 A eburt. 652 CO kud. 653 ACO bat.

U': 654 O skrund. 655 OC f'ul. 656 OC ruum. 657 CGO br'un. 658 CCIGO d'un. 659 CGO t'un. 660 CGO buur b'ür. 661 CGO shuur sh'ür. 662 AO as, C [often] az. 663 CGO h'üs. 664 CGO l'üs. 665 CGO m'üs. 666 C [often] hazbent. 667 CGO üt. 668 CGO pr'ud. 669 O a'uqke, C ankuuth. 670 O [rare] b'æth, C buudh. 671 CGO muuth. 672 CGO suuth.

Y- 673 ACO mak'l, C m'k'l. 674 O did. 676 CGO lii. 677 CO dr'ai. 678 CO ðin. — O kiq [not (kiq k'iq)]. 679 CO ke'r'k, K kirk. 680 C bizi, O [(thraq) used]. 681 O b'iznes. 682 CGO l'et.

Y: 683 CO m'idi. 684 GO br'e'g, C brid'i. 685 CO re'lg. 686 CO b'ai. — CO be'lg [to big=build]. 687 CGO t'e'kht. 690 O kin. 691 CO m'én, A m'ain. 693 CO sin. 694 CO w'ærk. 696 C barth. 697 O bir'i, C byri. 698 C m'arth. 699 CGO re'kht. 700 CGO WAAR. 701 CO farst. 702 A wy. 703 CO pe't. 704 C vik's'n.

Y'- 705 CO skái. 706 O whéi [when used, but ordinarily (whit w'ei) what way]. 707 O thertiin. 708 CO háir. Y': 709 CO fáir. 711 CO léis. 712 CO méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — O skr'eb [crab apple]. — K krabit [crabbed]. — K sabath [sabbath]. 713 CO bad. 714 CO la'd, A lad laad. 715 C pad. 716 C ad'l. 717 CO d'jaad. 718 CO t'red. 719 C tadpol. 720 C fag. 722 CO d'reen. 723 O déiri, C deeri. 724 O belt [in (belt-hiidit) bald-headed], C baal. 725 C seel. 727 CO d'jam. 728 C sham. 729 CO f'reem. 730 CO kanter. 731 CG wanten. 733 C skeer. 734 CGO dern. — O b'ore [barrow]. — O sklaash [clash]. 735 CO smash. 737 C m'et. — A grat [did greet, wept]. 738 C p'reet. 740 CO wev. — K baa [bawl]. 741 C meez. 742 CO leezi.

E. 743 C skriim. — A ween [a wean, child]. — A dee'rth [dearth]. 744 CO miiz'lz. 745 CO t'piit. 746 CO b'reeth. 747 O endeever [but consciously a 'lang-nebbit' word, if used]. — A gritin [greeting, weeping]. 749 A l'eft. 750 CO beg. 751 C p'ert.

I. and Y. — O pe'k [pick]. 754 CO pe'g. — O whap [whip]. 756 C

shre'mp. — O pin, K prin [pin]. — O réiqk [rink for curling]. — K tíqkler [tinker]. 758 C gerl. — O pe'shmol [pismire]. 759 CO fe't.

O. 761 CO leed. 762 CO ookem. 763 C room. — K lokh [loch = lake]. 767 CO néiz. 769 O ma'udí, ma'udiwarp, C modíwört. — K pa'u [poll, head]. — K skra'u [scroll]. 771 CO fond. 772 CO bentéir. 773 C daqki. — M banet [bonnet]. 774 CGO pa'uni. 775 C buubi. — O nřak [not (níuk) nook]. 777 CO shop. 778 G afórd, C afyrd. — M parítj [porridge]. — KM pat [pot]. 781 CO bódher. — O klíakh [not (kliukh) clough]. — K ma'ult [moult]. 783 C puultri. 784 CO ba'uns. 785 C luundj. 786 C duus. 787 C suus. 789 C ra'u. 790 CGO guun.

U. 792 C skwab'l. — C kuvéi, G kéi [quey, quy, quoy, quyach, quoyach, quevek, quyok, a cow 2 years old]. 793 O hag. 794 O dřag, G dřug. — O be'l [bull]. 799 O skál. 803 CO dřamp. 805 CO kradz. 806 C řas. 807 CG pus. 808 ACGO pat, CK pit.

III. ROMANCE.

A .. 809 CO eeb'l. 810 CO fees. 811 A ple's, CO plecs. 812 O lees — K klaat [caught]. 813 CO beek'n [rare]. 814 CO mees'n. 815 CO faks. 816 CO fed. 817 C radish. — CO peel [pail]. 818 CO eedj. 819 CO reedj. 821 C dilei. 822 CO méi. 823 C bee, G béi. 824 O tjéir, CG tjeer. 825 C wat. 826 CO iig'l. 827 C eegur. 828 C eegv. — Cl be'ili [baillie]. 829 C gren. 830 CO treen. 831 C distreen. 832 C [rare] meer. 833 CGO peer. 834 C sheez. 835 CGO reez'n. 836 CO seez'n. 837 C lash. 838 CGO treat. 839 C beel. — K laat [halt]. 840 CO [rare] tjaamer, G tjamur. 841 CO tjans. 842 C plaqk. 843 O bréiush, CG breensh. 844 O trensh, C trentj. 845 O aanshent, C onshent. 847 O déindjir, C deendjir. 848 CGO tjéindj. 849 O stréindj. 850 CO dans. 851 C aant aanti. — K kabten [captain]. 852 O eepren [not (eepern)]. — K babtist [baptist]. 853 O bargin, C -en. 854 CO barl. 855 CGO karut. 856 CO peert, G part. 857 CO kees. 859 CO tjees. 860 CO peest. 861 CO teest. 862 CO seef. 863 C tjeef. 864 C bikaaz. 865 CO faat. 866 GO pээр, C pyvr.

E .. 867 CO tii. 868 C dje. 869 CO viil. 870 CO búti [O said only of a handsome woman]. 871 CO rėrii. 872 CO tjiif. 874 O réin, C reen. 875 GO fent, C feent. 876 CGO denti. 877 CO eer. 878 C seleri. 879 O feemel. 880 CO eksamp'l. — Cl konshens [conscience]. 881 CO sens. 882 CO panzi. 883 CO dandiláren. 884 O prentis. 886 C frér. 887 C klerdji. — CO feer [a fair]. 888 AC sart'n. 889 C siis. 890 CO biist. 891 CO fist. 892 CO neefe. 893 CGO fluur. 894 CO [rare] diseev. 895 CO [rare] riseev.

I .. and Y .. 898 O náis. 899 CO niis. 900 CO pree. — O pil [not (pil) pill]. 901 O fáin féin. 902 O máin, C méin. 903 O dáin déin. — K opan'jen. 904 O váiolet. 906 O viiper véiper. 907 C tréis. 910 CGO djist. 912 O ráis.

O .. 913 CO kootj. 914 CO brootj, G brotj. 915 CO staf. 916 iq'n. 917 CO roog. 918 C fiib'l. 919 CGO eintment. 920 CGO péint. 921 GO akwant, C akweent. 922 CGO bash'l [not (bash'l)]. 923 O móist. 924 O tjéis. 925 CO véis. 926 CGO spéil. 927 CO tręqk. 928 CGO zus. 929 C kinkember. 930 CO léin [if used]. 931 O dřagler, CG dřugler. 932 C uma'unt. 933 CO fraut. 934 C buunti. 935 A k'ntra', CO kintre kintre. 936 C font. 937 CO kók. 938 CO kórner. 939 CO kloos. 940 CO koot. 941 GO fæl, C fyyl. — K stib'l [stubble]. 942 CO batjer [not (batjer), usually fletcher]. 943 O tatj, C títj. 944 CGO elur. 945 CO vun. 946 C méil. 947 CGO béil. 948 CGO búl [in case of carpet balls in use at teaparties, but (ba'ul) for a bowl at a (ba'ulen grin) bowling green]. 950 CO saper. 951 CO káp'l. — A tarn [turn]. 952 i. CGO knurs. 953 CO kizim. 954 CGO kashan. 955 CGO duut. — K va'ut [vault]. 956 CO kavir. 957 O emplóii. 958 C fréi. 959 O kenvee kenvéi.

U .. 960 CO kii. 961 O gruuel. 962 C mínuuz. — A wet [wait]. — A dřadji [judge]. 963 O kweet. 964 CGO shuur. 965 CGO éil. 966 O frót frót, C fryyt. 967 O shót shót, C shyyt. 968 CGO éister. — A ruult [ruled]. 969 GO shээр, C shyyr. 970 O djést djíst, C djyst. 971 O flát flít, C flyyt.

LOCHWINNOCH (:lɔkh·enʲɛkh), 6 sw. Renfrew, Rf.

From Mr. David Patrick, old spelling Lochqubinzeoch.

The whole intonation is different from 30 miles s., but agrees with adjoining n. Ay. parishes. "More modulation passing from high to low, tone stronger, sounder, coarser, more vulgar, yet fuller and pithier than in Ochiltree. Pron. broader."

Vocabulary different from Ochiltree :

- O (benféir), L (taan'l) bonfire.
- O (mīnēnz), L (gatiz) minnows.
- O (gad'l), L (gīn'l) dip for trout with the hands below stones and cavities of rock.
- O (huusits, déikis), L (spīagz, spragz) house and hedge sparrow.
- O (kɔkwīid), L (kaluuri) a kind of weed.
- O (piin), L (loz'n) pane or lozenge of glass.
- O (sēiboz), L (iqēnz) onions.
- O (lóupit), L [tlap] leaped.

Old forms used at L (hant'l, laqsem, taal, kaa), many, late, told, quoth. Use of (tuu, dhv) thou in L, unknown, at O. L (what's at?) what's that, L (duun i gæct) down the street. L (uoth athoort), O (abloo, ekros) below, across. L (haaf thrii) half-past two o'clock, etc. L (twal, twæl uurz) twelve o'clock, German usage. L (dhe sēl o't, dhe hid o'er, dhe beenz o'm), the self of it, the head of her, the bones of him. L (je, jīn) one, never (ee, en). They find the e. dialect strange.

A few words follow.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 43 haan. 44 laan. A'- 72 whaa. 74 twaa [tendency to (kvaā)].
 Æ: 179 what. E: — twal [tendency to (kwal) twelve]. EO': 435
 ju, jā [not (ji)], as (heest ju, bigaan) haste you, begone]. I: — saks [six].
 O: 538 wad.

D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Galloway and Curriek.

Boundary. On the n. the s. b. of D 35, on the e. the w. b. of D 33, elsewhere the sea-coast.

Area. The s. of Ay. or Carriek, w. Df., Kb., and Wg. or Galloway.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 239) and Alphabetical County List under * vv. AJE., || systematic, ° informants' orthography.

Ay. ° New Cummoek.

Df. ° Tynron.

Kb. ° Kirkpatrick Durham.

Wg. * Stranraer, || Glenluce.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 239) mentions that *the* is contracted into (ii) especially after (i) for *in*, as (i)ii in the, as in Cs. Also that final consonants are lengthened, or doubled "even more strikingly than in Cs.," so that *gang* becomes (gan'), and that *his*, *her* are contracted to simple *s*, *r*, as (hi kan gan'tel)z feedher) he can go to his father. In taking down the es.

from Stranraer, already given (No. 4, p. 684), I observed none of these points. Having been hurried, I might easily have failed to observe all but the omission of *th* in *the*. This, however, was not the case, and as I had my Cs. specimen the same evening, I think I should have been struck by this similarity.

I have been able to get a tolerably extensive wl. from Glenluce, Wg., and Kirkpatrick Durham, Kb., but I find that there is no decided point in which D 36 differs from D 35 and D 34. While therefore accepting Dr. M.'s district, I must express my own feeling that D 36 is a mere variety of D 34, closer indeed than D 35. In fact this district was conquered by the English language at a much later period than the others. The names of places in Df., where the b. of D 33 and D 36 occurs, are sharply Gaelic on the w. and English on the e. Hence it was to be expected that the mode of speech adopted would be in fact the language of the L. literature.

Under these circumstances I do not draw up a brief set of characters for D 36, but refer to the following wl. as containing, however defectively, all that I have been able to collect.

Illustrations.

1. The cs. from Stranraer already given, *suprà* p. 684, No. 4.
2. The pronunciation of Burns's *Duncan Grey* as taken from the lips of a New Cumnock man, but it is perhaps not a characteristic specimen of Carrick, D 36, as distinct from Kyle, D 35.
3. Two wl. from Glenluce and Kirkpatrick Durham, which however I have had to interpret with considerable difficulty at times, and the words extracted from No. 1, above.

BURNS'S SONG OF DUNCAN GREY,

written by A.J.E. in his extended Phonotypic Alphabet of 1847, from the dictation of John Love, of New Cumnock, Ay. (18 ese. Ayr), and published in the *Essentials of Phonetics* that year, pp. 171-177, and now transcribed in palaeotype. This was my first attempt to write dialect from dictation, long before this book was thought of; the first for this book are given on pp. 275, 276, 277. It can certainly be only approximatively correct, but I leave it unaltered. I have been told *Ailsa* should be (:èl:sə) without prefixed (j).

:dɔqkan :gree kam hiir tɔ wuu ɔn bláith jyl nekht when wii wer fuu.	Duncan Grey came here to woo, On blythe yule night when we were 2 fuu, Maggie coost her head fu' high, Look'd asklent and unco skeigh, Gart poor Duncan stand abeigh. 5
:magi kjɔest her hid fu hikh, lɛkt asklent an ɛqke skjikh, gert pœer :dɔqkan staaN abikh.	Duncan fleech'd, and Duncan pray'd; Meg was deaf as Ailsa Craig, 7 Duncan sigh'd baith out and in, Grat his een baith bleer't and blin', Spak a lowpin o'er a limm. 10

tə'im an tjaans aar bət a tə'id, sləkhted ləv ez seer tə bə'id. shal ái, lə'ik a fyl, kwə hii, fər a haakhti hezi dii? shii mee gee tə—:fraans fər mii!	Time and chance are but a tide, Slighted love is sair to bide, 12 Shall I, like a fool, quoth he, For a haughty lizzie die? She may gae to—France for me! 15
huu et kəmz let dəktərz tel, :meg gréuu sik—az hii gréuu heel səmtheq en her booz'm reqz, for riliif a sek hii breqz, and oo, her iin, dheer spaak sek theqz!	How it comes let doctors tell, Meg grew sick—as he grew well, 17 Something in her bosom wrings, For relief a sigh she brings: And O, her een, they spak sic things! 20
:dəqkan wəz a laad o grees, :magiz wəz a pitios kees, :dəqkan kud na bii her deeth, swelin piti smœerd hez reeth nuu dheer kruus an kanti beeth.	Duncan was a lad o' græ, Maggie's was a piteous case, 22 Duncan could na be her death, Swelling pity smoor'd his wrath: Now they're crouse and canty baith! 25

Notes to Duncan Grey.

1. (wu) should, I think, be (uu), compare (uu) for *wool*.

2. *fo* were full, had had our supper, not *drunk*, see *Tam o' Shanter*, p. 732, v. 6 and note.

4. *looked askant and very shy*.

5. *made poor Duncan stand aside*.

6. (flit) *begged in a fluttering cajoling manner*.

7. Ailsa Crag, a basalt rock in the Firth of Clyde, 10 w. Girvan, Ay., 1098 ft. high, 2 m. in circuit, inaccessible except on w. side, abounds in sea-fowl, goats, and rabbits, has a

ruined castle at the top. This should not have prefixed (j) I believe, see D 35, but be pron. (:clse).

8. *Duncan sighed both out aloud and silently, wept his eyes both bleared and blind, spoke of leaping over a waterfall*.

17. *hale*, spelled *heal*, in the copy I then used, the Globe ed. of Burns, printed in the right hand col., has *well*, which comes to the same thing.

24. *smothered his wrath now they are brisk and jolly both*.

SOUTHERN MID LOWLAND cwl.

From the following sources.

G Glenluce (:glenly₁s) (15 w. Wg.), from the numbered wl. by Rev. G. Wilson, for Glenluce and the Rhinns, or Rhynns, of Galloway, the long and narrow peninsula w. of Luce Bay, Wx.

K ne.Kb., by Rev. W. A. Stark, Kirkpatrick Durham (4 n. Castle Durham), numbered wl.

S Stranraer, Wg., words from the es. pal. by A.J.E. from diet., printed on p. 684.

T Tynron, Df. (5 wsw. Thornhill), notes and lw. by Mr. James Shaw, schoolmaster, Aug. 1868, but the words he principally gave belong to Lk., Rf., Ay., and Df., that is, principally D 35, where they agree with what is there said.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 G beek. 4 GK tak. 5 S maak, GK mak. 17 G laa. 21 S neem. 34 S last. 36 G tha'u. A: 39 G ka'm, K kæm. 40 G keem. 41 G thanqk, K theqk. 43 G han, K haan. 44 G lau, K laan. 49 S haq. 54

S want [ʔ(want)]. 56 GK wesh. A: or O: 58 GKS free. 60 S laq. 64 S raq, K wiraq raq. 65 GK saq. A'- 67 S gan [going]. 72 S whee. 73 K see, GS see. 74 S twaa, K twee twaa, G twaa tiu. 78 SK een, G AAN. 79 G een. 81 ii. S loonin. 82 jens. 84 S meer. 85 GK seer. 87 SGK kles. 88 GK kliid. 89 S beeth. 94 S kraa. 97 GK SAAL. A': 101 GK eek. 102 S aks. 106 GK breed. 109 GK leekh. 110 ii. S noo. 111 S okht, GK akht. 113 GKS heel. 115 S hem, GK heem. 117 S jee. 118 GK been. 122 ii. S nee. 124 GK steen.

Æ- 138 S fadher, G fedher, K feedher. 141 GK neel. 144 S ege'n. 150 S liist. 152 GK water. Æ: 154 S bak. 158 S efter. 161 GKS dee. 165 S sed. 169 GKS whan. 170 GK heerst. 172 G gres gers [with strong (s)], K gres. 173 G waz, K waz. 175 S tast. 177 S dhat. 179 S what. Æ'- 182 G sii. 186 G briith. 187 G leev lee. 191 G heel. 192 G miin. 193 G kleen. 194 S oni. 200 G whit. 202 G heet. Æ': 204 S did [indeed]. 205 GK thriid. 209 S never. 212 GK whéi. 213 S edher. 214 S needher. 215 GK takht. 218 GK shiip. 223 S dheer. 224 GS whar, K whaar. 226 GK meest. 227 GKS wat. 228 G swit. 230 G fat.

E- 236 GK river. 240 G lain leen, K léin. 243 G plee. 244 S wil. 248 GK miir. 249 GK wiir. 250 GK swiir. 251 G miit, K [occ.] meet. 252 S ket'l. E: 256 S strikyt [stretched]. 261 SGK see. 262 GK wéi. 263 S ewaa. 265 G straakht, K straakht, S street. 271 S tel. 276 S theqk. 278 S wensh. 281 GKS lenth. 282 GK strength. 283 K miri. E'- 290 G hii, K he. 292 G mii, K me. 293 SG wii. 301 S hiir. E': 312 S hiir. 314 S hard. 316 G níkst, K níst.

EA- 317 GT féi [frighten]. 320 S keer. EA: 321 S sa. 322 S lakh. 326 S al. 330 SG had, K hæd. 333 GK kaf. 335 GS aa, K AA. 337 G waa, K WAA. 338 S kaa. 340 S jard. 342 GK er'm. 343 GK war'm. 345 GK dar. EA'- 347 G hæed, K hid. 348 GK ii, GS iin [eyes]. 349 S fiu. EA': 350 G diid, K did. 352 G riid, K rid. 355 G diif, K dif. 357 S thoo, G thoo. 359 S niber. 368 GK deeth. 371 GK stree. EI- 372 G eji, K éi. 373 S dhce. EO- 383 G seev'n, K siiv'n. 384 GK hiiv'n. 386 GK ja'u. 387 S níu. EO: 388 G me'lk, K mælk. 394 S joner. 395 S jæq. 396 GK wark. 398 G steerv, K sterv. 399 S brekht. 402 GK lern. 405 GK herth. 406 GK erth, G je'rth. EO'- 411 GS thrii. 412 G shee, KG shii. 413 G diivil, K diiv'l. 414 G fiíi. 415 GK líi. 417 GK tpa'u. EO': 422 S sik. 423 G thii. 424 G rakh. 425 G lekht, K lekht. 426 GK fekht. 428 GK sii. 430 S frin, G frin, K friind. 433 G briist, K brist. 434 S bet. 435 S juu. 437 S trøth. EY- 438 GKS dii. EY: 439 S trøst.

I- 440 S wik. 443 GK fréide. 446 S néin. 448 [(G dhe'r, K dhee) used]. 450 GK [occ.] téizde. I: 452 ST a. 454 G watj. 455 ST lái. 457 S nekht. 459 G rikht, K rekt. 460 GK wekht. 465 S seken. 467 GK wéil. 469 S wal. 475 GK wænd. 477 GK ían. 480 S thiq theq. 481 GK fiqr. 484 [S (dhe) used]. 485 G this'l, K thras'l. I'- 490 GK báí. 494 S téim. 496 G er'u, K eer'n. 498 G [gen.] w'reit, K vréit. I': 500 S léik. 502 G íáiv. 504 GK néit. 505 GKS wéif. 506 GK wæmun. 507 GK wiimn. 510 ST méin. 511 T wéin. 515 GK wéis.

O- 519 S óur. 520 GK ba'u. 524 S wærl. O: — T la'u [low, a flame]. 529 G brókht, K braakht. 531 S dokhter. 535 S fook. 536 G guuld. K ga'uld. 537 G ma'al. 538 S wud wud. 550 S word. — T ta'u [tow from hemp]. O'- 557 S ti. 559 GK midher. 562 GK myn [the (y) was probably not pure here and elsewhere, but rather (y₁)]. 563 GK manende. 564 GK syn. 566 S edher. — T gróu [to grow]. O': 571 S gad gad, GK gyd. 572 GK blyd. 578 GK plíun. 579 S eniukh, G enja'ukh, K eniukh. 580 GK tíukh. 581 G sóukht, K saakht. 582 G kyvl. 583 G tyvl. 586 S doo'nt [don't]. 587 S din. 588 S nin. 589 GK spyu. 590 G flyyr, K fluur. 592 GKS snur. 594 G byt, K bit. 595 GK ít. 596 G ryt. 597 G syt, K sät.

U- 601 G fiimul. 602 GK suu. 604 S samer. 605 S sæn. 606 S door. U: 609 S fuu, G fu, K fæl. 610 G uu. 612 S sam. 614 G ha'und. 616 S gran. 617 GK suun. 619 S fan [pt. (fan)]. 625 S taq. 626 GK hæqer.

— G a'un [to own=grant, confess]. 631 S dhazde. 632 S ap. 634 S thruu. U'- 640 GK kuu. 641 GKS hum. 643 GK nuu. 646 G buu, K ba'u. 651 S udhu't 652 GK kad. U': 658 S dun. 659 GK tun. 663 S hus. 667 S uut. 671 GK muth.

Y- 673 S mak'l. 674 S did, G de'd. 677 S drai. 679 GK kirk. 680 K basi. Y: 684 G brig. 686 G bai. — GK big [to big, build]. 687 GK fikht. 690 GK kéind. 691 GK méind. 694 GK wark. 701 S ferst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 GK lad. 717 G djaad. 724 G beld, K baal. 727 G djaam. 736 S lasi. E. — S pet [pet]. I. and Y. — S tet [tiff]. — S beg [big]. — S whandj [whinge]. O. 778 G afyrd, K afurd. 781 S bodhur. 783 G pa'ultri, K puntri. 790 GK gun. 791 S boi. U. 798 S kwiir. 804 S drak'n. 805 GK kradz. 808 GK pit.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 S faks. 822 K méi. 823 K béi. 835 S rez'n. 845 G aanshent, K ansh'nt. 848 G tjeindj. 857 S kees. 864 S bika'z. E.. 867 S tii. 874 G ré'in, K réin. 885 S vera. 887 G klerdji, K kleerdji. 890 S biist be'st, G beest, K bist. 895 GK riseev. I.. and Y.. — T kraí [to cry]. 901 ST féin. 910 G djeest, K djiist. O.. 916 GK iqin. 926 G spóil, K spéil. 928 GK ans. 939 GK klos. 941 S íl, G fyl, K fil. 942 G botpur, K batpur. 947 SG bóil, K béil. 950 S sapor. 952 i. GK kuurs. 953 G kyzin, K kiz'n. 954 GK kashin. 955 S duut, GK dut. U.. 960 K kii. 963 S kwéit, G kweejit. 965 G óil, K óil. 966 GK fryt. 968 G óister, K éister. 969 S shær shíuur, G syyr. 970 S djist djost, GK dyst. 971 GK dyt.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Highland Border.*

Boundaries. On the w. and nw. the CB. or Celtic Border, on the s. the n. b. of D 35 and D 34, to the Firth of Tay. Afterwards through Fo. to the Grampians. In his Map Dr. Murray took the b. to lie to the w. of Dundee, and e. of Forfar, and afterwards to be indeterminate to the Grampians. But he subsequently informed me that he considered the line to lie too much to the e., and that the town of Forfar properly belongs to the NL. or D 38. I therefore draw the b. between D 37 and D 38 from just a little w. of Dundee northward, just e. of Glammis and Kirriemuir, and w. of Clova, by the valley of the Esk to where the CB. strikes the s. b. of Ab. To determine the b. accurately would require much more examination than has hitherto been made, or is likely to be made.

Area. A small portion of nw. Fi., of w. Fo. and of w. Sg., and a strip on the e. and se. of Pr. It is a district in which English is asserting itself against Gaelic to such an extent that the CB. has receded westward within living memory.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 239; Dr. Alexander Laing's dt. for Newburgh-on-Tay, a *viva voce* dt. from three students of Whitelands from the neighbourhood of Perth, and a wl. written from their pron. of words in the novel *Enga*, constitute all I could collect.

Characters. The small amount of information which I have obtained is clearly insufficient to determine the characters of this extensive region, which would require minute examination. Dr. Murray merely says (DSS. p. 239): "In the Highland border,

along the se. of Pr., we find (1) *ɪ* regularly pron. as (a) in (həl, mäl, malk, salk) hill, mill, milk, silk. (2) *Ea*, which in more Southern dialects is (i), here remains (ee) as (breed, heed, meel) for (brid, hid, mil) bread, head, meal. (3) The article *the* is commonly contracted into (ii), especially after *in*, as in (i)ii in the." I presume (1) relates to these particular words only, and as such they were confirmed, see following cwl. No. 469, by the Whitelands students, but *kill* is not (käl), and *silk, milk* are EO words, while *hill, mill* are Y words. Of course after *w* we get (wäl, whap) will, whip, but that is general. As regards (2) there is also a mixture of classes, *bread* and *head* being EA' words, the first was not given by my students, and the second, though they pron. it (hèd), was written *heid*=(hid) in *Enga*. *Meal*, when it means an 'eating time,' is an Æ' word, and when it means 'flour,' an E word, and I have not the pron. of these words in other districts, nor do I know which of the two is here meant. (3) The Whitelands students and Dr. Laing did not leave out *th* in *the*.

The cwl. I am able to give is so brief and imperfect, and relates to such a small e. portion of the whole district, that I do not feel justified in drawing any conclusions from it as to the characters of the whole district, and refer to the wl. itself.

Illustrations. Dr. Laing's and the Whitelands students dt., and the cwl. from Enga.

NORTH-WEST FIFESHIRE dt.

Test by Rev. Dr. Alexander Laing, Newburg-on-Tay (8 wnw.Cupar), Fi., in io., pal. from his notes by A.J.E.

1. soo v sái, l'adz, i sii nuu dhæt a)m ríkht vùt dhàt lasi kəmín fe dhæ skyl dhonder.

2. shy)z ga'n dheer thruu dhæ ríd gèt on dhæ left ha'nd séid o)dhæ rood.

3. shyyr enakh dhæ beern)z gèn strekht ap tæ dhæ door v)dhæ raq hùs,

4. whaar shi)l léiklì find dhat dræk'n def wiz'nd feli v)dhæ niim v :tamæs.

5. wi A ken)'m veri wíl.

6. wæ)ne dhæ Aald tjaþ shy'n leern)er noo tæ dyy ít egen, pyyr thiq!

7. luk, i sii ít)s truu!

Notes.

1. *say*, especially marked as Greek *ai*, English *aye*.

2. *way*, called (wéi), implies direction only.

3. *straight*, the alveolar (t,r) were specially noted, but it seemed to me that there was a misconception, so I merely note the fact here.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PERTH dt.

palaeotyped 21, 22, 23 June, 1881, by A.J.E., from the dict. of Miss Miles, native of Manchester, but 13 years in Perth, Miss Pollar, of town of Perth, and Miss Kidd, native of Crieff, who had lived 18 years at Errol, all three students at Whitelands Training College.

1. *soo* ái sêi, mèn, juu sii nuu dhàt à)m rækht abuu't dhàt wii làsi kàmen fee dhe shy₁'l dhonder.
2. shii)z gee'en [gAAN K.] dun dhe rood dheer thrù dhe rēd gíet [JET] on dhe left hānd séid o dhe wēi.
3. shəər enəkh [enokh, K] dhi beern hez gèn [geen K] strēkht əp ti)dhe doovr o dhe ràq hùs,
4. whaar shi'l mē)bi fend dhàt drək'n dèf wiz'nd feli o dhe nèm o :tomus.
5. wi AA ken)em veri wil.
6. wəl dhe Aald)'n noo sy'n leern er noo tē dii)t vge'n, pyy'r theq!
7. lùk iz)t no truu?

Notes to Perth dt.

1. *so* (*soo*) in this sense, but (see MEK'l) so much.—*I* (háí téid) high tide, distinguished as in Edinburgh.—*say*, *way*, and *side* in (2) seem to have the same diphthong differing very slightly from received *i* in *wide*, but shading more towards (ēi). Never heard *marrow* or *mate*; but (màn, mē'n) man, *men*, are used.—*thou* for *you* is never used.—*that* (at) is never used for (dhàt).—*wee*, when (little) is used, it is called (lat'l).—*lass*, but (kweən) is still used for woman in a good sense, heard at Methven (5 wnw. Perth).—*coming*, the participle ends in (-en), verbal sb. (-un), (washen on v woshen dèi), thus (lóupen) leaping is used.—*from*, a grandfather of Miss K. used (free), not (three) for *from*.—*school* (skilì) is a slate pencil.—*yonder*, but they say (jonderz dhe màn, jon màn óvər dheer).

2. *red* (rēd) has a tendency towards (ə), almost (rəd), but not (rād).—*hand*, the (d) remains in the sg., but is lost in the pl. (hānz).—*side*, see *say*, par. 1.—*way*, see *say*, par. 1.

3. *enough* (enəkh, uniu) are used as sg. and pl.—*bairn*, (wi'n) is also used for little child.—*wrong*, (w'r-) has been heard from old people, but not (vr-) in *write*, *wright*, *wrong*. This makes a decided difference between D 37 and D 39, if not D 38.—*house*, (h) is never omitted; (həz, hēz) are both used for us.

4. *where*, (wh) always clear, not (kəh); and still less (ĭ), and this is another difference between D 37 and D 39.—*find* (fend, fand), pr. and pret.—*deaf* sounded very like (di,f).—*wizened*, although *shrivelled* is not used, (shrəb) shrub is said, so there's no difficulty about (shr-).—*name*, (nēm, neem, ni'm) all used.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PERTH cwl.,

from "Enga, a Novel," by the author of Harbour Bar, 1880, in which the scene is apparently laid at Essie, Essey, or Eassie, Fo. (7 wsw. Forfar), just within the b. of D 37. I extracted the following words, and then got the three students of Whitelands (see Perth dt. above) to pronounce them to me. The writer was evidently well acquainted with the dialect, and I have thought it best to give the words first as printed in the novel, but in italics, and then as pronounced by the students, prefixing a † to the latter when it apparently differed considerably in pron. These words from *Enga* are not otherwise marked.

P words from the Perth dt.

N words from the Newburgh dt. introduced for comparison.

S words given by the students, but not found in 'Enga.'

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *tak* tàk. 5 *mak* màk. 21 *neme*, †nèem, P nèm, N niim. A: — *fand* fand [pt. of find]. 43 *hans* hànz [pl.], P hãnd, N ha'nd. A or O: 58 *frae*, †iee, PN free. 60 *lang* lãq. 64 *wrang* wrang, PN [w'] ràq. A'- 67 *gane* gèn, *gyaun* gieng, hi gãqz hiz leen [he goes alone], P gee'eu, PN gAAN, PN gèn, P geen [gone]. 73 PN soo. 74 *twa* twaa. 79 *ain* een. 82 *anes*, †Jens ens. 84 *mair* meer. 85 *sair* seer. 86 *aits* eets. 87 S kleez. 88 *claidh* kléd. 89 *baith* beeth. 93 *snaw* snaa. 97 *sowl* soo'l. A': 104 PN rood. 111 *ocht* okht [owned], ood [owed]. 113 *hale* heel. 115 *hame* heem. 117 [(Jen) is not used, only (en), see No. 82]. — *alune* eLÈN [alone]. 122 i. none, †NEN [nóne has not been heard], ii. *nae* nee. 134 *aith* eeth.

Æ- 138 *fayther* teedhër. Æ: 156 *gled* glè'd. — *gither* gedher [gather]. 158 *æfter* æiter. 161 *day* déi. 169 *fan* fan [vulgar but common], whan. 170 *ha'est* hee'st. 173 *wast* wast [wast]. 177 *that* dhât, PN dhat. Æ'- 194 *ony* oni. 200 *fite*, †whéit. Æ': 209 *niver* niver neer. 221 *afeerd* feerd [afraid]. 224 P whaar, N whaar. 226 *maist* meest.

E- 244 *weel* wil. E: 261 P sêi, N sai. 263 *awa* wwa [compare P (wêi)]. 265 P strekht. N s'trekht [? dentals]. — *twa* twel. 273 P mèn. 280 *elieven* †elèv'n. E'- — *kep* kEP [used for catch, or catch in the hands, applied in Enga to a catch water among rocks]. E': 305 *haich* hái hilondz [highlands]. 306 *heicht* kikht bekht. 314 *heerd*, †hard, †he'rd. 315 *fit* fit.

EA: 322 *luch* lùkh. 326 PN Aald. 328 *cauld* kaald. 330 *hoald* haud hæd ha'ð. 335 PN AA. 336 *fà* fAA. 341 *marrow* mari. 342 *airm* eerm. — *hairm* heerm [harm]. 345 *daur* daAR. 346 *gate*, †giæt, P jet, N gèt. EA'- 347 *heid* [implying (hìd)], †hèd. EA': 352 P rED, N rìd. 355 PN dèf. 359 *nechor* niher. — *løse* lós [loose]. — *nait* [eattle, not heard], 368 *deith* [implying (dìth)], †dèth. EO- 383 *sieben* [implying (siv'n)], †sev'n. 384 *hieven* [implying (hiv'n)], †hèv'n [(hiv'n) not common, but heard]. EO: 394 PN dhonder. 396 *work* wark. — *fermer* feermër [farmer]. — *hert* hERT [heart]. EO'- 415 *lee* lii. EO': 425 *licht* lèkht. 426 *fecht* fecht [pt. (fokht)]. 428 PN sii. 429 *fient* fìnt. 430 *freend* frìnd. 435 P juu, N i.

I: 462 P ái. — *wedow* widi [widow]. — *dicht* dekht [dìght, common in the sense of wiped up, cleaned up]. 458 *nicht* nekht. 459 P rekht, N rikht. 460 *wecht* wèkht. 462 *sicht* sekht. 469 *ull* ùl [il is generally (ùl), as (salk malk mál) silk milk mill, of which the first two belong to EO and the last to Y]. 471 *timmertuned* tam'ertý'nd [‘having a harsh, unmusical voice.’ Jamieson, (timertjerd) is also used]. 477 P fend, N fìnd. 487 *gestreen* dhestrin [yesterday evening]. I'- — *forbye* forhài. 492 PN séid. — *wite* [to blame, ? (wáit) not heard]. 498 *vritin'* ráitén. I: 500 *liely*, †láiklì. 506 *wumman* wAMEN. 507 S wimén.

O- 519 *over* óuer. — *thole* thool [suffer, endure, a common word]. 523 *houp* hóup [has been heard, but (hop) is more common]. O: 528 *thocht* thokht. 535 *fouk* fók fók. 538 *wud* wəd [not (wəd)]. 541 S wani [and similarly] shauí dani [won't shau't dou't]. 550 *woord* †wãrd. O'- 555 S shy' [pl. (shy'n)]. 557 *tae* tee tii. 559 *mither* midher. 560 PN sky'1. 564 *sume* shy'n, P sy'n, N shy'n. O': 571 *gude* gy'ð. 572 S bly'ð. 574 S bry'ð. 578 *plough* plakh [sb.], plu [vb.]. 579 P enokh, N enakh. 586 P dii [div ye ken (di i ken)]. 587 *done* dun †dy'n. 591 *muir* my'yr. 595 *fat* [not a fit further (noo v fat far)]. 596 S ry't. 597 S sy't.

U- — *wud* wəd [wood]. 603 P kãmen, N kãmìn [coming]. 605 *són* †sãn. 606 P duuer, N door. U: 614 *hound* hóund. 619 S fand. — *wunner* †wy'nder. 629 S sãn. 632 PN æp. U'- 640 *coo* ku [pl. (kái)]. 643 *noo*, PN nuu. 645 *doo* duu. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *about* ebù't. U': 658 *doon*. PN dùn. 659 *toun* tùn. 663 *hoose*, PN hús. 667 *oot* út.

Y- 673 *muckte* mak'l. 679 *kirkyerd* kerkjèrd [churchyard]. 682 P lat'l. Y: — *freit* [implying (frèt)], †frèkht. 699 *vricht* rekht [(w)old]. — *speer* spiir [to inquire]. 700 *waur* WAAR. Y': 709 *feier* fáir [(féir) highland].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 N la'd. — *ealler* kaler [fresh, applied to fish, vegetables, and the morning air]. — *saumon* samen [salmon]. — *hantle* hant'l [many, applied to peas, called (piiz) from the garden, and (peeze) from the field]. — *ger gert* gar gàrd [make made]. — *shawlie* shaali [meaning not noted]. — *dawtie* daati [dearie]. E. 749 PN left. O. 774 *powney* pouni. — *dowie* doui [dull]. — *cknowledge* † noledʒ [(kn) occurs as an old form in (knéif) knife]. 804 PN drak'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 820 *gey* gêi [in the sense of rather considerably]. 833 *pairt* peert [paired]. — *maister* me'ster. — *me'em* me'm [ma'am]. — *dambrod* dambròd [draught board, *dames* draughts]. — *marry* mèri [marry]. — *gyarden* gjeerd'n. — *heeste* híst [haste, vb.]. 866 *puir* pyr. — *ill-faured* el-faard [ill-favoured, bad-looking]. E. — *trevel* trev'l [meaning only to walk, not to go on a journey]. — *tremmle* † trəm'l. 885 *verra* † veri. — *hoor* ùr [hour]. I. — *and* Y. — *envy* envái' [vb. but (en·vi) sb.]. 903 *dinner* denér. — *minute* minit [minute of time, old]. — *speeritless* spiritlet. O. — *roond* rùnd [round]. — *bonnie* boni [bonny]. — *coont* kùnt [count]. 935 S *kāntri* [students]. — *positief* positive. — *coort* kùrt [court]. 952 i. ii. *coorse* kùrs. U. 963 *quete* kweet. 969 P shəʒ, N shyʒ.

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland,

constituting Dr. Murray's North-Eastern Group (DSS. p. 237).

The peculiarities are most fully developed in D 39. The one character of (f) for (wh), runs with more or less completeness through all of them. They form the whole mainland of Scotland that lies e. of the CB., and from the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, to Cs.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland, = Dr. Murray's *Angus*.

Boundaries. On the w. the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, p. 751. For the n. b. begin where the CB. intersects the Grampians and go e. along the b. of Fo. and Ab. to Mt. Battock on the w. b. of Kc. (19 w. Stonehaven), and then sweep to the e. to about Skateraw on the coast (5 ne. Stonehaven), running from 4 to 6 m. south of the Dee. This line I take from Dr. M.'s map, and I have had no means of verifying it.

Area. The greater part of Fo. to the e., and of Kc. to the sw., from the Forth of Tay to the Grampians, the ancient Angus and Mearns, the ancient names for Fo. and Kc.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 238, and see Alphabetical County List under

Fo. ° Arbroath, ° Brechin, *° Dundee.

Kc. ° Glenfarquhar.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says with regard to D 38 :

“In the dialect of Angus, s. of the Grampians, (1) the consonantal peculiarities of the *North-Eastern* group are still found, but (2) the vowel system is more like that of the Central Scottish (D 34–37), English *oo* being (y) as in *good* (gyd).

(3) The \ddot{i} or y (i , e) of other dialects is often widened into \ddot{y} (æ) as (hæm , tæl , hær , mælk), etc., for him, till, her, milk. (4) D between vowels is sometimes softened into (dh) as (lædhiz) laddies."

This is all the information he gives. On this we may observe:

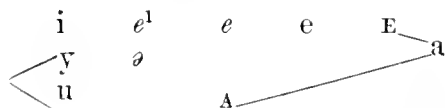
1. That the great consonantal peculiarity of (f) for (wh) is, according to Mr. Ross, native of Glenfarquhar, confined to the following words: who, when, where, what, whose, which, whether, how used for why, (fa , fe^n , faar , fat , fus , fæl , fodher , fuu), with the substantives 'weasel wheel,' or rather 'quhitred or -et, whorl' (faturet , foorl), and, so far as Mr. Ross knows, in no other sb. or in any vb. Hence the dialect is distinctly separable from D 39, where no such limitation occurs.

2. That *good* according to Mr. Ross is not (gʏd), but (gæd gjad), as in (blæd , flæd , stæd , stæl , flær) blood, flood, stood, stool, floor, but that the D 39 (gʏd) is also heard. These (æ) were very distinctly given in two different manners, and I get (flæd) from Ba.

3. Seems to be the appreciation of the (i_{11}) as (æ), and the people in D 38 distinguish the two sounds, or believe they do so; thus in the Glenfarquhar wl. we have ($\text{m}i_{11}\text{lk}$), but the Brechin wl. has (mælk); they are no doubt identical sounds, of which more hereafter.

4. Of this I have no other example.

The phonesis of this D 38, which is certainly transitional between D 34 and 39, presents some peculiar points of difficulty. Mr. Ross, who has taken great pains to indoctrinate me with them, uses a vowel triangle, which I give as a trigram and represent thus:



He says that (e) "is the English long a in *same* only without the vanish; (e^1) is nearer (i) in quality; (e) as in *there*, (E) a shade broader." One of the most peculiar vowels is here not placed, he says of it, " \ddot{i} is my mark for *sit*, *fit*, *pin*, etc., an ugly thick sound compared with the English, but very extensively used in Scotland," that is, in NL. only. "An Englishman says *süt*, *füt*, *pün* (sæt , fæt , pæn) as his nearest approximation. \ddot{a} on the other hand I must have used for an obscure unaccented vowel, I should think, as in *äliven* eleven. *Perhaps the difference is more in accent than in quality.*" This vowel in transliterating Mr. Ross's wl. I shall represent by (i_{11}) to distinguish it from (i_1), and to retain the NL. appreciation of it, as a kind of (i). Mr. Ross says it is nearly the English u in *pun*, *but*, and "lies between i in *pity*, a in *gnat*, and u in *nut*," by which he probably means (i , a , æ), "and there is a sort of jerked drop of the jaw in producing it." Dr. M. in transliterating Mr. Anderson's Arbroath cs., p. 684, has generally represented this sound by (e), which he also uses for his own y in D 33, but occ. by (E , y , \ddot{a}). In the two dt. given below I find I use (e) in *right*, *coming*, *going*, (fe)=*from*, *find*, *thing*, *is*, but (e')—which cannot be right, as fractures do not seem to be

recognised—in *gate*, and used (v) in *enough*, *him*, but I have (i) in *wizent*. I cannot think that the vowel is the same in all positions, and when unaccented as in (wi₁₁ra'q), it is rather (v). More upon this difficult vowel in D 39, p. 767.

Another difficulty arises for (e¹ e e). Mr. Ross was kind enough to classify a number of words, and I give the classification.

1. (e) English *there*, “only it seems to me that an Englishman begins his *there* with a slender sound, and then makes a broad vanish towards *r*. In Scotch the sound is uniform from beginning to end.” I add the numbers in the cwl. Long in 3 *bake*, 7 *sake*, 8 *have*, 9 *behave*, 23 *same*, 32 *rather*, 108 *dough* = *daigh*, 140 *hail*, 146 *main*, 163 *lay*, 166 *maid*, 170 *harvest* = *hairst*, 210 *clay*, 222 *hair*, 243 *play*, 248 *mare*, 260 *lay*, 722 *drain*, 729 *frame*.

2. (e¹) “The sound is slenderer than the English *ā* and shorter with no vanish.” In 19 *tale*, 40 *comb* = *kaim*, 73 *so*, 115 *home* = *hame*, 121 *gone* = *gane*, after 151 *seat*, after 348 *beat*, 500 *like*, 838 *treat*, etc.

3. (ee¹) “Same sound as 2, but long.” In 71 *wae*, 161 *day*, 211 *gray*, 221 *feard* = *afraid*, 261 *say*, before 340 *beard*, 402 *learn*, after \$25 *pay*, etc. “But in *Arbroath day*, *say*, are pron. even broader than No. 1” (DEE, SEE).

4. (i) “The sound is *ee* short.” In 118 *bone*, 315 *feet*, 571 *good* = *gweed*.

5. (a) “Sound of *u* in *but*.” In 464 *which* = *fūl*, 571 *good* = *gyūd*, *flood*, 616 *ground*, 805 *curds* = *cruds*, 928 *ounce*, 935 *country*, 954 *cushion*, 956 *cover*.

6. (ə) “Sound, the well-known Scotch sound, nearly *eu* in the French *peu*.” Although to my ear it is more like (y₁), I give (ə) as in D 33. In 594 *boot*, 596 *root*, 597 *soot*, 966 *fruit*, 970 *just*.

7. (əə) “Same sound, but long.” In 557 *too*, 586 *do*, 591 *muir*, 969 *sure* = *sheur*, before 969 *cure*.

8. (éi) “almost as in English, but it does not please a fastidious English ear; it seems to be *äy*, *a* being as in *man*,” this would make it (æ'i) or (ɛ'i), but I retain the (éi) to harmonise with Mr. Clarke's indications, below. In 246 *ii*, *queam*, 690 *kind*, 691 *mind*.

9. (ái) “The sound is *ay* where *a* is the short of *a* in *father*.” In 677 *dry*, 686 *buy*, 705 *sky*, after 760 *try*, before 900 *cry*, etc.

10. (áai) “The sound, very long, is *áy*, *á* as in *father*, not as in *fall* as you will sometimes hear it elsewhere.” In 212 *whey*, 262 *way*, 502 *five*, after 505 *thrive*, after 911 *strive*.

11. (éi) “This is an Aberdeen sound, found with us in a few words. It seems to be *ey*, *e* as in *met* or *slenderer*. It is likest the English *a* in *wave*, etc., when there is a vanishing glide (e'e'j), but is not the same.” Hence I use (éi) as in D 33. In 235 *weave*, 450 *Tuesday*, 708 *hire*, 709 *fire*.

“The series of sounds I [Mr. Ross] think is this :

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| 1. (e'e'j) wave, same, etc., as in English with vanish. | |
| 2. (éi) weave, fire, tire, see No. 11 | } First Group. |
| 3. (éi) kind, mind, No. 8 | |
| 4. (ái) sky, dry, No. 9 | } Second Group.” |
| 5. (áai) five, whey, etc., No. 10 | |

I have left the second element of these diphthongs as pure (i) as in D 33, but Mr. Ross says, “The second component of the diphthong is not so clear in Scotch as in English. It is a duller sound, except in [the last] No. 3, of which we have only a few words.” If this is correct, we should read (éi, éi, ái, áai), or something like it. These four (a'i) sounds are very curious and peculiar. But the marked features are (e¹, i₁₁), the former being heard by Englishmen as (i), and the latter often as (e, æ). The absence of (AA) in contrast with ML. usage is also conspicuous. The Brechin wl. apparently gave (AA) in some cases, writing *au*, but this seems to be only the NL. fashion of symbolising (baa).

For the consonants both (kh, kʰh) occur according to the preceding vowel, but I do not find (kwh) except as an occasional initial. Mr. Ross indicates (t,r, d,r) in some cases, and says that (t, d) also occur independently of (r),

but he gives no instances. As regards the use of (f) for (wh) in provincial words, Mr. Melville Bell thinks that the real sound is (fh), that is, (f) complicated by the raising of the back of the tongue nearly into the position for (kh). In that case the difference between (wh, fh) or (kwh, fh) would be slight, consisting almost entirely in interposing the action of the teeth. The initial (wr-) is used with the help of an auxiliary vowel written (*i*₁₁), but sounding (v). But in the Arbroath es. it is (vr-).

Illustrations.

1. Arbroath. A es. written by Mr. Anderson and pal. with some hesitation by Dr. Murray, given in the Introduction to L., No. 5, p. 684.

2. Dundee. A dt. written from dict. by AJE.

3. Glenfarquhar. A dt. pal. by AJE. from the indications furnished by Mr. Ross.

4. A wl. chiefly from Mr. Ross, of Glenfarquhar, with some words by Mr. Guthrie of Brechin, and, for comparison, the words from the Arbroath es. as interpreted by Dr. Murray.

TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

D Dundee, pal. June, 1881, by AJE. from dict. of Miss Begge, student at Whitelands Training College, but 16 years (almost all her life) at Dundee.

G Glenfarquhar pal. by AJE. from the writing and description of John Ross, Esq., native, who gave the following wl. for the same place.

These are placed in juxtaposition to shew how the indications agree with the vv. Observe particularly the different appreciations of (*i*₁₁) in (1) right coming from, (2) going gate, (3) enough to, (4) find wizened, (5) him, (6) will her, (7) is.

1. *Dundee.* soo v see, niberz, ji sii nu dha't a)m rekht
Glenfarquhar. soo v see¹, si₁₁rs, ju sii nuu et ai)m ri₁₁kjht

D ubuut dha't wi lasi kamen fe dhi sky₁l dhonder.

G ubut dhat li₁₁t'l lasi kam*i*₁₁n fi₁₁)dhe sk₁æl jander.

2. D shi)z ge'en diin dhe ròd dheer thru dhe rid ge't on dhe
 G she)z ge'*i*₁₁n dun dhe wái dheer thraú dhe rid ji₁₁t o)dhe

D left han séid dhe wái.

G left haand se'*i*₁₁)dhe rod.

3. shær enukh dhe bêrn)z ge'n strækht ap ti dhe dòr
 shær *i*₁₁njukh dhe li₁₁(tl)*i*₁₁n)z gee¹n strakht ap ti₁₁)dhe door

D v dhe ràq hùs,

G *i*₁₁)dhe wi₁₁ra'q hus,

4. D fàr shi)l léikli fen dha't drak'n dif wiz'nd feli
 G faar she)l me)be¹ fi₁₁nd dhat drak'q de'f wi₁₁z'nt fele

D kàd :tomæs.

G *i*₁₁)dhe ne¹m v :tam.

5. D wi à kɛn)ɛm re'el wil.
G we aa kèn hi₁₁m vera wil.
6. D wɛl)ni dh)àld tʃap sɪn lɛ'm)er nɔɔ ti di)t ɛʒɛn,
G wi₁₁)nɛ dhɛ aald tʃap shəɛn lɛ'rn)i₁₁r nee' tɛ dii)d ɛʒe'n,
D pɛr theq!
G pəɛr thi₁₁q!
7. D lùk, es)t nɔ truu?
G luk, i₁₁z)'n)t truu?

Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases by Miss Begge.

- (ju dhut kenz) you that know, always so used as in Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 212 and p. 71, note 1.
- (ái)v d'nd) I have done, never heard d'ne. *thou* not used, (a)m hi:z wi:r ji:r dhɛɛr).
- (à)z dhɛɛr) never used.
- (lá) not (lig), fowls (lee), but fowls are called (hɛnz) of both sexes. (pət dhɛ hɛnz, tʃik'nz, dùn pli:z) put the hens, ehickens, down please.
- (gi)t ti hez), not (hɛz), give it to us.
- (àld ɛn leem) old and lame.
- (tak)s heem wi ji) take us home with you.
- (ái see, làdiz, rən ɛwà ɛn plè jɛrsɛlz) I say, lads, run away and play yourselves, reflective verb.
- (wi hà)nɛ oni v dhɛm) we have not any of them. (wi)v tɛ gàq) we have to go.
- Verbal noun and participle, are not distinguished (-en) is used in both.
- (a)m den, dy:n) I have done.
- (shan)t) not much used, (shanɛ) might be used, but is not so generally, (dɛ)nɛ méind) don't mind=remember.
- (hi)z tɛ dii dhɛ dee) he's to die to-day. (dhɛ nuu) just now, (dhɛ dee, dhɛ mɔɛnɪŋ) this day, this morning.
- (get) gate not heard.
- (fan fàr) when where, commonly used even by children.
- find* is sometimes heard without (d), as (ái fan) or (fand), but (ái)v fənd).
- shr-* initial presents no difficulty, (shrimps) is said.
- (vɛri) not (vɛra) very.

Notes by Mr. Ross to the Glenfarquhar dt.

1. *sirs*, final (s) not (z).—*you* (juu) emphatic.—*lassy*, wench is (wi₁₁nti).—*from*, (iɛ^l, iɛɛ^l) emphatic, (bi) unemphatic.—*school*, some old people said (skv'il).—*yonder* is not (dhɔndɛr), though *yon* is (dhɔn).

2. *she* is emphatic: conjugation of the vb. *to be*, (ái am, jɛ ar, e^l iz, wɛ ar, jɛ ar, dhɛ ar).—*going*, pres. (ge^l), inf. (geq), pret. (ged), pp. (gr^ln), go away (ge^l waa).—*hand*, the (d) pronounced, but not towards Aberdeen.—

side, the *i* in fire is (*ái*), slenderer than in *side*. "I have heard (*sé'id*) for *scythe*."—*road*, "we have just one sound of *o* long and short, intermediate between English *o* in *toll* and *a* in *tall*."

3. *sure*, this is referred to French *eu*, and I merely conjecture that it is (*œ*) rather than (*œœ*), but it is perhaps more probably (*y*), compare D 33.—*enough*, plural (*enjuur*).—*little one has*; usual conjugation of *have*, (*ái*)*v*, *æ*)*v*, (*hi*)*z*, *wæ*)*v*, *æ*)*v*, (*dhæ*)*v*, emphasised (*v* *hi*₁₁*v*, *æ* *hi*₁₁*v*, *e*¹ *hi*₁₁*z*, *wæ* *æ* *dhæ* *hi*₁₁*v*), negative (*v* *hi*₁₁*ne*, *e*¹ *hi*₁₁*z*)*na*, *wæ* *hi*₁₁*ne*), etc.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (*v* *wi*₁₁, *v* *wi*₁₁)*ne*).—*maybe*, the word *chance* is not used; they call *lance* (*lans*).—*find* pp. (*tau*) without *d*.—*drunken*, this assimilation of final *-en* to the preceding consonant is also found in (*oop*'*m*, *l₁p*'*m*,

reek'*qh*id) = open, lippen, Aikenhead, etc.—*wizened*, no words beginning with *shr-* exist in the locality, *shriek*, *shred*, *shrill* become (*skrit*₁, *skrid*, *ski*₁₁*r*l).

5. *we*, they say (*i*₁₁)*s* *mii*, *i*₁₁)*s* *joo*, *i*₁₁)*s* *hi*₁₁*m*, *i*₁₁)*s* *hi*₁₁*z*) or (*i*₁₁)*s* *os*), but this "I think was an attempt at fine speaking. When a Scotchman wants to be emphatic, or gets angry, he tries to speak English."—*ken*, (*k*) is pronounced before (*n*) sometimes with the interposition of (*i*₁₁) as (*ki*₁₁*néit*), and sometimes with a change of (*n*) to (*g*) as (*kqok*).

6. *won't*, (*v* *di*₁₁)*ne*, *v* *di*₁₁*v*, *dii* *v* *ken* *dhat*? *ééi* *di*₁₁*v*; *fat*'*s* *v* *dæ*?) = I don't, I do, do I know that? aye, do I; what shall I do?—*learn* they use *teacher* (*tüt*₁₁*r*), but *master*, *domine* (*me*'*sti*₁₁*r*, *domi*₁₁*ni*) are the L. words.

Notes by Mr. G. Clarke, M.A., of the West End Academy, Dundee, in June, 1876.

i not before a consonant is (*ái*) as (*ái* *mái*), before a consonant is (*éi*) as (*méin*): five (*táiv*) is an exception, but (*néin*) is correct; bible (*béib*'*l*) confirms the rule, though the consonant is not in the same syllable. Observe *hire* = (*héir*), but *higher* = (*háiv*er).

Dundee school boys have a lazy negative formed by an inspired *f*, as (*;*)*t*), but sometimes the tongue is raised

into the position of an imperfect *n* or (*t*), that is, about (*rh*_o), and the suction takes place through the whole passage, quasi (*r*_oht).

The region of (*f*) for (*wh*) begins in the country region about Dundee, and extends beyond the town of Aberdeen. [He should say beyond the county of Ab., for I have it in Arbroath, Fo., and Wick, Ct.]

GLENFARQUHAR cwl.

(11 w-by-s.Stonehaven, Kc.), from wl. by John Ross, Esq., M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native. "The inhabitants have till lately (1877) been subject to very little change and intermixture. My (Mr. Ross's) own ancestors had been in the glen for 300 years at least. The glen is divided from Deeside, Ab., by a mountain range taking 3 or 4 hours to cross. The language in the main, both in words and pron., is the same as prevails both in Angus and Mearns," old names for Fo. and Kc. Thus the Angus and Mearns Synod contains the presbyteries of Meigle (e.Pr., 5 ne.Cupar Angus), Forfar, Dundee, Brechin (all three Fo.), and Fordoun (10 sw.Stonehaven, m.Kc.). Mr. Ross has taken great pains with this wl. and with the explanations appended and the correspondence which ensued. He considers the difference between Glenfarquhar and Errol (e.Pe.) less than between the former and Deeside.

B is prefixed to a few words given by Mr. James Guthrie, of Brechin (ne.Fo.), and added to words pron. in the same way as at Glenfarquhar.

A is prefixed to words from the Arbroath es., and added to words in the other lists which have the same pron.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tak. 5 mak A. 7 seek. 8 heev [or (*hi*) when written *hæ*]. 9 biheev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 gnaa [(*g*) pronounced]. 15 aa [the

vowel (AA) is not used]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 keek. 19 te^l. 20 le^m. 21 ne^m, A neem. 22 te^m. 23 seem. 24 she^m. 25 men. 28 heer. 30 keer. 31 le^t. 32 beedh, B baadh. 33 reeder *ree-*. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 kam. 40 ke^m. 41 thaqk. 43 haand. 44 laand. 46 kan^l. 48 saq. 49 heq. 50 teqz. 51 man A. 53 kan. 54 wi₁₁nt, A want. 55 e^lsh. 56 we^lsh, AB wash. 57 as. A: or O: 58 foo fi₁₁, A tre fe. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 emoⁿ. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 wi₁₁ra^q, A vraq. 65 saq.

A'- 67 ga ge^l [A (g)eed goed, went; (g)eeⁿ going]. 69 naa. 70 taa te^l. 71 wee^l. 72 faa, A faa. 73 soo si₁₁ se^l sv, A see. 74 twaa A. 75 strook. 76 ted. 77 leerd [as owner of the soil]. 78 en, A een. 80 hoole^ldi. 81 leⁿ, A leen. 82 A ens. 83 meen min. 84 moor, A meer. 85 soor. 86 ee^lts. 87 kle^z, A kleez. 88 kliid. 89 be^lth, A beeth. 90 blaa. 91 máu. 92 [(ken) used]. 93 snaa. 94 kraa A. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 saul. 98 knoon [(k) pron.]. 99 throon. 100 saan.

A': 101 eek ook. 104 rood. 105 red. 106 bred. 107 loof. 108 deekh. 109 leekh. 110 A noo. 111 okht, A okht. 112 hee^l. 113 hool, A heel. 114 mool. 115 he^m, A heem. 118 bin. 121 geⁿ. 122 i. min. 123 nothiq ne^lthiq. 124 stiin. 125 onli, A onli. 126 oor. 127 he^lrs. 128 dhe^s. 129 ge^lst. 130 bot. 132 het. 133 wi₁₁ro^t [(weròt) would perhaps better convey the sound to an Englishman]. 134 oth e^lth. 135 kloth kle^lth.

Æ- 138 faadi₁₁r faadhur, A tadhør. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 144 egeⁿ, A agen. 146 meen. 147 [(harnz) used]. 148 feer. 149 ble^z. 150 best. — se^lt [seat]. 152 wa^lur. 153 se^lurde^l.

Æ: 154 A bak. 155 thak, B thik. 157 [(korbi) used]. 158 efter, A e^lfter. 160 eg. 161 dee^l [(DEE) in Arbroath]. A dee. 163 lee. 164 mee^l, A me. 165 sed. 166 meed. 167 dee^l. 168 tab. 169 kich₁₁n [‘the (kh) quite marked,’ yet in a later list (fi₁₁n) and afterwards (ten) was admitted with (t)], A fèn fan. 170 heerst. 171 bee^lr. 172 gi₁₁rs. 173 wi₁₁z, A wyz. 174 ash. 175 fest. 177 A dhat a^lt. 179 fat A. 180 baath.

Æ'- 182 sii. 184 led. 187 lee^v. 188 [(ni₁₁kj^hør) nicker, used]. 189 wéi. 190 kéi. 191 he^l. 192 min. 193 kliin. 194 oni, A oni. 195 mani. 196 wi₁₁r. 197 tjiiz. 200 kachéit. 201 heedhⁿ. 202 he^lt.

Æ': 203 spik. 204 did. 205 thrid. 207 nid^l. 210 klee. 211 gree^l. 212 kicháai, B whéi. 213 A eedhør. 214 A needhør. 215 takht. 218 shiip. 219 sliip. 220 A shepørd. 221 tee^lr [(tee^lrd) teared afraid]. 222 heer. 223 dheer, A dheer. 224 faar A. 226 me^lst. 227 wat, A wit. 228 swéit. 229 bre^lth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brak. 233 spik, A spik. 235 wéiv. 236 fi₁₁ver. 238 hed^l. 239 se^l. 241 reⁿ. 243 plee. 244 A wil. 246 i. kaein. ii. kœin. 248 mee^lr. 249 wee^lr. 250 swee^lr. 251 miit. 252 ket^l, A ket^l. 253 ni₁₁t^l. 254 ledhur. 255 wedhur.

E: 256 A strik^yt [stretched]. 257 ed^l. 258 seg. 259 wad^l. 260 lee. 261 see^l [in Arbroath SEE, A (seeⁿ) saying], A see. 262 wáai. 263 A øwaa. 264 e^l. 265 strakht, B streekt, A strekt. 267 iild. 270 i. bels, ii. beli. 271 A tel. 272 elm. 273 men, A men. 274 h₁₁ntj. 275 [(st₁₁qk) used]. 276 th₁₁qk, A theqk. 277 [(druk) used]. 280 ele^vn. 281 h₁₁nth, A lenth. 282 stri₁₁nth. 283 mi₁₁ri. 284 thrash. 286 harn. 287 bi₁₁z^m. 288 lat.

E'- 289 i. 290 hi₁₁. 292 mi₁₁. 293 wi₁₁, A wi. 294 fiid. 296 billiv. 298 fil. 299 grin. 300 kiip. 301 hiir. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E': 305 hiik^jh. 306 hi₁₁kjht. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 hiil. 311 ten. 312 hiir A. 314 bard A. 315 fit [pl., for sg. see 595]. 315 niist, A nikst.

EA- 319 [(gaat) used]. 320 keer, A keer. EA: 321 saa, A saa. 322 lakh, A laakh. 323 tokht. 324 akht. 325 waak. 326 ald, A aald. 327 baald. 328 kaald. 329 taald. 330 had A. 331 sat. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 334 haf. 335 aa [very long], A aa. 336 faa. 337 waà. 338 kaa. — be^lrd [beard]. 340 jeerd, A jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 345 daar. 346 gi₁₁t.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii A. — be^lt [to beat]. 349 fiáu A. EA': 350 diid. 351 led. 352 red. 353 briid. 354 she^lt. 355 de^lt. 356 le^lt. 357 thoo, A thoo. 359 niiper, A nibør. 361 biin. 363 tje^p. 365 niir naar. 366 greit. 367 thre^lt. 368 de^lth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 stree^l.

EI- 372 éi, A áai. 373 dhu. 375 reez *ree'z*. 376 be't. EI: 378 we'k, A *week*. 380 A dhəm.

EO- 383 se'v'n. 384 he'v'n. — téir [to tire]. 385 eneth. 386 jáu B. 387 A nuu. EO: 388 m_{i1}lk, B mæk. 390 sad A. 392 A jon. 393 vjant. 395 A jaq. 396 w_{i1}rk. 397 suurd. 398 sterv. 399 A brekht. 402 lee'n, A leern. 403 far. 404 star. 405 herth B. 406 jerd. 407 fard_{i1}n. 408 nuu.

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii A. 412 shii A. 413 diiv'l. 414 fiii. 415 lii. 416 diir. 417 t'jau. 418 bruu. 420 faur. 421 forti.

EO: 422 A sik. 424 rokh. 425 l_{i1}kjht. 426 fekjht. 428 sii. 429 fiind. 430 frind, A frind. 431 biir. 432 foort. 433 briist B. 434 bet. 435 juu A. 436 truu. 437 truuth, A truth. EY- 438 dii A. EY: 439 t'rast, A trast.

I- 440 wiik, A wik. 441 si_{i1}v. 442 éivi. 444 stéil. 446 néin, A nə'in. 448 [(dhee') used]. 449 g_{i1}t. 450 tēzde'. 451 shuu.

I: 452 éi. 453 A kwék. 454 w_{i1}tj, B watj. 455 léi, A lái. 457 m_{i1}kjht. 458 n_{i1}kjht, A nekht. 459 r_{i1}kjht. 462 s_{i1}kjht. 463 A tol. 464 ial [which, as an interrogative only]. 465 si_{i1}k, A sek. 467 wéild. 470 A ham. 471 t_{i1}mer. 473 bl_{i1}nd. 474 rand. 475 w_{i1}nd. 476 b_{i1}nd. 477 t_{i1}nd. 478 gr_{i1}nd. 479 wéind. 480 A theq. 481 f_{i1}qer. 484 A dhes. 485 th_{i1}s'l. 487 j_{i1}sturde'. 488 j_{i1}t. 489 A et.

I'- [for the 4 sets of sounds here concerned, see Introduction to D 38, p. 757]. 491 s_{i1}kjh. 492 séid. 493 draiv. 494 táim, A t'aim. 495 A whə'nən. 496 éiru. 498 w_{i1}rét [the (w_{i1}) strikes an Englishman as (we)]. 499 biit'l.

I: 500 l'k, A lek. 501 wéid. 502 faaiv. 503 léif. 504 knéif [(k) sounded]. 505 wéif. — thráaiv [thrive]. 506 a'men. 507 wiimen, B wəmen. 508 méil. 510 A méin. 511 wéin. 514 éis. 515 wéiz. 516 w_{i1}zdem.

O- 519 A ə'ur. 521 fool. 522 oop'n. 523 háup. 524 waarld.

O: 527 bokht. 528 thokht B. 530 w_{i1}rókh. 531 dokhter, A daakhter. 532 kool. 533 dal. 534 hol. 535 A fa'uk. 536 gáuld. 537 muuld. 538 A wad wad. 539 bául. 541 A wəl noo. 542 bolt. 545 hap. 548 fərd. 550 w_{i1}rd, A wərd. 551 storm. 552 korn. 553 hoorn. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shə. 556 te. 557 tə, A ty. 558 luk. 559 m_{i1}dher. 561 bləm. 562 mən. 563 mənende'. 564 shən. 565 nooz. 566 A idhar.

O: 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gad gəad gəid, A gəyd. 572 bləd. 573 fəd. 575 stəd. 577 buu. 578 plu plukh. 579 enukh A [sg.], enur [pl.]. 580 finkh B. 581 sokht. 583 tul. 584 stal. 585 brəm. 586 də, A denə [don't]. 587 dən, A dyn. 588 nən, A nyn. 589 span. 590 fəar. 591 məar, B miur. 592 A swəar. 594 bət. 595 f_{i1}t [sg., for pl. see 315]. 596 rət. 597 sət, B sət.

U- 601 fül. 602 suu B. 603 kam A. 604 A semər. 605 sou [distinctly stated to have (o)], A sən. 606 door, A dōar. 607 bə'ter.

U: 601 əgli. 609 fuu, A fal. 610 nu. 612 səm, BA. 615 B pənd. 616 grand, A gran. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 A fand. 622 ənder. 625 təq. 627 A sande. 629 sən [and hence differing from 605]. 630 wən. 631 thəzde', A fyurzde. 632 əp A. 633 kəp. 634 thrəu, A thruu. 637 tək. 639 d_{i1}st.

U'- 640 kuu B. 641 fuu [used also for why] A. 642 [not used]. 643 nuu A. 646 B buu. 647 ul. 648 uur. 651 A wəhuut. 652 kəd.

U: 655 fül. 656 rüm. 657 brūn. 658 dūn A. 660 buur. 661 shuur B. 662 B h_{i1}s. 663 hūs BA. 664 lūs. 665 mūs. 667 üt A. 668 prūd. 669 ənkū'thi. 671 muu. 672 sūth.

Y- 673 mək'l [(ə) but with lips more protruding, not (i₁) as in some parts] A. 674 A ded. 676 lii. 677 drái, A dráai. 678 d_{i1}n. 679 k_{i1}rk. 681 A beznes. 682 l_{i1}t'l. Y: 683 m_{i1}dj. 684 br_{i1}g. 685 r_{i1}g. 686 bái. 687 fl_{i1}kjht. 689 [(big) used]. 690 kéind. 691 méind. 693 s_{i1}n. 695 hark'n A. 695 b_{i1}rth. 697 bəri. 698 m_{i1}rth. 699 w_{i1}r_{i1}kjht. — sp_{i1}r [speer]. 700 waar. 701 f_{i1}rst, A ferst. 703 p_{i1}t. Y'- 705 skái. 707 thert_{i1}n. 708 háir. Y': 709 féir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad, B laad, A ladhi. 715 pad. 717 djad B. 719 [(páui₁t) pow-head, used]. 720 fag. 722 dreem. 723 déiri B. 724 bald. 725 se^l. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 freem. 730 kanter. 731 wanten B. 734 daarn. 735 smash. 737 mee^t. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 B lezi. E. 743 B skreem. — ween [wean, little one]. 744 [(ni₁rlz) used]. 745 tje^t. 746 bree^lth. 747 endee^lver. 750 beg. I. and Y. 754 pi₁₁g. 759 fi₁₁t. — trái [try]. O. 761 lood. 764 B kad^l. 767 nóis A. 771 foond. 772 B boónféir. 774 páumi B. 777 shop. 778 afærd. 780 B djóis^l. 781 AB badher. 783 puultri B. 785 B luundj. 789 ráu. 790 gum. U. 792 skwab^l. 793 hag. 794 djag. 797 A skæiikⁿ. 798 A kæiir. — bal [bull]. 800 skal. 801 ram. 803 djamp. 804 A drakⁿ. 805 kradz B. 806 fas. 807 pus. 808 pet, B pi₁₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 e^bl. 810 fé^s. 811 plé^s. 812 le^s. 814 me^s'n. 815 BA faks. 816 féd. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 diléi. 822 méi B. 823 béi. — pee^l [to pay]. 824 tje^r. B tjeür. 825 wef. 826 eg^l B. 827 e^lgr. 828 eegu, B eegin. 830 B t'reen [z]. 833 B péür. 835 ri₁₁z'n, A rez'n. 836 si₁₁z'n, B seesi₁₁n. 838 tre^t, B treet. 840 tjamer. 841 tjans, B tjans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj, B brentj. 844 tri₁₁nti. 845 anshent, B aanshent. 847 deendj. 848 B tjiindj. 849 streendj B. 850 dans, B daans. 851 B anti. 852 apren. 853 bargi₁₁n. 855 kari₁₁t. 856 peert B. 857 ke^s, A kes. 859 tje^s. 860 B pèst. 861 test. 862 sef, A sef. 864 bikas B, A bikaz. 865 faat B. 866 pæur, B peer.

E. 867 tii BA. 869 ve^l, B veel. 870 bíauti. 871 egrii. 872 tjif. 874 reⁿ. 875 fi₁₁nt fant, B fént. 876 di₁₁nti. 877 eer. 879 B feemeel. 880 eksamp^l, B eksaampl. 881 si₁₁ns. 882 B paansi. 883 B dandiláien. 885 A verø. 888 A sertⁿ. 890 best, A best. 891 fest, B feest. 892 niifu, B neve. 893 fluor B. 894 diseev. 895 riseev.

I. and Y. 897 dil₁₁kjlt B. 898 néis. 899 niis. — krái [cry]. 900 pree. 901 féin, A fá'in. 902 méin. 903 déin. 904 véilet. 905 réi^{ut}. 906 véiper B. 910 djóist, B dja'ist. — stráiv [strive]. 912 réis.

O. 913 kotj. 914 brotj. 916 i₁₁qi₁₁n B. 917 roog. 918 fiib^l. 919 óintni₁₁nt, B éint-. 920 B péint póint, A pə'int. 921 akwa^{nt} B. 922 bash^l. 923 móist. 924 tjóis, B tjeis. 925 vóis, B véis. 926 spóil, B spéil. 927 træk. 928 ans B. 930 B léin. 932 emu^{nt}. 933 frant. 934 bunti. 935 kantre^l. 938 A kornet. 939 klos, A kløs. 940 kot, A kot. 941 fól, B ful, A fyl. 942 báutj. 943 tatj. 944 eluu^l. 945 vuu. 946 móil. 947 bóil, B béil, A hə'íl. 948 bul. 949 muuld. 950 saper A. 951 kəp^l. 952 i. kurs B. 953 kəzi₁₁n, B kyzi₁₁n. 954 kashi₁₁n, B kíushi₁₁n. 955 dùt. 956 kaver. 957 emplóoi. 959 konvói.

U. 961 gru^{el}, B gruul. 963 kwéit, A kəciat. 964 sət, B shuut. 965 óil, B éil. 966 frət. 967 B shuut. 968 óist₁₁r, B eister. — kær [cure]. 969 shæur, A syyr. 970 djæst, A djyst. 971 flət.

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen.*

Boundaries. On the s., the n. b. of D 38. On the w., the CB. or Celtic border as far as the town of Cromarty. On the e. and n. the sea-coast.

Area. All Ab., Ba., El. (or Moray) and Na. except the sw. portions (which are w. of the CB.), with the extreme e. of Cr.

Authorities. Printed sources: Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 237 and 241. Rev. Walter Gregor's Glossary to Ba. in Trans. of Philol. Soc. 1866. Mr. Melville Bell's sentences from *Visible Speech*, the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gashetneuk*, and the same author's *Sketches of Life among my ain Folk*. The last two are

admirable specimens of dialect writing, and should be read by every one who wishes to understand the nature of the dialect and its speakers. Cheap editions are published by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. The site of Gashetneuk is in the fictitious parish of Pyketillim, but we find that it was only half a day's journey from Turriff on the Doveran; that Culsalmond, m.Ab. (8 se.Huntly), was familiar to the characters, as also the Strathbogie district containing Huntly, and that it was about halfway between Marnock, Ba. (on the Doveran, 11 e.Keith), and Kintore, Ab., which would bring it near to Rayne (12 se.Huntly), At any rate the dialect perfectly corresponds to this neighbourhood.

In Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. pp. 396-7, art. Parish of Duffus, county of Moray (otherwise Elgin), "by a friend to statistical inquiries," there is an account of the pron. of the east coast of Moray, shewing that, except in intonation, it is the same as that of Ab.

Manuscript sources: Keith, Ba., the Rev. W. Gregor's es. as pal. by Dr. Murray, and his wl. with notes and phrases as pal. by A.J.E. from his dict.

Buchan, Ab., or the district n. of the Ythan and e. of the Doveran, a complete num. wl. by Dr. Findlater, formerly editor of Chambers's *Cyclopedia*, native, where he lived to 20 years old, and which he has frequently visited since.

Cromar, or the low part of the Marr district, containing Coull, Migvie, Logie, Coldstone, Tarland (5 nw.Aboyne, 30 w.Aberdeen), and part of Tulloch, about 12 m. long and 4 m. wide. A careful alphabet of sounds by the late Mr. Innes, of Tarland, who was acquainted with phonetics, and wrote the pron. in a modification of my Ethnical Alphabet (read before the British Association in 1849), with explanations written according to the 9th ed. of Mr. Isaac Pitman's *Phonography*, with which I am familiar, was accompanied by very carefully written examples. The MS. was kindly given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge, for whom it had been written about 1864, as a contribution to a phonographic magazine, to give an idea of the language and pron. of that district. The whole of the examples are given and fully considered below, together with Mr. Innes's explanation of his alphabet. I had also the advantage of hearing a great part of this read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison (a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, mentioned to me by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, brother-in-law to Sir P. L.), who had arrived four days previously from her native place, Tarland, never having been previously in London.

For such an extensive and remarkable district these sources of information are very few, but so far as they go they are first-rate. No doubt there are many varieties, some of which are pointed out by Rev. W. Gregor in the preface to his *Ba. Glossary*, and I have no information for El., Na., and Cr., but the examples and cwl. given must convey a tolerably complete idea of the dialect.

Characters. The following is Dr. Murray's account (DSS. p. 237):

"(1) The most prominent distinction of the North-eastern dialects [my NL.] is the use of *f* for *wh*, and of *cr* for *wr*, as in "fat's vrang," what's wrong? (2) This peculiarity is current from the Pentland Firth [n. of Cs.] to the Firth of Tay, and the dialect is most typically represented in Ab. and the district to the nw. toward the Murray Firth. (3) Here the 12th vowel (*a*, *y*) of the Central and Southern dialects [p. 711] loses its labialisation, so that long English *oo* (in centre and s. of Scotland *ui*) is represented by *ee*, as in *do*, *boot*, *roof*, here *dee*, *beet*, *reef*: short *oo* by *i*, or the high mixed wide vowels (*x*, *y*) *moon*, *stool* (*min*, *mayn*, *stil*, *styl*). (4) The back consonants *k*, *g*, affect a preceding or following *oo*, changing *koo*, *ook* into *kwæe kwæi*, and *yook*, as in *good*, *coal*, *school*, *book*, general Scottish *guid*, *emil*, *scuil*, *buik*, here *gweed*, *queel*, *squeal*, *byook*. (5) The sound of *cō*, in the s. *cuo* (*ku'*), is often changed to *cwey* (*kwæ'i*) as *cweyte*, *cweyle* (*kwæ'it*, *kwæ'il*) for *coat*, *cool*. (6) As the *ai* (*ce*) of the other dialects corresponding to Eng. *ō*, also often sinks into *ee*, thus *bone*, *stone*, Central Sc. *baene*, *staene* (*been*, *stuen*), here *been*, *steen* (*biin*, *stiin*), the long *ee* is a prominent feature of the dialect. (7) But this latter change is not found all over the district; and the Rev. Walter Gregor, in the preface to his "Dialect of Ba.," distinguishes three dialectal varieties within the area, in the lower or coast variety of which *stone* and *bone* are *steen*, *been*, while in the middle they are *stēhn*, *bēhn* (*sten*, *ben*) and *meal*, *peats*, *fear*, *bear*, etc., *mail*, *pait*, *fehr*,

behr (mel, pets, feer, beer). (8) The short u (ʌ) of the other dialects often becomes *i* (e, y) as in mother, son, bull, full, here *myther*, *syn*, *byll*, *fyll*, often with the vowel long. (9) The long *aa* (aa) of the South of Scotland is often replaced by *ai* as *gayn*, *aicht* for *gaan*, *aaucht* (gaan, aakucht) going, ought. (10) The hard *g* is strongly palatalised, so much so that I have often found it difficult to distinguish the pronunciation of *geng* or *gyang*, *go* (gjeq, djeq) from *jeng* (djeq). (11) In the coast districts there is also a strong tendency to substitute *d* for *th* in *fadder*, *mudder*, *widder*, etc., for *father*, *mother*, *weather*."

On this we may remark :

(1, 2) That the use of (f) for (wh) is limited in D 38, and that in D 38, *wrong* is rather (w'raq), while in D 40 it sounded to me like (rwaq) or labialised (r), and in neither as (vraq). (3) In *moon*, *stool*, the *oo* is not short, and I do not find the peculiar (y, y) referred to in any of my authorities. Also, it is not absolutely correct to consider (ii) as merely delabialised L. (ə, ɣ₁); it is something different, and it is doubtful whether the sound was thus obtained. (4) The (kw, gw) certainly occur, and so does (bħuk, tħuk, bħukh, tħukh) book, took, bough, tough, but the phenomena seem to be entirely different. (6) These refer to the treatment of A'; the corresponding treatment of A- has been overlooked, and the reduction to (biin, stiin) is by no means general, although it is an old joke to say that in Aberdeen people fall on the *steens* and break their *beens*. (7) The last words, *meal*, etc., are none of them of the same category as *stone*, *bone*; Mr. G.'s words are, "*meal* becomes *mehl*; *peat*, *peht*; *beast*, *behst*; *beat*, *beht*, etc., in the middle district [of Ba.], while these words retain their English pron. in the lower. The inhabitants of the lower district [or coast of Ba.] twit those of the middle on their pron., and throw in their teeth the words *meal*, *peats*, and *kail*, as if pron. *maile*, *paites*, and *kaile*." The last word seems to be a mistake, it is (kjel) in Cromár. But taking Dr. M.'s words *meal*, flour, is Ws. *melu*, *peat* is of unknown origin, *fear* is Ws. *fə'r*, and to *bear* is Ws. *beran*, so that they have no connection with *stone*, *bone*, Ws. *stán*, *bán*. (8) Here again the analogy is imperfect, *mother* is an O' word, *son* an U- word, *bull* unknown, and *full* an U: word; I also do not understand the long vowel. (9) These indications are imperfect, see Nos. 67 and 78 in the following cwl. (10) I found (djan) going was admitted by Mr. G. (11) Observe that (d) is the original letter in all these words, Ws. *fader*, *módor*, *weder*. Hence it is the ordinary pron. which has substituted (dh) for (d), and not the dialectal, which has replaced (dh) by (d).

The most striking points to a stranger in the *vowels* are, the absence of (AA), which is familiar in ML., so that Dr. M.'s (daatherz) p. 701, l. 3, is an error; the use of (ii, i) for O'; the strange way in which (e¹, e, ʌ) are treated and written as one vowel *i*, fully considered below, p. 767; and the singular substitution of (ái) where we use (ee) in many words without perceptible rule or principle. As this seems to have escaped Dr. Murray, I give all the instances I have found referring them to the original vowels. The italics indicate words from *Johnny Gibb* in the original spelling.

PECULIAR USE OF (ái, á'i, é'i).

A: *wyme*, wame, womb. (wə'it) I wot.

Æ: (dái) day.

Æ' (kéi) key, (táitjər) teacher, who however does not 'teach' but (liirnz). (wháit) wheat, with an exceptional use of (wh) about Keith, but some say (fáit). (swáit) sweat. (wái, wáit) weigh, weighed.

E. (spáik) speak, but Æ' (spitj) speech. (wáiv) weave. (plái) play, as used by old people. (kwáin) quean, used for a woman without offensiveness. (séi) say, old people. (wái) way, the usual pron. (á'ljyr) a church elder, of which (eljər) is the more common pron.

EA' *gryte* (gréit) great.

EI (wáik) *wykness*, weak, weakness.

EO' (*thái*) thigh, rec. pron., but many dialects have the more regular (thii).

I (stéil) stile, for which several other dialects have the more regular (stiil). (tə'izde) Tuesday. (áivi, grándii-vi) ivy, ground-ivy, but JM. used (á'i) in both cases.

O *quile*, coal.

O' *hiv*e, hoof.

ENGLISH—*swye*, sway.

ROMANCE—*chyne*, chain. (tjáindj) *cheenge*, change. (konváiv) convey. (gjá'ili) gaily, quite. (wə'it) *wyte*, wait. *viakle*, vehicle. (ráin) *ryne*, the rein of a horse. *kwite*, coat. *jilein*, sending to gaol.

To these I have not added Johnny Gibb's *deykn*, *seyrn*, deacon, seven, because JM. pronounced them with (deek'n, sev'n), but perhaps (déik'n, séiv'n) may also be said.

Among *consonants* the use of (f, vr-) for (wh-, wr-), and the variation of the guttural, as (kh, kjh), according to the preceding vowel, are most striking.

PRONUNCIATION IN CROMAR.

As the pron. in Ab. is very peculiar, and Mr. Innes has analysed it with great care, I give his elements numbered, and with brief observations, or none when my transcription from his characters to pal. appears certain, as confirmed vv. by Rev. Walter Gregor and Jane Morrison, reserving the observations on Nos. 19 and 20 till the end.

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. 1, 2 (ii, i). 3, 4 (e^e, eⁱ). 5, 6 (ee, e). 7, 8 (aaⁱ, aⁱ). No. 7 heard only from old people, No. 8 always before (q), and generally, not always, before (b, d, g). 9, 10 (aa, a). 11, 12 (oo, o) "between English *au* in *caught*, and *o* in *note*." 13, 14 (ooⁱ, oⁱ) "it lies as to quality between English *goat* or *good*." 15, 16 (uu, u). 17 (ā). 18 (y₁) seems to be deeper than (y). 19, 20 (i₁₁, y) considered hereafter. 21 (ái) in *sighed*, *tied*, the second element in these L. diphthongs appears to be (i, u) rather than (i, u), which do not occur. 22 (á'i) *side*, *tide*, generally conceived as (éi, é'i). 23 (áe) "deep open diphthong, composed of Nos. 9 and 5, used in *aye* yes, and *I* pronoun." 24 (iu, iuu). 25 (á'u) "composed of Nos. 8 and 16, or perhaps in some people's mouths of Nos. 8 and 18," (á'y₁), which would resemble the Dv. (ə'y₁) in its second element.

CONSONANTS. 26 (j). 27 (w). 28 (h) "before *w*, as in when = (hwen), it is almost the same as the guttural No. 37," but in fact (wh) does not occur in the dialect. 29, 30 (p, b). 31, 32 (t, d). 33, 34 (tj, dj) assumed as = (tsh, dzh). 35, 36 (k, g). 37 (kh), "when it takes the higher sharp palatal sound in the *y* position, (j) is attached (kjh)." The voiced (gh) is not heard. 38, 39 (f, v).

40, 41 (th, dh). 42, 43 (s, z). 44, 45 (sh, zh). 46 (l). 47 (r) “always trilled, whether initial or final.” 48, 49 (m, n), which when vocal are marked (‘m, ‘n). 50 (q). After (k) Mr. Innes always writes (q) in place of (n), as (kqit) for *kneef*=active, alert. 51 (j), in (tj dj, kj gj, lj nj). “The (lj) is now very rare, and (tj, dj) I have heard only from people who themselves or their parents have come from Gaelic-speaking districts. The pron. of this district has nothing of the Gaelic intonation, but 15 miles west of us, about Balmoral,” which is 16 sw. Tarland, and 18 wsw. Aboynne, “Gaelic is still spoken by old people, and the English spoken is very different from ours,” *i.e.* rec. sp.

The crux of the D 39 pron. consists in Nos. 19, 20, here transcribed (i_{11} , y) and both usually written i . We have already encountered the difficulty in D 38, but there they had not been distinguished as they are by Mr. Innes. The following are his explanations: 19. (i_{11}) “Obscure sound in *sir*, *her*, *fit*, not the English i in *fit*, but a deeper sound, something between *net* and *nut*. It is the vocal heard in *butt'n* prolonged into a vowel.” 20. (y) “This is near to but distinct from No. 19. The final a in *idea* is this sound in careless colloquial conversation. The English i in *fit* is the best substitute for this sound. It has as nearly as may be the value attached to \ddot{e} in the Ethnical Alphabet,” which I there defined as “the natural vowel, an obscure murmur,” and would be most like (v). Mr. M. Bell used the equivalent for (y) considered as the sound in *houses*, *goodness*, in his writing of the Buchan Ruth, chap. i., given in the introduction to L., p. 698. I have therefore used (y) for No. 20 in this transliteration, but I have used the new symbol (i_{11}), a doubly deepened (i), for No. 19, to keep it separate, and in the Cromár example by Mr. Innes I have carefully distinguished (i_{11} , y) as he did. But he is not quite consistent, as will appear by the subsequent examination.

1. The following words have both (i_{11}) and (y); *there*, $dhi_{11}r$ $dhyr$; *of*, a , *have* (i_{11} , y); *the* (dh_{11} dhy); *so* (si_{11} , sy); *no*, *do not* (ni_{11} , $di_{11}ni_{11}$, $di_{11}ny$); *ye* (ji_{11} , iy) and ($i_{11}n$, yn); *was* ($wi_{11}z$, wyz , wez), *but* ($bi_{11}t$, byt).

2. The following unaccented initials are spelled both ways, *in an assure*, *about*, *among* ($i_{11}ssi'r$, $i_{11}but$, $ybut$, $i_{11}moo'$, $ymoo'$); a in *again*, *amends* has only y ($ygj'e'n$, $yma'nz$).

3. In the termination *-er* I find (i_{11}) in *better*, *younger*, *father*, *mother* ($beti_{11}r$, $jaq_{11}r$, $faadi_{11}r$, $mydi_{11}r$), but on the other hand (yr) in *gathering*, *ever*, *older*, *tother*, *cankered* ($gaa'dyryn$, $yvyr$, $aalyr$, $tydyr$, $kaqkyrt$), which I find accented in ($si_{11}r$, $thyr$, $wyrd$, $tyrd$) *sir*, *third*, *word*, *yard*.

4. The following have generally unaccented (i_{11}), but sometimes (y), as ($maki_{11}n$, $moorni_{11}n$, $stopi_{11}t$, $parti_{11}t$, $h'oo'mynz$, $stockyt$, $ynta'nyt$) *making*, *morning*, *stopped*, *parted*, *limbs*, *stocked*, *intended*.

5. In accented syllables the following have (i_{11}) ($li_{11}t'l$, $ri_{11}st$, $ni_{11}kjht$, $bi_{11}t$, $wi_{11}n$, $i_{11}t$, $wi_{11}tj$, $pi_{11}th$, $ri_{11}p$, $li_{11}kjht$, $skri_{11}mt$, $:bi_{11}li_{11}z$, $ji_{11}styrde$, $i_{11}l$, $ri_{11}pi_{11}t$, $l'a'keem_{11}nee$, $di_{11}st$, $ti_{11}l$, $shi_{11}nz$, $fi_{11}t$, $li_{11}t$, $hi_{11}p$, $dh_{11}s$) *little*, *rest*, *night*, *light*, *bit*, *win*, *it*, *witch*, *pith*, *reap*, *light*, *serimpt*, *Billies*, *yesterday*, *ill*, *rippit*=*row*, *confusion*, *luckie-minnie*, *dust*, *till*, *shins*, *fit*, *let*, *hip*, *this*. And the following have (y); ($ylkji$, $kjyb'l$, gyn , $snymbt$, $dhyygdhyr$, dyd , nyv , $dryqkj$, $mydi_{11}r$, $h'yd$ $he'd$, $ydyr$, $i'yn$) *ilka*, *kibble*, *gin*=*if*, *snubbed*, *together*, *did*, *neave*, *drink*, *mother*, *had*, *other*, *when*.

This analysis shews that the separation is not complete. We must therefore have recourse to *vv.* which is rather hazardous, because such complex differences generally require a very long while to hear with certainty, and my opportunities of hearing natives were necessarily few and short, in fact I heard only two,

Rev. W. Gregor, of Keith, and Jane Morrison of Tarland, and perhaps Mr. Innes might have objected that both were much more modern than the time he aimed at illustrating, 1780.

Now, first, Rev. W. Gregor sent a *es.* in writing, which was transliterated by Dr. Murray, and has been given among the *es.* in the introduction to L., p. 684, No. 6. To this Mr. G. added the note (p. 695*d*): “*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill*, *mill*, another in *wint* (*want*), and a third in *fin* (*when*) *hinmist*. The sound in *fill*, *mill*, *him* comes nearest to the sound of *yes*, *yet* = *i^e*; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of *i* in *window*. In *fin* the sound comes nearest to the sound in *pin*.” Dr. Murray conjectured that (*fee^l*, *mee^l*, *hee^m*, *wənt*, *fyn*) might be meant. In actually hearing Mr. G. read his *wl.* I wrote (*re^lkjht*, *me^llk*, *we^l*, *dhe^s*, *se^v*, *fe^lqer*, *feⁿ*, *se^k*, *we^k*, *fe^llk*) for right, milk, wild, this, sieve, finger, find, such, week, which; but (*wənt*, *thros^l*, *wətp*) want, thistle, witch, where (ə) ought possibly to be (ɔ), though I distinctly heard (ə). The author of *Johnny Gibb* has also *wunt*. This implies two sounds (*e^l*) answering to Mr. G.’s *i^e*, and (ə), but leaves the third sound unexplained, which may be (*y*), and this does not very perceptibly differ from (*e^l*).

In observing Jane Morrison, when only four days from Tarland, Mr. Innes’s (*i₁₁*, *y*) seemed to be identical, but I was unable to analyse the sound I heard from her. It struck me occasionally as (*i*, *i³*, *e*, *e²*, *v*, ɔ), but most frequently as (*e*, ɔ). This would seem to imply that there are at least two accented sounds approaching, if not coinciding with, (*e*, ɔ), and an unaccented sound (*v*), which cannot be considered generically distinct from unaccented (ɔ).

Now I think that if an Englishman were hearing for the first time the Welsh words *dyn*, *dynion*, man, men, pronounced in North Wales, he would hear (*dⁱin*, *dənjən*), instead of Dr. Sweet’s (*dryn*, *dəlnion*). Of these vowels Dr. S. says: (ɣ) “is the most difficult of the North Welsh vowels for South Welshmen as well as Englishmen. It is advanced from the normal high mixed position towards (*i*), with which it is confused farther south;” and (əh) “occurs long only as the name of the letter *y*, in which it sounds deeper than the E. vowel in *sir*, being apparently more retracted, but the difference is very slight. Quite distinct from our vowel in *but*,” by which he means (ɔ) (Trans. Philol. Soc. 1882–3–4, ‘On Spoken North Welsh,’ p. 415). The phenomena in Ab. and North Wales seem to me entirely similar, though far from being identical. In both we have an (ii) vowel verging to an (ə) vowel. And in South Wales this verging is neglected. In North Wales the same letter *y* is employed for two sounds decidedly resembling the two we get in D 39. In D 39 there is a persistence of the use of *i* to represent two or three different sounds, which are considered as varieties of the same. And it may possibly happen somewhere in D 39 that, as in South Wales, they really form but one sound. As Mr. Melville Bell heard the Buchan Ruth, he only distinguished one sound (*y*).

Illustrations.

1. Keith es., by Rev. W. Gregor, pal. by Dr. M., above, in the Introduction to L., No. 6 of the 8 es., pp. 683, 684, 695.

2. Buchan, Ruth, Chap. i., from Dr. Murray, after Mr. Melville Bell, above, in the Introduction to L., No. 3, p. 698.

3. Cromár, three examples by Mr. Innes, the first pal. from the dict. of Jane Morrison only, the second and third transliterated from Mr. Innes's spelling, and the second also pal. from dict. of Jane Morrison.

4. Ab. sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

5. Notes and phrases obtained and pal. from Rev. W. Gregor, while dictating his cwl. No. 6.

6. General cwl. from Rev. W. Gregor, Dr. Findlater, Buchan, Cromár, and Bell, Jane Morrison, and *Johnny Gibb*.

CROMÁR EXAMPLES

written by Mr. Innes in his variation of my Ethnical Alphabet, p. 764*b*, and transliterated in the way explained on p. 766*d*. The first short example written by Mr. Innes before he had completed his alphabet is given only as read to me by Jane Morrison. The second longer example is given interlinearly (1) as transliterated from Mr. Innes, (2) as read to me by Jane Morrison, (3) in Mr. Innes's translation. Jane Morrison read to me from the ordinary spelling, not from my transliteration of Mr. Innes, which she could not have understood, hence where she agrees with Mr. Innes she confirms him; where she disagrees it may be only that her pronunciation is much younger, for Mr. Innes aimed at giving the sounds of about 1780; and especially with regard to Mr. Innes's (*i*₁₁, *y*) it gives my own appreciation of what I heard as explained, p. 768*c*. The third example is the continuation of the second; but as it was not read to me by Jane Morrison, I give it only in my transliteration of Mr. Innes's spelling, in parallel column, with Mr. Innes's own translation.

FIRST EXAMPLE. *The Meeting.*

“Suppose that two men meet in a fair, who have not seen each other since they left an Aberdeenshire parish school, say 50 years ago [that is, about 1816]. We shall name them John and Thomas,” *J.* and *T.* in the headings.

FROM JANE MORRISON'S DICTATION.

J. wil, :tam, fat wái ar je ?
en fuu hee ji bin dhes laq tá'im ?

T. a, nec dhat el, :dʔok, fat
wái ar ji jersel ? en fuu)z jer
wá'if en dhe let'l enz ?

J. dhe wer aa bráli fen ái kam
wvaa. ái h)ne sin je dhes laq
tá'im. di je má'in, men, fan wi

TRANSLATION.

J. Well, Tom, what way [=how]
are you? and how have you been this
long time?

T. Ah, not that ill [=very well]
Jack, what way are you yourself? and
how's your wife and the little ones?

J. They were all gaily [bravely]
when I came away. I haven't seen
you this long time. Do you mind

ist te fekjht kámen fe dhe skwíl?
en fuu dhe me¹ster skelpet)s dhe
nist dee?

T. braali diji má'in dhat,
:dɔk. en ái haard et dhe me¹ster
diit a twalvmanth sá'in past en
lent'n,¹ en wez ne vere wil of or
hi ded dii.

[=remember], man, when we used to
fight coming from the school? and
how the master beat us the next day?

T. Bravely do I remember that,
Jack. And I heard that the master
died a twelvemonth since past in
spring, and was not very well off ere
he did die.

Note. ¹Mr. Innes wrote *lentron*, which J.M. did not know, but Jamieson has
“*lentryne, lentyre, Lent*, still used to denote Spring,” the original meaning
of Lent.

SECOND EXAMPLE. *Yule-tide.*

“A piece in the conversational dialect of the end of the last century as I [Mr. Innes] had it from an old person. The names are fictitious, but the circumstances are such as frequently happen on such occasions.

“Dialogue between a Laird [=proprietor] and his Tenant Farmer, illustrative of the Dialect, Manners and Customs of the Rural Districts of Aberdeenshire, about 1780.” The Laird calls upon his tenant about New Year's day [old Christmas and old style New Year's Day are still celebrated here] and salutes him, saying [not in the dialect], “A happy new year to you, John. What sort of a Christmas have you had?” The whole of the second and third examples is a reply to this question, so that there is no proper dialogue.

C. Transliteration of Mr. Innes's writing.

J. Jane Morrison's pron.

T. Translation by Mr. Innes, on which a few notes are given, p. 775, referring to the paragraphs into which I have broken it.

1. C	<i>Mr. Innes.</i>	y	wiil,	si ₁₁ r,	li ₁₁ t'l	oo)t.	dh ₁₁ r)z
J	<i>Jane Morrison.</i>	a	wil,	mèster,	let'l	o)t.	dheer)z
T	<i>Mr. Innes' Translation.</i>	Oh	well,	sir,	little	of it.	There's

C	li ₁₁ t'l	wyrd	y	jil	biiz	dh ₁₁ r	is)ty	bi.	
J	let'l	werd	o	jil	bisá'id	dher	ist	tə	bi.
T	little	word	of	Christmas	besides	there	used	to	be.

2. C	áae)v	siin	dhe	tá'im	fɣu	wii	wy(d)y	had'n	fó'rtin	
J	áai)v	siin	dhe	táim	fen	wii	wɔd	ɛ	had'n	fó'rtin
T	I-ve	seen	the	time	when	we	would	have	holden	fourteen

C	deez	oo)t.	naa,	naa!	dh ₁₁ y	fó'k)s	nee	si ₁₁	herte	yz)dh ₁₁ y	
J	dee'z	o)t.	na	naa!	dh ₁₁ e	fó'k)s	nee	si	herte	es	dhe
T	days	of it.	No	no!	the	folk's	not	so	hearty	as	they

C	is)ty	bi.	
J	ist	tə	bi.
T	used	to	be.

3. C	i ₁₁	máae	ɣæq ₁₁ r	deez	dh ₁₁ y	wyz	li ₁₁ t'l	ri ₁₁ st	dh ₁₁ i ₁₁	ni ₁₁ kht
J	en	máai	ɣœq ₁₁ r	deez	dher	wɛz	let'l	rest	dhe	nekjht
T	in	my	younger	days	there	was	little	rest,	the	night

C *yfoo*'r jil, bi₁₁t ylkj_ɛ b^odi tráait faa wyd win
 J *ufoo*'r jil, bet əlki b^odi tráait faa wed wen
 T before Christmas, but every person tried who would get

C first ty dhy wal y dhy moorn_{i₁₁n}. áae kjen ni₁₁
 J ferst t_ɛ dh_ɛ wa^l en dhe moornen ái kjen ne
 T first to the well in the morning. I know not

C *gyn*)t ma^d oone o^dz, bi₁₁t dh_{i₁₁} mest y fo^k thokht
 J *gen*)t me^d oni odz, bet dhe me^st _ɛ fo^k thokht
 T if it made any difference, but the most of folk thought

C *i₁₁*t gjá*i* yn læke.
 J et gjái en læke.
 T it rather fortunate.

4. C yn sáin dhyr wyd y bin dhy ter_{i₁₁}bl_{i₁₁}st gaa^ddyryn
 J en sáin dher wed _ɛ bin dhe tereblest gedheren
 T And then there would have been the terriblest gathering

C y dhy moorn_{i₁₁n} ty dhy soo^lynz yt yvyr jy saa. en
 J en dhe moornen t_ɛ dh_ɛ soo^lenz dhut ev^r ju saa. en
 T in the morning to the sowans that ever you saw. And

C dhem *i₁₁*t dyd ny dryqkj ut dhyr soo^lynz wyz shuur ty
 J dhem et did ne driqk ut dher soo^lenz w^ɛz shuur t_ɛ
 T them that did not drink out their sowans was sure to

C hee báilz e heerst.
 J hee báilz en heerst.
 T have boils in harvest.

5. C áae)z *i₁₁*siir jy dhy aa got e gwid brakf_{i₁₁}st *i₁₁*
 J áai)z enshuur je dhe aa got _ɛ gw^{id} brakfest en
 T I shall assure you they all got a good breakfast of

C dryqkjen soo^lynz yn y faq af *i₁₁* dh_{i₁₁} jil kja^bykj.
 J driqken soo^lenz en _ɛ faq of _ɛ dh_ɛ jil kjábek.
 T drinking sowans and a slice off of the Christmas cheese.

6. C yn ylkji bee^st ybur^t dhy tun got y ri₁₁p *i₁₁* koorn, y
 J en elki bist abùt dhe tùn got _ɛ rep o koorn, en
 T And every beast about the farm got a reap of corn, and

C dhy wáiner áus got dh_{i₁₁} gláiek shef.
 J dhe wáiner óks got dhe gláiek shef.
 T the wainer ox got the glyack sheaf.

7. C yn gyn deel_{i₁₁}kjht aa dh_{i₁₁} jaq tpiilz ga^ddyrt ty dhy
 J en gen deelekjht aa dhe jaq tpiilz gádhurd t_ɛ dhe
 T And by daylight all the young lads gathered to the

C lá'í y :maamo'o'r ty dh'y baa, yn áae kan tel j'í₁₁ dhee
 J lá'í v dh'e park te dh'e baal, en áai kan tel je dh'e
 T lea of mamore to the foot-ball, and I can tell you they

C skr'i₁₁mt i₁₁t ap. dh'yr wy'd ny bin y drá'í heer
 J skrempt et ap. dher wed ne bin e drá'í st'ík
 T scrimpt it up. There would not [have] been a dry hair

C i₁₁po'n)z.
 J epo'n)z.
 T upon us.

8. C yn fá'ilz dh'yr wyz le'k'j ty by dushts y dh'y tel y dh'y
 J en fá'ilz dher wez le'k'j te bi dushts et dhe t'el en dhe
 T An whiles there was like to be blows in the tail of the

C tulji, fen twaa met yt hyd one grám'l at ydh'yr.
 J bæn'l, fen twaa met et hed one grám'l.
 T struggle when two met that had any ill will at each other.

9. C áae má'in az wil)z thoo t)w'yr j'í₁₁st'yrde, i₁₁po'o'
 J áai má'ind ez wil az thoo et wez j'esturde epo'n
 T I mind as well as though it were yesterday upon

C dh'i₁₁ r'i₁₁p'i₁₁t i₁₁t làq :d'j'o'n :sha'qks en :d'j'e'mi :bris
 J dhe repet dhet la'q :d'j'ok :sha'qks en :d'jemi :bris
 T the row that long John Shanks and James Bruce

C reezt at dh'i₁₁ :baa jil moornin ekhty twaa.
 J reezt et dhe :baal jil moornen akhte twaa.
 T got up at the Football Christmas morning, 1782.

10. C dhat wyz dh'y j'ir y)dh'y let heerst, f'yn wi wez
 J dhat wez dhe j'ir v)dh'e let heerst, fen wi wez
 T That was the year of the late harvest, when we was

C shee'ryn ymoo' dh'i₁₁ snaa eft'i₁₁r t)wez niir jil
 J sheeren aməq dhe snaa èfter et wez niir jil
 T cutting the corn among the snow after it was near Christmas

C yn dh'y me'l wyz as blak)s di₁₁st.
 J en dhe mi'l wez ez blak)s dest.
 T and the meal was as black as dust.

THIRD EXAMPLE. *The Fight.*

ORIGINAL.

11. *yz áae wyz seei₁₁n :dʒo¹n :sha¹qks wyz on uur sá¹id, yn :dʒymi :bris wyz ypo¹)dhy tydyr sá¹id.*

12. *wii hyd kaat dhem twáaiz, yn dhy baa wyz miir ut dhy thyrd tá¹im, fyn :dʒe¹mi :bris kjep¹t :sha¹qks, yn gjaa hi₁₁m i₁₁ fyzlyt yn dhy shi₁₁nz wii)z fi₁₁t, ti₁₁l dhi₁₁ blid kam thrá¹u)z hoo¹z.*

13. *sá¹in :sha¹qks hii ep wii)z hand i₁₁n gjaa :bris y sklaf¹i₁₁rt yn dhy lag wii)z ste¹kjyt nyv, ti₁₁l)t rá¹q ygje¹n.*

14. *:bris hii seez ti₁₁l i₁₁m : “áae wyd le¹kj ty kjen fat ji₁₁ min by jon, jy y₁gli i₁₁l-ynta¹nyt sklá¹ip, for a)m nee ty bii á¹urge¹n wy juu, nar one fuul há¹ipy¹l le¹kj jy. a)l mee)be gar ji₁₁ wi₁₁s i₁₁t ji₁₁ ha¹d ny kam si₁₁ faar fee jyr mydi₁₁rz hi₁₁p dhi₁₁s moorni₁₁n.”*

15. *:sha¹qks spakap baal, y sa¹d: “je shaa¹rger le¹kj, i₁₁l-dyzá¹int vratj, jy hee mid ty by snybht, jy bin styqkjyn for jyr li₁₁kjs dhi₁₁s fá¹il. fat dyd jy min by taki₁₁n ep jyr fi₁₁t i₁₁n gjii)yn mii y dhy shi₁₁nz? a)l lee¹rn jy fa ty tyg wii: gjyn jy plee as mak¹l, a)l tarn jyr ljoo¹mynz ty dhy min, yn mee)be gjii jy jyr haarnz he¹m wii)jy ty kreesh jyr broogz.”*

16. *:bris hii wyz y kjyb¹l stamp oo i₁₁ tjili, yn wil herti₁₁t, yn hii seez: “dhyr)z meer wyn ii jyr tpi₁₁kjs nor dhyr)z pi₁₁th ii jyr bri₁₁kjs! trá¹i jyrse¹l.”*

17. *dhy baa wyz stopi₁₁t nuu, yn wii aa ga¹dert run dhe twaa rampeedjys raski₁₁lz, yn :sane :fá¹it gee¹z yn-bá¹i, yn seez ty*

TRANSLATION.

11. As I was saying, John Shanks was on our side, and James Bruce was upon the t'other side.

12. We had driven them twice, and the football was nearly out the third time, when James Bruce met Shanks and gave him a smart blow along the shin bone, with his foot, till the blood came through his hose.

13. Then Shanks he up with his hand and gave Bruce a sciafferd along the ear with his clenched fist, till it rang again.

14. Bruce he says to him: “I would like to know what you mean by yon, you unseemly ill-intended slype, for I'm not to be insulted with you, nor any foul hanger on like you. I'll perhaps make you wish that you had not come so far from your mother's hip this morning.”

15. Shanks stuck up ball and said: “You lean undergrown like, ill-designed wretch, you have need to be checked, you (have) been ripe for your punishment this while. What did you mean by taking up your foot and giving me in the shins? I will learn you who(m) to meddle with, if you do as much, I will turn your legs to the moon, and perhaps give you your brains home with you to grease your shoes.”

16. Bruce he was a well-built stump of a little man, and well hearted, and he says: “There's more wind in your cheeks than there's ability in your breeches! try yourself.”

17. The football was given up now, and we all gathered round the two quarrelsome rascals, and Alexander White goes in about, and says to them, says he, “What's all this

dhym, seez hii, "fat)s aa dh₁₁i₁₁s i₁₁but :bi₁₁li₁₁z? jy)r spá'ilyn dh_y plee aadh_ygy:dyr, yn meer nor dhat jy)r mak_iin i₁₁ belbá'iz-mynt y dh_y leev oo)z, yn farbá'i aa dhat, dheer)z :tybi :blak, dh_y á'iljyrz wá'if, y dh_y door á'urbá'i dheer ljy₁kyn at)s, yn gjyn jy di₁₁ ni₁₁ drop i₁₁t wii)l by aa te¹n ty dh_y :sesh_iin i₁₁ sand_iin, ylkji be¹n (bee¹n) oo)z."

18. :bris w_yz y pakhte tjape, yn y bite gwid wyd oo)z sá'iz, en seez hii: "di₁₁ ni₁₁ jii barm jyr muu i₁₁moo' ydyr fo'ks kjel ar dhans j)il mee be get dhu ra¹dyn streekj jyrse:l. had ut bá'i yn lat mii at i₁₁m, for a)l hee yma¹nz oo i₁₁m yfoo'r ii by twaa uurz aalyr. a)l faal i₁₁m ap le'kj v djokti₁₁lá'igj."

19. dhys het :sha¹qks blid á'i war, yn hii lá'ust on i₁₁m wii)z tæq, yn hii seez: "trá'i dhat, jy i₁₁ltæqt ka¹qkyrt shaard. a)l leern jy ty kjer e bet_iin hæq tæq ii jer he¹d. jyr faadi₁₁r w_yz y ryglyn, yn jyr mydyr w_yz y wi₁₁tj, yn jyr lække-m_inee w_yz y thif."

20. sá'im uur best baami₁₁n gjee'z yn bá'i, yn seez: "dh_yr)z nee is trá'iyu ty peert dh_iin twaa fashi₁₁s kqeevz, for dh_iin)r beedh gjaan ti₁₁ :wi₁₁lee :an_iinrs_iinuz jil dhe ni₁₁kjht, y dh_y wyd by siir do fá'il dhe fe¹st. dh_y wyd bi₁₁ fest y ydher as siir)z taatez. lat dhym dant i₁₁t ut i₁₁muu' djy₁st y feer shak yn dh_y best man i₁₁myst, yn my₁gynykh ty dh_y njoo¹mest."

21. wiil fyn dh_y saa i₁₁t dh_y wyr ty win ti₁₁l ydyr, dh_y wyr ny sy kqif on)t, byt fytvyr dh_y gyd ti₁₁l)t wy vi₁₁r yn dh_y fi₁₁rst wali₁₁p i₁₁t :bris gjaa :sha¹qks, gart i₁₁m d_yrd ty dh_y gran ti₁₁l)z hed pleet kqip on i₁₁ ron, yu)z a'lbyk jark_iin on i₁₁ kqoor_ik

about, lads? you're spoiling the play altogether, and more than that you're making a world's wonder of the rest of us, and besides all that, there's Elizabeth Black, the elder's wife, in the door across there looking at us, and if you don't drop it we'll be all taken to the Session on Sunday, every bone of us."

18. Bruce was a spirited little man, and a bitty good wood of his size, and says he: "Don't ye burn your mouth among other folks greens (or soup), or else you'll perhaps get the ridding-stroke yourself. Hold off and let me at him, for I'll have amends of him before he be two hours older. I'll fold him up like a big spring knife."

19. This heated Shank's blood always worse and he loos'd upon him with his tongue, and he says: "Try that, you ill-tongued, ill-tempered scrophulous dwarf. I'll learn you to carry a better [hung] tongue in your head. Your father was a riglan and your mother was a witch, and your grandmother was a thief."

20. Then our best ballman goes in about, and says: "There's no use trying to part the two quarrelsome knaves, for they're both going to William Anderson's Christmas feast to-night, and they would be sure to foul (or spoil) the feast. They would be fixed in each other as sure as potatoes. Let them fight it out just now, just a fair wrestle, and the best man uppermost, and fudgy or beaten to the lowermost."

21. Well, when they saw that they were to win to (or at) each other, they were not so keen on it, but, however, they went to it with activity, and the first swinging throw that Bruce gave Shanks made him dash to the ground till his head played knock on a piece of ice, and his elbow struck till it rebounded on a rough knob of frosted earth. I am sure they both must have

*i*₁₁ frost*i*₁₁t *y*rd. a)m siir dhy beeth biit' *ty by* d*i*₁₁ri*i*₁₁n, kas fyn dhy glá'id reez, hi he'd yn alegrungys l*y*k.

22. it *wyz ny* aft *i*₁₁t wii striiv at d*i*₁₁ baa, thoo dhyr *wyz y* py₁lgjyt *y dhy tel y dhy* tuulji dhat dec, b*i*₁₁t wii griit fá'in eft*i*₁₁r)t, yn gyn :sha¹qks ha'd *ny* bin *y* fuu-zynl*ys* stram, hi *wyd ny* lat'n :bris skr*i*₁₁m *i*₁₁m dhat dec.

23. áae unersti'd eft*i*₁₁r hyn *i*₁₁t dhyr *wyz* samth*i*₁₁q meer ytwin dhy*m*; for *y* sii :d*ɔ*₁o¹n (:d*ɔ*₁ok) :sha¹qks ha'd te¹n :bete :gree *ty dhy* :hal*i*₁₁iv'n bal *y*foor dhat, en :bris stak ap *tyl i*₁₁r—áae d*i*₁₁n*i*₁₁ th*y*qkj hii *wyz* one *i*₁₁l *i*₁₁but *i*₁₁r, b*i*₁₁t d*y*₁st *ty* pryvok :sha¹qks for fan *t*₁₁l *i*₁₁mse'l, yn dhy wá'l ká'tee wez sam *ty* blem tii.

24. sh*i*₁₁ promist f*i*₁₁rst *ty* e'n, yn sá'in *t*₁₁l *i*₁₁nyd*yr* *ty* lat dhy*m* p*i*₁₁t *i*₁₁r hem, en fen waa'gjaan tá'im kam :sha¹qks had *i*₁₁r at dhy door set*i*₁₁n ut, b*i*₁₁t :bris *wyz* s*i*₁₁t*i*₁₁n dheer, yn dhy slá'i kátee *ty*₁k *i*₁₁ tit oo)z hw*i*₁₁sk*i*₁₁rz *y dhy* bá'igjaan, en hi got ap *t*₁₁lz f*i*₁₁t, en dhe¹ d*ɔ*₁a¹di swa¹q h*i*₁₁rse'l ut *y* :sha¹qks feekj, en klykjyt :bris *by* dhy gaa'rdec, en *gy*d af wii *ym*, en feerle lant*i*₁₁t :sha¹qks, en hii á'i ha'd *y* gruuqi eft*i*₁₁r)t at :bris.

been pained to quivering, because when the actionless fellow rose, he had a sour woe-begone look.

22. It was not often that we strove at the football, though there was a fight in the tail [end] of the ball-match that day, but we agreed fine after it, and if Shanks had not been a weak nerveless tripe of a lad, he would not (have) let Bruce thoroughly beat him that day.

23. I understood afterwards that there was something more between them, for you see John (Jock) Shanks had taken Miss Elizabeth Gray to the Hallowe'en ball before that, and Bruce made rival suit to her—I don't think he was any in love [lit. ill] with her, but just to provoke Shanks, for fun to himself, and the wild coquette was partly to blame too.

24. She promised first to one, and then to another, to allow them to accompany her home, and when away-going time came Shanks had her at the door setting out, but Bruce was sitting there, and the sly (faithless) coquette took a nip of his whiskers on the going past, and he got up to his feet, and the loving little girl swung herself out of Shanks' plaid, and clutched Bruce by the arm, and went off with him, and fairly gave the slip to Shanks, and he always had a deep revengeful feeling after it at Bruce.

Notes to the Second and Third Cromár Examples.

The figures refer to the paragraphs.

3. *folk* "or people."—*rather fortunate*, literally fine and lucky.

4. *terriblest*, i.e. largest.—*gathering* (gaa¹-) or (ga¹-).—*sowans*, usually (soo'enz), oatmeal porridge.—*them that*, etc., those that did not drink up their porridge.—*boils* "or open sores."

5. *slice*, "a large slice" or cut.—Jamieson gives the forms "cabback, kebbuck, keback," and refers to the Gaelic *cabag*, a cheese.

6. *town*, farm.—*reap*, "a small

bundle," apparently as much as was cut with one stroke of the sickle.—*the wainer ox*, "the ox who led the others in the plough."—*glyak sheaf*, "the last sheaf cut in harvest."

7. *gathered* "or collected."—*ma-more* "or big field," evidently of Gaelic origin, unknown to J.M.—*scrimped it up*, to scrimp is to make narrow, to straighten, here it must mean, kept it up, or something equivalent.—*dry hair*, "from sweat."

8. *whiles* "or sometimes."—*tail* "or end."—*struggle*, Jamieson, *toolye*, a broil, *tuilyie*, *tulye*, *toolyie*, a quarrel or broil; the word was not known to J.M., who proposed "bundle"; the meaning is "scrimmage."

10. *we was*, "we were."—*meal* or (*mee'l*), flour.—*dust*, "oatmeal bran."

12. *driven*, (*kaa*) is to 'drive' as well as to 'call,' compare Tam o' Shanter, *suprà*, p. 732, v. 25, it has nothing to do with 'caught.'—*met*, Jamieson, "*kep*, *kepp*, *keip*, to intercept, to meet in a hostile way," or friendly or accidental way.—*gave*, (*g'jaa*, *g'jaa*).—*smart blow*, not in Jamieson, but Mr. Gregor's Glossary has "*fussle*, a sharp blow," and "to beat sharply," "*up* is often added as '*fussle up*, the ill-getit slype.'"—*hose*, "stockings."

13. *sclofferd*, "a swinging blow," Jamieson has "*scloffert*, a stroke on the side of the head with the palm of the hand."

14. *slype*, "lounge," Jamieson has "*slyp*, *slype*, a coarse fellow," Johnny Gibbs's glossary '*slype*, a contemptible fellow, a peculiarly opprobrious epithet.'—*insulted* "domineered over," lit. overgone.—*hanger on*, so Mr. Innes, Mr. Gregor has "*hype-*, a big person of a not very comely appearance; used sometimes by way of approval, and sometimes as a mark of disrespect; as, 'she's nae an ill *hype* o' dehm aifter a'; he's a cantakerous *hype* o' a cheel.' *Hyppal* is the augmentative.'"—*hip*, "protection."

15. *lean*, *undergrown like*, Jamieson has "*shargar*, *sharger*, a lean person, a serag."—*punishment*, lit. licks, "or pandies," Jamieson has "*pawmie*, *pandie*, a stroke on the hand with the ferule."—*meddle*, Jamieson "to *tiq*, to touch lightly, to dally with; to trifle with, to treat in a scornful and contemptuous manner."—*as*, "not (*az*)."—*legs*, "or lower extremities." Compare *lomos*, hands, in *Pacty Toral*, v. 22, in D 41.

16. *pith*, force, vigour, strength.—*try yourself*, "do your worst."

17. *drop it*, "give it up."

18. *big spring knife*, Jamieson says *jockteleg*, a folding knife, from *Jacque de Liège*, the name of a celebrated cutler.

19. "*cankert*, *cankerrit*, cross, ill-conditioned," Jamieson.—*riglan*, half emasculated animal.—*grandmother*,

Jamieson says, "*luckie*, *lucky*, a designation given to an elderly woman, a grandmother, often *luckie-minnie*," and "*minnie*, mother, a fondling term."

20. *just now* (*i'nan'*), "this word has two accents like *Amen*."—*fudgy* or *beaten one*, so Mr. Innes translates (*my'grynykh*), a word that I can find nowhere.—*lowermost* or *nethermost*, Jamieson *newmost*, *Ags.* *midemest* *neodemest*.

21. *activity*, Jamieson says "*beir bere bir birr*, force, impetuosity, often as denoting the violence of the wind, *vir virr*, Aberdeen."—*swinging throw*, Jamieson, "*wallop*, *walop*, to move quickly, with much agitation of the body or clothes."—*dash*, Jamieson '*dird*, a stroke, Aberdeen': Gregor "*dird*, to strike with a sharp blow, to throw with violence."—*piece of ice*, Jamieson "*rone*, a run of ice."—*struck till it rebounded*, Jamieson, "*yerk*, *yark*, to beat, to strike smartly."—*rough knob*, this seems related to Jamieson's "*gnarr*, a hard knot in wood."—*must have been pained to quivering*, this is a very free translation by Mr. Innes, literally 'be to be tingling or thrilling,' according to Jamieson's "*dirl*, to tingle or thrill," p. 735, v. 124.—*the actionless fellow*, Jamieson "*gleyd*, *glyde*, an old horse"; Gregor "a person of a disagreeable temper, metaphorical of Jamieson's meaning."—*sour*, *woebegone*, Jamieson "*allagragous*, grim, ghastly."

22. *ball-match*, see *toolye*, par. 8, note.—*weak*, *nerveless*, Jamieson "*fousum*, *fousum*, luscious, gross, nauseous, English *fulsome*."—*tripe of a lad*, Gregor "*stram*, vb., to walk with rude noisy step, sb. a big person, as 'he's a brow [rather pleasing in manners] *stram* o' a cheel'; *strammil* is the augmentative."—*thoroughly beat*, Jamieson "*skrim*, to scud, to move quickly; *scrym* to skirmish."

23. *between them*, "as the cause of quarrel."

24. *arm*, Jamieson cites "*gardy*, the arm," from Douglas.—*deep revengeful feeling*, the nearest word to *grungy* in Jamieson is "*grunye*, promontory, mouth ludicrously, a grunt." After this Mr. Innes adds, "The narrative here enters on another subject, and I believe you have had more of it than can be of interest to you. I shall therefore not follow it further."

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S SENTENCES

from his *Visible Speech* corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

ORIGINAL.

TRANSLATION.

1. wi)r gaan t' dhy kwintrí
dhy morn.

2. my midhyr)z vrit'n a' letyr
t'l yr gwid dakhtyr.

3. dhy stupid ladi)z brækht
dhy vraq bjuk fi dhy skwil.

4. a)l gi e a' baabi g'n ji tēl)z
faa)z e)ht ji.

5. dhy pi'r aal bædi goht fuu
't :iki :fi'r last fi'rzdi, yn dit
'n dhy waa' hem.

6. far i i geen?

7. fat o diid i? fat dit (diit)
i oo?

1. We're going to the country the-
morn = to-morrow.

2. My mother has written a letter to
her good daughter = daughter-in-law.

3. The stupid lad has brought the
wrong book from the school = who is
your father.

4. I will give you a bawbee if you
tells us who is owned you.

5. The poor old body got drunk at
Icky Fair last Thursday, and died on
the way home.

6. Where are you going?

7. What of died he? What died
he of?

NOTES AND PHRASES

furnished by Rev. W. Gregor, when the following ewl. was pal. from his dictation
14 Feb. 1878.

1. The palatal and guttural (kjh, kh) are used as in German, dependent on preceding vowel.
2. (h) in the fishing villages is left out, but not by older people elsewhere, the younger people are beginning to insert it.
3. Variable length of vowels. The vowels are quite short in rapid speech, but otherwise lengthened to medial length, and this is varied. The quality of the vowel is sometimes changed for emphasis, as (skrindj skruundj).
4. Alphabet at Keith 100 years ago; Mr. G. learned it in 1836 from a woman between 60 and 70: (mæk'l a, l'e'tl a, be, se, de, e, ef, dje, itj, i, djáai, ke, el', em', en', oo, pe, kiú, e.r [rather a hard rattle], es, te, u, e'lv, u'lu, eks, wái, e'ze't, epers)han[d]. An old woman of Pitsligo said (persean'dre).
5. Counting: (e'n, twa, thri:, fóur [not fóuer], fáiv, saks, se'lv'n [seev'n emphatic], akht, ná'ín, te'n, eleev'n, twal, thertin, fortin, fáiftin, sakstin, seev'ntin, akhtin, ná'íntin, twənti [little glide from (wə) to (n) as in (wənt) for 'want'], [then say "one and twenty," but not in enumerating, then it is twenty-one], ha'nər [vowel lengthened for emphasis], thoozen(z).
6. (fat)s dhu meeter wi i kreeter?) what's the matter with the creature?

7. Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) for (dhi)' as in Caithness, thus (pe¹t e¹t e¹n tɛ i hid o i pres), put it into the head of the press. (gan t)e¹ wel for water) gone to the well for water.
8. She had also heard (tat, te¹s, he¹t) for 'that, this, it,' but never heard (dat).
9. (ái, l di)t, mən) I'll do it, man.
10. (ái, wal)v aye, will-I, the (v) being used for the unaccented pronoun.
11. (bèth i v mən gján) both of you must go.
12. (len) loan with short n.
13. Biblical words: (pro-verbs, :daawid, :izraa:l) Proverbs, David, Israel.
14. (kno kno·ledʒ) know knowledge, with the k when the word is used, (knok)=Knock Head, near Banff.
15. *girl* is replaced by (lasi). (iz it v ladi or v lasi?) is it a boy or a girl?
16. (we¹ v wáit, ái)l di)t, mən, tɛ pleez)wɛ) well I wot [see p. 766, under A:], I'll do)it, man, to please you.
17. (ji vratʃ, ʒ)v vrət'n dhat aa vraq) you wretch, you've written that all wrong. *vr*=(vr) in all NL.
18. (fat)v i di o? fat o did)i di? o fat did)i di?) what)did he die of? What of did)he die? Of what did)he die?
19. (tɛ shaav korn) to sow corn.
20. (dhi skim'lz)=slaughter houses, shambles?
21. Verb substantive (ái wəz, i wəz, hi wəz), even emphatic (wi wəz), thou never used. (dhi mən wəz, dhe wer), change (wer) to (we¹z) after a noun. Similarly (iz) after plural nouns, but (aar) after pronouns.
22. (if ái biiz at hem) if I am at home, has been heard from children in two or three instances, not commonly; more regular (e¹v a)m et hem, ái)l di)t) if I)am at home, I)will do)it.
23. (se¹k v modiwert ev)v bern) such a mole of a child.
24. (dhat biúks iz máin) those books are mine, (dhe¹s, dhat) are used for both sg. and pl. all over Ab. and Ba.
25. (hi)z diú mi twa she¹lenz) he owes me two shillings.
26. (fol o i did it) which of you did it? has been heard, (fol) is a strange alteration of Ws. *hwyte*.
27. (kəm e¹n)zh)i go báí) come in)as)you go by. The (zh) is here developed from ('z)i). This is like (shunet, shuu shuuster), from *suēt, sew sew-ster*=seamstress.
28. (hi weeted v laq fáil. wet v wi féili) he waited a long while. Wait a wee while-y.
29. (fader, mider, bráder) occur close to the sea-side. (midher) is used at Keith.
30. (farr, fare¹st uwa) farther, farthest away.
31. (hi)z ne jaav ov dhi¹ beernz) he)has no awe, fear, of the children. (ái gar)em stan in jaav o mi) I make them stand in fear of me.
32. (skwíl me¹ster, táitʃr) schoolmaster, teacher.

33. (hæz) is not used for (us), as in Hawick.
34. (hi)l izili wən óur tu si i dh_i nekjht. hi wan óur dh_i strim)
he'll easily get over to see you the (this) night. He got
over the stream.
35. (gr_in, græn) grind, ground.
36. (ji)l di dhat, tii) you'll do that too.
37. (:dʒon gjaa he'z twaa kjaaks te'l twaa lunz, and :sani gjaa he'z
twaa tii te'l twaa tii) John gave his two cakes to two boys,
and Sandy gave his two too to two too. It is only in
received speech that in this case the last five words are
alike, at least in quality.
38. (gwid siith ái l gar ji di't wli e dant o jar ri:gi:n) good sooth
I'll make you do it with a blow on your back.
39. fe'n ez fan bliimz) when as whin blooms; whin or qulyn in
Scotland is ragstone or basalt, in England it is furze; the
phrase is probably purposely ambiguous, and means 'never.'

MID NORTH LOWLAND, ewl.

From the following sources.

Palaeotype unmarked. Keith, Ba., pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. W. Gregor, native, then resident at Pitsligo (:pítshii-gu). (4 w-by-s. Fraserburgh, Ab.), author of the Dialect of Banffshire (Trans. Philological Society, 1866, Part II.), with variations for Pitsligo.

* Buchan, numbered wl. by Dr. Findlater, while editor of Chambers's Cyclopaedia, native of the district between the Ython and Doveran, nw.Ab., pal. by AJE. from the author's indications, and compared with Mr. Gregor's list, with which it was found almost identical, hence only the words in which Dr. F. differed are given, marked * to be conspicuous.

M Dr. Murray's Buchan example, Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 3, finally representing Mr. Melville Bell's appreciation of the sounds. When the sound agrees with any of the others M. is subjoined.

Italics unmarked. Words extracted from *Johnny Gibb of Gushetnook* (=gusset nook, a triangular piece of ground, preserving the original orthography which the preceding pal. will generally sufficiently interpret. The spelling is very good, but not quite free from ambiguity.

Italics with † prefixed. Words extracted from the preface to Rev. W. Gregor's Banffshire Glossary, in his own spelling, where "ch has the sound of *ch* in the German *sch*," by which probably *ce* is meant.

Italics with ‡ prefixed, from Sir J. Sinclair's Moray or Elgin words, see p. 764a.

C Cromár. Words extracted from Mr. Innes's Cromár examples.

J Jane Morrison's pron. of these C. words.

B Words from Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences in Visible Speech corrected as in D 33, p. 709d.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bèk, *biak, J beek. 4 tak, [with] M tak'n, C taki₁n te'n [taken, taking, ta'eu]. 5 mak [with] med, C mak₁n [made, making]. 6 C ma'd, J mèd. 7 seek. 8 M hee^l, C hee [*hinn*, J (h)ne] haven't. have]. 9 bihee-v *bihi-v. 12 saa [but (shaav te'mur) saw timber]. 13 gniav [obs. (g) pron.], J gnaa. 14 draa [draught, see before 560]. 15 jaav. 16 daan. 17 laa, ‡lã [= (Jaa^l) I believe]. 19 tel C. 20 le'm. 21 nèm, M ne'm. 22 tèm. 23 sèm. 24 shèm. 27 kneev [obs. (k) pron.], C kqeev, J kneev. 28 heer. 30

keer. — gíe₁it, M gje^t [gate=road, pathway]. 31 let CJ. 32 baadh. 33 rëdher. 35 aal. 36 thón. 37 klaa.

A: 38 C as [obs. (s) not (z)]. 39 kam MC. 40 këm [kaimin combing]. 41 thaqk. 43 han C. 44 lan, M laan. — san' [sand]. 46 kan'l. 47 wanur. 48 saq. — C ra¹q. — C swa¹q [swang]. 49 [pt. C (hæq), hung]. 50 tjaqz. 51 ma'n, M man. 52 won. 54 wënt [the (ə) runs on very lightly to the (n), but the word when emphasised does not become (want) as is implied by] wënt, †wint [and may have been pron. (wi₁₁nt)], J wënt. — C got [got].

A: or O: 58 fe fae. 59 lamb. — wyne [womb=belly]. 60 laq. 61 emo'n, C ymoo'. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 vraq B, vrang, †vrang, C ra¹q, J vraq. 65 saq. 66 thoq, C faq.

A' 67 gjaa djan, †geh geel gane, M gjaan C, M ty gjeq gje^d, gae B gaan, J gjan gjaan gjed [go, going, went]. 69 naa CJ [negative 'no'], †nō. 70 te. 71 we [wæfū' woe woeful]. 72 fa, CBJ faa [interrogative only], fa. 73 se, M see¹, C si₁₁. 74 twa, M twaa, twa, CJ twaa. 75 strok *strook, C streekj, J streek. 76 ted J, *tod. 77 lord, M loord, laird [the last merely as landowner]. 78 jaa, yauchts, B eht [own, owns, owned]. 79 èn *áunn, M ee'n, nain [(m)èn] my own], J een [J does not know nain]. — C hal₁₁iiv'n [hallowe'en]. 81 lën. 83 mën *miin. 84 meer C, †mehr, M mee'r, mair. 85 seer, †sehr, M see'r, sair. 86 its *ets, aits. 87 kléz. 88 kled [pr. t. and p. t.]. 89 beth *beedh, M bee^dh, baith, CJ beedh. 90 bliiav. 91 móu. 92 kno [used in reading only, otherwise (ken, M ken, C kjen)]. 93 sniaav sna, CJ snaa. 94 kra. 95 thro. 96 shaav [evidently through (šiaav), compare No. 451]. 97 sóul. 99 thron. 100 shaav'n.

A': 101 ok. 104 red, J ród †rōd. 105 re^d *red J ['rid' for 'rode']. 106 bred. — lave, C leev [the leaves, the remains]. 107 lef lof, lövz [loaves]. 108 do, J doo. 109 lekh *liakh, J leekh. 110 ii. not, C nee J. 111 okht M. 112 he'l. 113 hel, M hee¹ [halesome wholesome]. 114 mo'l, J mool. 115 he'm *heem, M he'm, hame, C hem he'm, J hēm. 116 [(at, et) used]. 117 in, tin, ain [one, the one, J (en) unacc.], [M lii'n, alevn [alone, solitary]. 118 bèn, bin [Ba.], †behn [in m.Ba.], †been [in n.Ba.], bim bane, C be'n, J bèn. 121 gën, gyaun. 122 i. nen, *niim, neen; ii. nae, C nee [no, adj.]. 123 ne¹thiq *nothiq. 124 sten stin. *stiim, stane, †stchn [m.Ba.], †steen [n.Ba.], J ste'n. 125 onli. — rehþ [straw rope]. 126 oor [(eer) in the fishing villages. — M roort [roared=wept, vesie [uproar], J roor [roar]. 127 herse. 128 [those, these, not used, but that and this for sg. and pl. as in Johnny Gibb that marks, this three townons]. 129 geest. 130 bo't. 131 go't. 132 het †hait. 133 vrat [obs. vr-]. — M wō't [I wot, weel a wat well I wot]. 134 oth [(e¹th) is not so common]. 135 kloth [very short vowel], J kleth. 137 ii. C nēr.

Æ- 138 fedher J [with short vowel, is common along the sea-coast], *feedher, C faad₁₁r. — M dhiegidher [together]. — [(C ga'dyrt gaa'dyryn, J gidherd gedheren) gathered gathering]. 140 heel, J he'l. 141 ne'l. 142 sne'l J. 143 te'l, C tel, J tēl. 144 ege'n, C ygje'n, M egje'n. 145 sle'n. 146 me'n. 147 bre'n. 148 feer C [adj.]. — stap, J stap [step]. 149 bleez [about Keith, but oftener (bliiz) in n.Ba.]. 150 læst. 152 wate'r [approaching (t), but J made no such approach]. 153 seturde. — fuder [whether].

Æ: 154 M bak, baak, J bak. 155 thek *thak. — CJ blak. 157 reev'n. 158 efter, M eitr, aifter, C effi₁₁r, J èitur [(effi₁₁ryn) afternoon]. 160 eg. 161 dee C, déi, M dee¹ J, [also] J dee¹ [final]. 163 lee. 164 me, C mee. 165 sed. 168 talv. 169 fan C, †fahn [when, interrogative only], C ien J, M fyn C [when relative]. — awcers [awares]. 170 heerst C, M heerst, hairst. — J beer [bare]. 171 barli, M baarli. 172 gers, †giss [s.Ba.], girss. 173 wez J, M wyz [J. was rather between (wiz) and (wəz), that is with (i) inclining to (ə)]. 174 cesh. 175 C iest. — cairt [cart]. 177 M et, C i₁₁t. 178 gnat [obs. (g) pron.]. 179 fat MJ, fat †fat. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 si. 183 [not used, replaced by learn]. — táitjær [in schools]. 184 led. 185 ri'd [pr. t.]. 186 breedh. 187 leev [M (lëft) pp.]. 188 [(nekær) used]. 189 wái [(wáit) weighed]. 190 kéi. 191 heel. 192 min C. 193 klin. 194 oni, M oní, CJ one, [also] J oni. 195 moni, mony. 196 wer

[very short]. 197 tjiiz. 199 blèt. — †*greet* [*grat grutten*, weep wept]. 200 wháit [an exceptional (wh), heard about Keith, in some places (i), but] J fá'it. 201 heedh'n. 202 het.

E': 203 spit₁. 204 did. — †*meadow* [meadow]. 205 thrid. 206 red [pt.]. 207 mid'l. 208 C *gyyr*, J *evur* [C (*fyty-vytr*) however]. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 fái. 213 edhur, M *ed'dher*. 214 *wedder* [*wedderin* neither one]. 215 takht. 216 deel. — M *delt* [dealed]. — C *mee'l*, †*wchl* [m.Ba.], †*mcel* [n.Ba.]. 217 it₁, M *elke*, C *ylkj₁*, J *elki*. 218 ship. 219 slip. — *or* [for *eror* earlier, rather, as in: *or than no* rather than not], J *or*. 221 *feer* *fiir [*fernothing*, a dreadnought coat]. 222 heer C. 223 dheer, M *dheer*, C *dhi₁r*, J *dheer*. 224 faar M, †*fahr*, *faur*, B *far*. 225 flesh. 226 meest, C *mest*, J *mèst*. 227 wit [occ. (wat)]. 228 swáit, J *swá'it*. 229 breth. 230 fat [fat, the same pron. as 179 what].

E- 231 C *dhe* [Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) as in Cs.], B *dhy*. 232 brack. — *brakti₁st* [breakfast]. 233 spáik. 234 *kn^od* [obs. (k) pron.] — †*widder* [weather, fishing population]. 235 wáiv. 236 fevur. 237 blèn blàn [as in *chillblàn*]. 238 *he'd₁*. 239 seel. 241 re'n. 243 plee [older people say (plái)], C *plee* [C (pleet) played]. 244 M *wil wvel*, C *ywiil*, J *wil*. 246 ii. *kwáin*, *quine quyme*, J *kwá'in* [queen, with no offensive meaning]. 247 [(*spiin*) used]. — i. †*behr* [to bear, m.Ba.], J *be^er*, ii. J *bar* [a bear]. — C *shee'ryz*, J *sheeren* [shearing]. 248 meer [about Keith, but (mür) in n.Ba.] *near*. 249 *weer wiir*. 250 sweer swiir. 251 me't [about Keith] *maet*. 252 *ke't'l* *ket'l. 253 *ne't'l*. 254 *leder* [frequently]. 255 *wed'dher*.

E: — *fesh*, *fuish up* [fetch, brought up = educated]. — C *vrat₁*, *vrat₁ch* [wretch]. 257 *ed₁*. 258 *ség*. 259 *wed₁*. 260 lee. 261 séi [from old people], M *see sed* [said], C *seez* [says]. — *redd*, C *ra'd₁yn* [rid, ridding, clearing out]. 262 wái, J *wye*, B *waa*. 263 M *awaa*, C *waa*' [(*waa-gjaan*) going away]. 264 *e'l*. 265 *straakt*. 266 J *wil* [well, in a good manner]. — C *al'lb₁yk* [elbow]. — *fielde* [field]. 267 *ild*. 268 [(*al'st*) oldest used]. — *twal*, *toomons*, C *toomynz* [twelve, twelve months, (toomonth) not known to J, who said (twalvmonth)]. 269 C *i₁mse'l* *gyrse'l* [himself, yourself], J *jerse'l*. 270 i. *belz*, ii. *beli*. — C *wal J* [a well]. 271 *tel*. 272 *elm*. 273 *men*. 274 *bent₁*. 275 *ste'qk* [stink used for stench], C *styqk₁*. 276 *the'qk*. 277 *drent₁*, C *dryqk₁*. — M *bent* [determined]. — *sen's* [those sent as fore-runners]. 280 *bleev'n*. 281 *lenth*. 282 *strenth*. — *jerd* [yard measure]. 283 *mori* *mari. 284 *thrash*. 286 *harr*. 287 *biiz'm*. — C *re'ist* [rest]. 288 *lat C*, †*lat lut latten* [did let, and pp.], *let* [let, allow]. — C *met* [met]. — C *set₁n* [setting]. — †*sattle*, *sattlet* [settle, settled].

E'- 289 i. 290 hi, C *hi*. 292 mi, M *mi*. 293 wi, C *wii*, B *wi r* [we're]. — M *sik* [to seek]. 294 *fid*. — *nid* [to need]. 296 *biliiv*. 297 *folta*. 298 [(*fe'n*) find is used for feel]. 299 *grin*. 300 *kip*. 301 *hiir*. 302 *mit*. 303 *swit*. 304 *bit'l*.

E': — C *brikjs* [breeks]. 305 *hikjh* [*heicher* higher]. 306 *hekjht*. 308 *nid* [sb.]. 309 *spid* [sb.]. 310 *hil*. 311 M *ten*. 312 *hiir*. 313 *hark'n*. 314 *hard M* [heard], J *haard*. 315 *fit*. 316 *nakst* *niist, *neist*, J *nisht*.

EA- — *deykn*, J *deek'n* [deacon]. — *shak J* [shake]. 317 *flee* [flay]. 319 *geep* [(*gaap*) when very emphatic]. 320 *keer*.

EA: — *cauf* [chaff], J *kät*. — *gjaa* [gave]. — *chaf₁s* [jaws]. 321 *sa*, M *saa CJ*. 322 *lakh lauch* [*lauch* laughed]. 323 *fokht*. 324 *akht* [C (akhty, J akhte), eighty]. 325 *waak*. 326 *al* [(*alst*) oldest]. M *aal CB*, *aul*, [C (*aalyr*) older]. 327 *bäl*. 328 *kal*. 329 *faal C*. 330 *had C* [*haud'n*, J (had'n) holden]. 331 *saal* [(*selt*) sold]. 332 *taal taal'*. 333 *kaaf*, J *kät* [same pron. as for chaff, before 321]. 334 *haaf*. 335 *a*, C *aa*, †*äl* [= (*a'l*)], [J (*avaa'*) *ava*, of all, meaning at all]. — *shell* [shall]. 336 *fa*. 337 *wa*. 338 M *kaa* [*kaad*] pt., *ca'*. — *maut* [malt]. — *saut* [salt]. 340 *jaard*. 342 *cerm*, †*airm*, *airm*. — *hairmless* [harmless]. 343 *warm*. 344 M *be'rn*, *ba'rn*. 345 *daar*. 346 *g^oit*, *yett*.

EA'- — C *tjikjs* [cheeks]. 347 *hid*, *heid*, C *he'd*. 348 *i* [(in J), *een* eyes, only pl. form]. — *loip* [*lap luppen* leap leapt], J *l^eup*. — †*bcht* [m.Ba.], †*b^eet* [n.Ba.]. 349 *fiän*, *fyou*, J *fiän*.

EA: — *ruck*, J *ræk* [a rick]. 350 *de'd*, *deid*, J *did*. 351 *le'd*, J *lid*.

352 re^ld *rid. 353 breed *brid M, *breid*. 354 shef C. 355 def. 356 lef. 357 tho, CJ thoo. — CJ lá'í [a lea, or meadow]. 359 niper J, *neepour*, *neighbourheid*. 361 bin [(boon) at Pitsligo Ab.]. 363 t^hèp. — C jⁱir J, M iir [year]. 365 niir CM, *naur*. — *nowt* [neat, cattle]. 366 greet *gryte*. 367 thret. 368 deth, M d^eth, *deeth*. 369 slo. 370 ra. 371 stre.

EI- 372 éei [(ái) emphatic], C á'í. 373 dhe J. 374 néei. 375 r^èz [C (reezt) raised]. 376 beet. EI: 378 wáik [*wyknesses* weaknesses]. 382 dher. EO- 383 s^èv'n *seyven*, J seev'n. 384 h^èv'n. 385 n^èth. 386 jóu. 387 n^u.

EO: 388 me^lk *malk, J malk [but I could not properly catch J's sound, a curious variation of (e)]. 390 s^æd s^æd, M *syd*. 392 C jon. 393 w^ont [(t) sometimes omitted]. 395 C j^æqⁱ₁₁r, J j^æq^r. 396 wark. 397 suurd swerd. 398 steerv. 399 br^ek^yht. — C b^ærn [burn]. 400 *crnest*. 402 lern *learn*, C leern *learn*. 403 fair. 404 star. — *hert* [heart, CJ (herte) hearty]. 405 herth. 406 erth, C j^ærd. — M sester [sister]. 407 fard'n.

EO'- 409 bií. 411 thrií. 412 shⁱ [very short], M shii, C shi₁₁. 413 diiv^l *dev^l. 414 fli *flee* [(flek) is a flea, Ws. fleá fleó]. 415 li. — † *yee*l [Yule, Christmas]. 416 diir *daur*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 417 t^héu *t^híaa [probably meant for (tíaa), as (aa) is said not to occur in the dialect], J t^híaa. 418 bruu *brue* J (breth) broth, always treated as pl., and J (brii)]. 420 fóur. 421 forti.

EO': — thir C [thief]. 423 thái. 424 ròkh, *roch*, J rok^h. 425 lek^yht, *lichtet*, C li₁₁k^yht, J lek^yht. 426 f^ek^yht. — *yee*l, C jil J [yule, Christmas time]. 427 bi, C bií. 428 si [C (sín) seen]. 429 fin, fent, *fiout*. 430 frin *frein*. 431 biir. 432 foort *foort* [(f^el^t, se^lkt, sev^{nt}, akht, náint, tent) fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth]. 433 brist [(brisht) has been heard, *forebriest* fore breast]. 434 bet [pr. t. (bit) pt.]. 435 M ji [(jir) ye, your]. 436 truu. 437 tróuth *trouth*. EY- 438 dií, M dii, diit J, B dit [die, died]. EY: 439 tr^æst.

I- 440 we^lk *uk, *ouk*, J uk [common word ? belongs to Ws. *wuce*]. — *ehucken* [ehieken]. — M gin, C gjii^{yn}, g^jaa, J giv, g^jaad [give, given, giving, gave]. 441 se^lv. — *leevin* [living]. 442 á'ívi [but (gr^ændee vi) ground-ivy, J pron. (á'ívi) in both cases]. 443 fráide. 444 stáil. 446 ná'in [(nóin) at Pitsligo and Rosehearty, both 4 w. Fraserburg, Ab.]. — shi₁₁nz [shims]. 447 C i₁₁r. 448 [not used]. — bit. 449 get [C (got) got]. — M sen [since, Ws. sⁱpen]. — M heterli [bitterly]. — C bit [a bit = portion]. — *wuddie* [withy]. — C pi₁₁th [pith]. 450 t^èzdi *t^è'izdu, J t^á'izde. 451 shuu [formed from (sü) to sew, (shuuster) a sewster or seamstress].

I: 452 ái, M áai, *aw* [meant for (aa)], C áae. 454 w^ætⁱ, C wⁱ₁₁tⁱ. 455 lái. — C th^yrd. — C twáais [twice]. 457 me^lk^yht [M (almekhti) Almighty, might, sb.] — *mith* [might, vb.]. 458 ne^lk^yht, M nekht, JC ni₁₁kht. 459 re^lk^yht [*oonrichteous*, unrighteous]. 460 we^lk^yht *wecht*. 461 lichtit [alighted]. 462 se^lk^yht. 463 M tel, C tⁱ₁₁l. 464 f^el^k [but (f^ol o) which of you? J knew the phrase], † *futch*. 465 se^lk *sic*. 466 C t^híil, J [chiel, child is replaced by bairn]. 467 we^l *wil'*, C wá'il, J wel. 469 † *wull* [will]. 470 M hee^lm. 471 f^el^mur. — C styqk^yyn [stinking]. — C dryqk^j, J driqk [drink]. 472 shre^lqk. 473 ble^ln. 475 we^ln win, C w^yyn win'y [windy]. 476 be^ln. — C yt^hwin [atween]. 477 f^elⁿ, M fen. 478 gre^ln. — *hin* [hind]. 479 win. 481 f^el^qr [finger]. — M bige^lnen [begin]. — † *rin rin* [rum]. — C wⁱ₁₁n [win = arrive at, reach], J wen. 484 C dhⁱ₁₁s, J [used for sg. and pl.]. — *rashes* [rushes]. 485 th^ræ^ll *th^ris^l. — † *fussel* [whistle]. 487 je^lsterde, C jⁱ₁₁st^yrde, J Jesterde, *the streen* [yestere'en, (dhestr)jün], (dh) for (j) as in (dhondr)]. 488 jet. 489 M et. — *wut* [wit]. — *wutness* [witness]. — B vrit'n [written]. — C si₁₁ti₁₁n [sitting]. — sax [six].

I'- 490 báí. 491 sekh. 492 C sá'id [C (hüz), J (bisá'id) besides]. 493 dráiv. 494 t^éim [(tóim) at Pitsligo, Ab.], C tá'im J. 496 áir'n [á'í'r'n at Pitsligo]. 497 CJ reezt [raised]. 498 vr^èit vrit, *vreetin* [writing, both (éi, i) are used]. 499 bit^l.

I': 500 léik, *liekly* [likely], CJ le^lkj. 501 wéid. 502 fáiv J [(fóiv) at Pitsligo, J was not aware that she pron. (fáiv kná'ivz) with different diphthong]. 503 le'if, † *leif*. 504 knáif [(k) pron.], † *knweif*. — † *st^rreif* [strife]. 505 weif, M w^éif, J wá'if. 506 oman J [the (a) quite distinct] 'oman. 507 wimín,

M wymen, J wimen. 508 méil [(móil) at Pitsligo]. 509 féil, M f'íl, *fiie* [a little while], CJ fá'il. 510 ii. M máai, C máae [emphatic], B my [unemphatic]. 511 wéin. 512 [(spóir) at Pitsligo]. 513 wéir *weer*. 514 éis. 515 wéiz, J wéis [with an (s)]. 516 wizdam. — *fiie* [white].

O- 518 C bó'di J, B badi. 519 M á'ur [over]. 520 bóu. 521 fol. — C drop [drop]. 522 óp'n. 523 hop *hóup, M h'áup. — C *y'too'r* [before, *forrit* forward]. 524 word'l *ward'l, *wardle* [*war'dly* worldly]. — C hoo'z [hose].

O: — *kyeuk* cook, J kek. — M good, *gweed*, [God]. — *af'en*, C aft [often]. 526 kokh. 527 bookht M. 528 thokht C, J thokht. 529 brookht, M brokht, *brocht*, B brakht. 530 vrokht. 531 dóther, M daather [the (AA) must be wrong, probably for (oo), which I used], dakhter, B dakht'yr. 532 kol †*quile*. 533 dæl. 534 hol. 535 M to'k CJ, *foek*. 536 góud. 537 muuld. 538 wad. — *knouce-head* [knoll-head]. 539 bóul. — *crap* [crop]. 545 hop *hip. — C stopi_{11t} [stopped]. 547 bíuurd. 548 fíuurd. 550 wærd, C wyrd, J werd. 551 storm. 552 korn, C koorn, J koorn. 553 horn. — C morni_{11n}, J moornen, B morn. — †*hoss* [horse, *r* suppressed]. 554 kros. — *brce* [broth, Ws. broð]. — *boddom* [bottom]. — C á'us [ox, this pron. not known to J, who pron. (òks)].

O'- 555 shi *shee* [(shüin), *sheen* shoes, *sheein* shoeing], J shi shin. 556 te, M ty. 557 tii, M tii', C tii. 558 liuk [M (luket) looked *liukin*, C (l'j'k'yn) looking]. 559 midher [(míder), †*mudder* in the fishing villages], *mither* midher, C mydi_{11r}, B midh'yr. — *draucht* [draught]. 560 †*squed*, B skwil J. 561 bliim. 562 miin, C min, †*meen*. 563 máuende. 564 siin. 565 nooz J, *niz [*nizzen*, nosing = wiggling]. 566 idher [M (ánidher tídher) another, †*other*, *tithers*], C i₁₁nydyr [another]. 568 †*bré'ther* [cē very long in m.Be.], †*brither brudder* [in fishing villages]. — M gra'uan [grown].

O': 569 bíuk J, *buk, B buk. 570 tuk M [(tíuk) Pitsligo and Roseheart] *tyeuk*. 571 gwid CMB, *gweed*. 572 bliid CJ, †*bleed*. 573 flæd. — *reed* [rood = gibbet, cross]. 574 brid. 575 [un'ersteed, C (unerstid) understood]. — *wudden* [wood = mad]. 576 wed'nzdi. — †*hire* [hoof]. — *behef* [behoof]. — *reef* †*reef* [roof]. 577 bíukh [J did not know the word]. 578 plfu pliuukh [(plíakh) Keith for both vb. and sb.] *plewing*, *pleuch*, *pleuchin*, *ploo*. 579 miur [enow, number], miukh [enough, quantity], M ym'u'kh *awuech* [J knew the distinction of number and quantity]. 580 tít kh. 581 sokht. 582 káil †*qued* [cool]. 583 til *teel* [(tilsum) toolsome, easily worked]. 584 stiil. 585 briim, *breem*. 586 di, de'ne [don't], M dii', *dee* [*diznu deester* does not, a do-er, J did not know *deester*]. 587 diim, *deen*. 588 [(foorniin) forenoon]. 589 spiin †*speen*. 590 fiir [(fiur) has been heard, but it is not common]. 591 miur *miir. 592 swiir. 593 [(mon) used]. 594 bit †*bert*, *beet*. 595 f'e't, †*fit*, *fit*, C fi_{11t} [sg. the pl. is (fit) 315]. 596 rit, †*reet*, *reet*. 597 sit [(sat) about Rosencath]. 598 siith [(gwid siith) good sooth]. — †*teeth* [tooth, sg.]

U- 599 ubi'n. — *wuds*, C wyd [wood, forest], J wed. 600 lov *láv. 601 fuul *fool*. 602 suu. — *bridegreem* bridegroom, Ws. bry'd-guma]. 603 kam CJ. 604 *summer* [summer]. 605 se'n *søn, M see'n. — †*cuss* [curse, s.Ba.]. 606 door 607 bater.

U: 608 agli, C ygli. — *shooders*, J shadherz [shoulders]. 609 fol fu, *fuu M, †*fill*, J fæl. 610 uu J. 612 sam. 613 dra'k [(drak'n) not used]. — *droot* drowned. 614 han J. 615 pæn. 616 gran C. 617 sun. 618 wun. 620 gran. 621 wæn. 622 [(enè'th) replaces under]. 623 fan. 624 gran. — *won'er* [wonder]. 625 taq [C (i₁₁llteqt) ill-tongued]. 626 haqer. 627 C sændi₁₁ [Sunday]. 629 se'n *søn [*sindoon*, sundown], J sen. 630 won. 631 firzde, B fi'rzdi. 632 ap MCJ [C (i₁₁po'n) upon]. 633 kap. — *broch* [burg, borough]. 634 thróu [(throkh) has been heard] *throu*, C thrá'u. 635 wæth. — J wårdhi [worthy]. 636 †*forthor*. 637 tæsk. 638 bask. 639 dæst, C di₁₁st, J dest.

U'- 640 kun. 641 [(fat wái) what way, replaces how, but we find] *hoo* [*hooever*], C fuu J. 643 nuu M, *noo no*, [†*chnoo*, *cenoo*, J enuu, the now, just now]. 645 duu. 646 buu. 647 uulet. 648 mur C. 649 thuzzend. 650 M ebu't, C i₁₁but, J abút. 652 käd. 653 bat, M byt, *but*, C bi_{11t}, J bet.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul C. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 duun, *doon*. 659 M tun C, J tūn, *toon*. 661 shuur, *shoover*. 662 [(ʌs) is not (hæz) as in D 33, to us (te^hl)z]. 663 huus, M hus, *hoose*. 664 huus. 665 muus. 667 uut, M ut CJ, *oot*. 668 pruum. 670 tóubith, bothi [toll-booth, tent, not known to J]. 671 muu, *mou*, C mun. 672 smuth, *sooth*.

Y- 673 mak'l M. 674 C dyd [(dyd)ny] didn't, J ded [emph.]. 675 drai'. — C i₁₁l [ill, evil], J el. 676 li. 677 drai, C drá'i. 678 de'n. — C hi₁₁p, J hep. — M stiir [stir]. 679 kerk. 680 be'zi. 681 *buzness*, J beznes. 682 le^ht'l, B li₁₁t'l, J let'l.

Y: — C stamp. 683 me^hdj *midpek. 684 bre'g. 685 re'g. 686 bá'i. 687 flekht. — *full* [fill]. — bá'ilz [boils, sores]. 689 *biel'* building, shelter. — *cl'yer*, C á'iléygr [elder of a church]. — M fóləjən [following]. 690 kjuin. 691 máin †moind [(móin) at Pitsligo], C má'in J. 693 se n, J sen. 696 berth. — birn [burden]. 697 biri [bury]. 698 mæth *mirth. 699 vrekht, *vricht*. 700 war, *waur*. 701 ferst J, †fisst [s.Ba.], C fi₁₁rst, †fist [meant for *fast*?, the same as the C with (r) suppressed]. 702 C wii. 703 pæť *pít, †pet [rather than *pít*, the English (i) not being used].

Y'- 705 skái. 706 fu [(fat for) used gen.]. — *fifteen* [fifteen]. — C fo^hrtin J. 708 háir [(hóir) Pitsligo], J há'ir.

Y: — †fulth [filth]. 709 fáir [(foir) Pitsligo], J fá'ir. 711 láis. 712 máis. — *wuss*, C wi₁₁s [wish], J wash [vowel something like (i)].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *Aiberdeen* [Aberdeen]. 714 M ladiz [laddies]. 717 djaad, C dja'di, *jaud*. 718 tred. 719 [(póult)=poll-head, used]. — C kjel [kail]. — *baak* [balk, bawk]. — C blem [blame]. — CJ faq [a whang or slice]. — *thropple* [thrapple]. — *dauring* [daring adj.]. — C kqoorli₁₁k [gnarloek]. — *trag* [trash]. 736 las. — C taatez [potatoes]. — *coushus* cautious. 740 [waves are usually called (djarz) of the sea]. — *swye* [sway].

E. 743 skreen. 744 marlz *miz'lz. — herte [heartly]. 745 tjet. — †pcht [m.Ba], †peet [n.Ba]. 746 breedh. 747 ende'var. 749 M left. 750 beg.

I. and Y. — C li₁₁kjs [licks=blows]. — C ste'kjyt [stuck]. — trá'i [(trá'it) try, tried]. — C slá'i [sly]. — C kqif [keen]. 753 te'k'l [ticklish]. — *triffl* [trifle]. — [(big) for (bild) occ.], *biel'* [building shelter]. 754 pe'g. — *slicht*, C slá'i [slight, sly]. — *ticht* [tight]. — *preen* [pin]. — M sá'in [syne, since], J sá'in. — C kqip [knip]. — †fup, *fup* [whip]. — *wup* [wipe or wrap round]. — *fuskers*, C hwí₁₁ski₁₁r [whiskers]. — *fusky* [whisky].

O. 761 léd [as (e léd e stre) a load of straw, vb. the same]. — laft [loft]. — C broogz [brogues, thick shoes]. — *scuud* [scold]. 769 modiwert, J mæ'dimært. — mon [must]. 773 [only (as) used]. 774 póuny. — *lowst*, C lá'ust [loosed], J la'ust. — *quet*, *quiyte*, *coote* [in Jamieson *coot ente*=ankle]. 777 chop choppie [shop], J tjóp. 778 afuur'd, *affoord*. — *furns* [forus to sit on]. — *wordy woorthies* [worthy worthies]. — *not* [needid]. 781 badher *bader, *bather*. 783 pãltri. — *bun'* [boun, going]. — *roose*, rouse. 789 J rá'u [row, noise]. — C soo'ynz, J soo'enz [sowans, oatmeal porridge]. 790 gum.

U. — C snybyt [snubbed]. — *Brees*, C :bris [Bruce]. — C stack [stuck]. — M bigurd [began]. — C gruugji [grudge]. — be'l *bæl, †bill [bull], J bæl. — C fæn [fun]. — M ent'l [unto]. 805 krúdz. — *neeps* [turnips]. 806 fæs. — *busses* [bushes]. 807 pús. 808 pè't, †pít, *put*, *pitten*, *put pat*, *pitten*, C pi₁₁t [put prt. and pt.]. — C klykjyt [clutched].

III. ROMANCE.

A. — M grant [grant]. — *spaweous* [spacious, here *aw* represents (aa)]. — *saacred* [sacred, here *aa* represents (aa)]. — *wager* [wager]. 821 dilei'. 822 méi. 823 béei. 824 tjiir [occ.]. 826 eeg'l *eg'l. 827 eegur. — *compleen* [complain]. — *chyne* [chain]. — *saunt* [saint]. — *clær* [clear]. — *plesour* [pleasure]. 835 rez'n. 836 sez'n *sizzon*. 838 tret. — C baa, J baal [foot-ball], C bal [ball=dance]. — *vaiue* [value]. — †maister [master]. 839

C baa [as a football], C bal [a dance]. — mèster [master]. 840 tjaamer *chaum'r*. — M *fee'min*. 841 tjaans. 842 pliaqk. 843 brentj *branch*. 844 trentj [*truncher* trencher]. 845 anshmt. 848 tjaindy *cheunge*. 849 *strange* [so spelled in Gl. to *Johnny Gibb*, ? *streunge*, sour, surly]. — *arveugin* [arranging]. 851 ant. — *carvable* [capable]. 852 aaprun. — *parent* [parent]. — C *kjer* [carry]. — M *meret* [married]. — *paris* [parish]. 856 M prt, C peert [*pairty* party]. — C *raski'iz* [rascals]. — *aisp* [asp]. — *fattal* [fatal]. — *moderactor* [moderator]. — *partrons* [patrons]. 864 bika'z, C kas. 865 *orthorcest* [authorised]. 866 piir *peer*, B pi'r. — *favvour*, *weel faur't* [favour=looks, well-looking]. — J braali [bravely, right well].

E.. 867 tee, *tae*. 869 veel. 870 bïaati *bïy'ti. — *electin* [electing]. 871 C griit [agreed]. — *riakle* [probably (vá'ek'l) vehicle]. 874 ráin, *ryne*. — *obaidient* [obedient]. 879 feemeel. — *blasphemous* [blasphemous]. — *senit* [senate]. — C *gma'nz* [amends]. — *konevniit* [convenient]. — *mainteen* [maintain]. — *enterteeument* [entertainment]. — *obteen* [obtain]. — *susteeance* [sustenance]. — C *gnta'nyt* [intended]. — *enviuous* [enviuous, but accent on second syllable]. — *jilein* [gaoling, putting into gaol]. 885 J vere [very]. — *sairious* [serious]. — *sair't* [served]. 889 sees. — C *seshi'nn* [session]. — *mizzour* [measure]. 890 †*béht* [m.Ba.], †*béest* [n.Ba.], C bé'st, F bé'st. — *reest* [arrest]. 891 feest. — B letyr [letter]. 892 néfe. — C fá'il [foil, leaf]. — *oor* [hour]. 893 fluur. — *preef* [proof]. 894 disceev. 895 riseev.

I.. and Y.. — †*scrabble* [scribble]. — *leeberty* [liberty]. 898 nóis [at Pitsligo]. — *seecephant* [sycophant]. 900 pree [(preerz, prayers). — C *sïir* [sir]. — *diffeekwalty* [accent on second syllable]. — *obleeq't* [obliged]. — C *vï'nr* [vigour]. — C *dyzáz'nt* [designed]. — *fortigging* [fatiguing]. — *seelnee* [silence]. 901 C fá'in, †*foine* [(fóin at Pitsligo). — *prenciples* [principles]. 902 [(móin at Pitsligo). 903 [(dóin at Pitsligo). — *opinyan* [probably (opi'yan) opinion]. — *ounjustee* [injustice]. — *inquiries* [inquiries, accent first syllable]. 904 váilet [violet]. 908 [(advóis at Pitsligo). — †*fused* [fiscal]. — *preecely* [precisely ? with (z)]. — *idolest* [idolised]. — *practee* [practise]. — *adverteese* [advertise]. *exerceese* [exercise]. — *martyreesin* [martyrising]. — C *sá'iz* [size]. — *veesitin* [visiting]. 910 dïst. — *set* [site]. — *invceitit* [invited]. — *teetle enteebled*, †*teetle* [title, entitled]. — C *striiv* [strive]. — *ceevil* [civil]. — *preevilege* [privilege]. 912 [(vóis at Pitsligo).

O.. 913 kôty. 914 brôty. — *joukin* [joking]. 915 stof. 916 iqm. — *droys* [drugs]. 918 fib'l. 919 éintment. 920 péint. 921 akua'nt. — B fi'r [fair=market]. — *pushion't* [poisoned]. 924 tjéis. 925 véis. 926 spéil, C spá'il. — *stamackie* [little stomach]. — C *promist* [promised]. — *soom* [sum]. — CJ *grém'l* [grumble]. — M *akuu'nt* [account], *coont*. 928 ons *ans. — *run*, *roond* [round]. — *erpoondin* [expounding]. — *coontin* [counting]. 930 léin. — *eroon* [crown]. — *ordain* [ordain]. 934 banti. 935 kantri, M *kwintre¹ countra kwintre*, B *kwintre*. 937 kok. — †*chöck* [choke]. — C *pryvok* [provoke]. 938 kornar. — †*pöst* [post]. 939 kloos †*clös* [v(k)los perhaps]. — †*röt* [note=(not) or (not) perhaps]. — †*röt* [rote]. 940 *kwite*. 941 fiil [*feelish* foolish]. — *tribbles* troubles. 942 butjær. 943 tatj. — *pooder* [powder]. 944 aluur. 945 yuu. 947 béil. 948 bul [a ball, glass marble]. 949 muuld. 950 sæper. 951 kap'l. — *tærn* [turn]. — *pass* [purse, *r* suppressed=(pæs) ?], †*pass*, [purse, s.Ba.]. 952 ii. *coorse*. 953 kav'n. 954 kashem. — *stoot* [stout]. 955 dut. — *poovers* [powers]. 956 kaver, *courin* [recovering]. — *dizzen* [dozen]. 959 i. konvái.

U.. 960 kéei. — M *wé'it wyte* [*wytin*, wait waiting]. — M *dïudj* *jeedge* [judge]. 963 *kwejet quate* [*quietness* quietness]. 954 shuut. 965 éil. 966 frit †*freet*. 967 sit [(sit v kleez) suit of clothes]. 968 éister. — M *ruu'lt rowle* [ruled rule]. — *poopit* [pulpit]. — *multiteed* [multitude]. — *shoopreme* [supreme]. — B *stupid* [stupid]. 969 *seerli*, C *shuur siir* [(i, siir) assure]. — *keerious* [curious]. — *feerious* [furious]. — *exceesable* [excusable]. — C is, *ees ceseful*, †*ees* [use useful, C (is)ty), J (ist te) used to]. — *refeesin* refusing. — *eeswal* [usual]. — †*agust* [august, possibly meant for (a)l'gast]. 970 **joost*, C *dïy'st*. — *breet* [brute]. — *constitection* [constitution].

D 40. = n.NL. = northern North Lowland, = Dr.
Murray's *Cowthness*.

Boundaries. On the w. the CB. or Celtic Border, elsewhere the sea-coast of Cs.

Area. The ne. part of Cs. This was of course originally Celtic, as the rest of Cs. is. Then it became Norse, afterwards Celtic again, and finally Lowland.

Authorities. Printed, Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 238) cited below, under *Characters*. The Wick es. pal. by AJE. from the dict. of three men of Wick, and given previously in the Introduction to L., No. 7, among the 8 es., pp. 683, 684, 696. Notes obtained in a previous interview with Rev. R. Macbeth, Feb. 1874.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "In Cs. in addition to the consonantal peculiarities of the North-East [D 39], we find (1) the use of *sh* for *eh*, *shylder*=children, and (2) the singular dropping of initial *th* in the demonstrative class of words, so that *the*, *they*, *them*, *there*, *that*, appear as (i, ee, em, eer, et). (3) The pairs made maid, tale tail are distinguished as (méid mee₁d, téil tee₁l), a very different distinction from that used in the South [D 33, p. 710*d*]. (4) So the words *one*, *home*, *bread*, *head*, *place*, *way* are *eynn* (éin éin'), *heyne*, *breyde*, *heyd*, *pleyce*, *wey*. (5) *While*, *bide*, *wife* are foyle or fhoyle, boyd, woyfe (wohif)."

On this I observe (1) and (2) are confirmed; of (3) I could get no confirmation; (4) the words are from very heterogeneous sources, and I only heard (éi); (5) I did not hear (óí) for (é'í) or (ái).

The following are the notes obtained from Rev. R. Macbeth, see p. 683, No. 7.

1. *ch* initial becomes (sh) as (sháild, shilder, sha'pel sheepul) child, children, chapel.

2. *th* initial in the pronominal words *the*, *this*, *that*, *they*, *them*, *there* is generally altogether omitted, the words appearing as (e^l, is, at, em, eer) as (e^l man, e diit) the man, they died. See D 39, Rev. W. Gregor's notes, Nos. 6, 7, *suprà* pp. 777, 778.

3. *tr-*, *dr-* are decidedly dental (t_r-, d_r-), as they were indicated in D 38, p. 757, last line, and, I believe, found partly in D 39, so that the dentality may have extended over all NL.

4. (k, g) are not labialised into (kw-, gw-) before an (i) which replaces O', hence (gid, skil) are said, and (kwéit, kwéil) coat, cool are not used.

5. *wr-* initial does not become (rr-). I heard (wra^lq, rwa^lq) distinctly, not (w'ra^lq).

6. (f) for (wh) is used as in Ab., and I ascertained that it was distinctly labio-dental, not a pure labial (ph), but I did not examine for (fh).

7. For A' words the forms (bin, stin) were not used, but only (been, steen) bone, stone.

8. Instead of confusing both the son of a man and the sun in the sky under one form (*se¹n*), as in D 39, they use (*s¹n*) for the man and (*s¹n*) for the star.

9. I was not able to verify Dr. M.'s differences of *made*, *tale* and *maid*, *tail*, as the last class of words do not occur in the es. But *name*, which belongs to the first class, I heard as (*neem*), and I also heard his *home* as (*heem*), but *once* was (*éins*), the other words did not occur.

10. *Wife* I heard as (*wáif*) not (*wóhif*), but I was told that (*póip*) pipe was very common.

11. No distinction was made between the verbal noun and the participle.

12. The high (*a¹*) which I marked from Rev. R. Macbeth, I did not afterwards notice in the dictation of the es.

13. In other respects D 40 seems to resemble D 39.

Illustrations. The es. already referred to.

A ewl. containing the words in the es. and a few others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

WICK, Cs., ewl.

containing the words in the Wick es., No. 7, p. 684, and others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 mak. 21 neem. 34 last. A: 49 haq. 51 man. 54 want. 56 wash. A: or O: 58 fee. 64 rcaq wraq [not (w'raq)]. A'- 67 gid [went], gjaan [going]. 72 faa. 73 so. 74 tcaa. 79 een. 82 áns. 84 meer. 87 kleez. 89 beeth. 92 [(ken) used]. 94 kraa. A': 102 aks. 104 rodi. 110 ii. noo no. 111 okht. 113 heel. 115 heem. 117 éi. 118 been. 122 ii. nii. 124 steen. 125 onli. 137 ii. nã [(r) dropped].

Æ- 138 feedharz. 144 ege'n. Æ: 154 bak. 158 efter. 161 dee. 162 is dee [=this day]. 164 me. 169 fan. 173 wez. 177 at [(dh) dropped]. 179 fat. Æ'- 194 omi eni. Æ': 209 never. 213 edhur. 214 nedhø. 223 eer [(dh) dropped]. 224 faar. 227 wit.

E- 231 e¹ [(dh) dropped]. 233 speak. 244 wil. 252 ket'l. 256 stretjt [stretched]. 261 see [(se¹n) saying, (sez) says]. 263 ewaa. 265 streekt. 269 hímse1. 271 tel. 273 men. 276 thiqk? 281 lenth. E'- 290 hii. 292 mi. 293 wi. 301 hür. 312 hür. 314 hard.

EA- 320 kjee'rz. EA: 321 sa. 322 lãkh. 330 had. 332 [(telt) used]. 335 aa. 338 kee. 344 beerni. EA'- 348 [(in) eyes]. 349 ñã'u. EA': 357 thoo. 359 nibø. 366 greet. EI- 373 e. EI: 378 week. 380 ãm [(dh) dropped]. EO- 387 niuu. EO: 390 shed. 392 jen [(dhon) in Fi. and Ab.]. 395 jaq. 399 brekht. EO'- 411 thrü. 412 shü. EO': 422 sik. 427 bi. 430 trin. 435 jii. 437 tra'uth. EY- 438 dii [(diit) died]. EY: 439 trãst.

I- 440 wik. 446 nãin. 447 her. I: 452 a)m [I am], dãd)e [did I]. 455 lái. 456 g¹f. 458 nekht. 465 sãk. 466 shãild [shildur] children]. 469 wal. 470 hã'm. 477 [(fan) found, pt.]. 482 e¹z'd [is it]. 484 dhes [(dh) not dropped, and is [with (dh) dropped]. 489 he¹d. — sin sãin [since]. I'- 494 tãim. 495 whãin. — póip [pipe, common]. I: 500 léik le¹k. 505 wáif. 506 gid wáif. 509 fel [in the sense of until, unacc.]. 510 nãin.

O- 518 bodi. 519 óur. 524 warl. O: 531 dokhtur. 535 fóuk. 538 wud. 544 i. dhen, ii. dhen. 546 fa. 550 ward. O'- 556 tyv.

560 skil. O': 571 gíd. 579 eníokh. 586 d(ə)nə [don't]. 587 din. 588 nin. 592 swoor.

U- 603 kam. 604 semer. 605 se'n sín. 606 door. U: 612 sam. 616 gran. 625 taq. 629 san. 631 fúurzdee. 634 thrau. U'- 641 inn huu. 643 nuu. 651 wiidhuut. U': 658 duun. 663 huus. 667 uut.

Y- 673 mak'l. 674 díd. 675 d(ə)rái. 682 [(piri) old word for little]. Y: 701 tersht. 702 wi. Y'- 706 whéi.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — sabith [Sabbath]. 732 hapen. O. 765 :tjok. 781 bodher. 791 bói. U. 797 skwúken. 798 kwéir. 804 d(ə)qk'n. — heri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 faks. 835 reez'n. — sha'pel sheepel [chapel]. 857 kees. — reet [rate]. — me'ter [matter]. 862 seef. E.. 867 tii. 885 verə. 890 best. I.. and Y.. 901 fáin. O.. 925 wáis. 938 korner. 939 klooze. 941 fil. 947 bóil. 950 sáper. 955 duut. U.. 963 kwéit. 969 shuur. 970 d(ə)st.

D 41 & 42 = II. = Insular Lowland.

The languages of the two groups of islands at the ne. of Scotland known as the Orkneys and Shetlands stand in a peculiar relation to that of the mainland, but are nevertheless decidedly L. in character. These islands were discovered and reduced by Agricola, A.D. 89. In A.D. 396 the Saxons seem to have been established in Or. In A.D. 682 the islands were laid waste by Brude, a Pictish king, apparently a Christian. All these events were without influence on present speech, the history of which commences with the conquest and settlement by the Norse. From 872 to 1231 there were Norse Jarls in Or., but subsequently the islands were governed by the Scotch Earls of Angus (1231-1321), Strathern (1321-1379), and St. Clair (1379-1468), but owned allegiance to Denmark. On 8 Sept. 1468, when the language of the people was distinctly Norse, Margaret, daughter of Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, married by contract James III. of Scotland, and, by way of marriage dower, Or. was pledged for 50,000 florins of the Rhine and Sd. for 8000. The pledge was intended to be temporary, and the language, laws, and customs of the island were strictly protected in the deed of pledge. But the pledge was never redeemed; after 1611 the Norse laws and customs were not respected, and the two groups of islands now form an English borough with 7394 voters, returning one member to parliament. The Norse language is extinct. Thomas Flegg, of Furso in Harray, Pomona, Or., who died an old man in 1810, spoke Norse. In 1858 Prince L.-L. Bonaparte met at Unst, Sd., and in Or. some decrepit old men, who still recollected having heard "Norn," that is, Norse, spoken by very old people about 1780. The present language is English, taught by Lowlanders, chiefly from NL. to Norwegians. It is therefore an acquired tongue, and has not lasted long enough to

be a true dialect. It is however by no means a book English, and the two groups of islands have points of difference. From the islands lying between these groups, Foula and Fair Isle, which are said to present some interesting varieties, I have been unable to obtain information.

Leaving the particulars for my examination of D 41 and D 42 separately, the general and distinctive character of both groups consists in the treatment of *th*, which is not quite the same in each group. Five cases may be distinguished. The following contains a list of all the words in each case which I have observed, arranged alphabetically in each group. The ordinary spelling precedes in Roman. The pal. refers to D 42 Sd. only. The unmarked italic are in Mr. Dennison's orthography, and refer to D 41, Or. only. The italic with † prefixed are in Mr. Stewart's spelling, and are exclusively Sd.

I. *th* = (d).

blithe †*blide* †*blied*.
 bother (boder).
 brother (brider).
 father (fēder) †*feader*.
 farther †*furder*.
 gathered (gaderd).
 mother (māder) †*midder*.
 neither (nēder, ne'der).
 other (ider) †*idder*.
 rather (rēder).
 that *dat* 'at (dat) †*dat*.
 the *de* (de) †*da*.
 thee *dee* (dii, di).
 them *dem* (dem) †*dem*.
 their *der* †*der*.
 then *dan* †*den*.
 there *dere der* (deer).
 they *dēi*, they're (dār).
 thine (dā'in).
 this *dis* (dās) †*dis*.
 thou (du) †*doo*.
 thy *dee di* (dā'i) †*dy*.
 together (tege'der).
 whether (whider).
 worthy (wardi).

north *nort'*.
 strength *strent'*.
 thanked †*ankit*.
 thanks †*thanks*.
 thatch †*tāik*.
 thick †*t'ick*.
 thief †*t'ief* †*tief*.
 thigh †*t'ee*.
 think †*tink* †*tink*.
 thinkst (teqkst).
 thirst †*t'irst* [sometimes].
 thirty †*t'retty*.
 though †*t'o'* (too).
 thought †*t'ought* (tāukht) †*toecht*.
 thread (trid) †*treed*.
 threat (tret).
 three †*t'ree* (tri).
 thrashing †*t'reshen* †*trashin*.
 thrift †*trift*.
 thrive †*t'rive*.
 through †*t'rou'* (tru tro) †*t'rou*.
 throttle †*t'rapple*.
 thumb †*t'oom* †*toom*.
 unearthly †*uncartly*.
 worth †*wirt'* †*wirt*.

III. *th* = (th).

NOTE. The words *the*, *them*, *their*, *then*, *there*, *they*, *this*, have also initial (d) in D 9, p. 131, but there is no known connection between the two cases. The (d) is going out in D 41.

II. *th* = (t).

athwart †*at'wart*.
 earth †*ert'* †*ert* †*ert*.
 firth †*firt'*.
 fourth (fort).
 length †*lent'* (lent) †*lent*.
 mouth †*mout*.

beneath *eneath*.
 both †*baith* (beeth) †*baith*.
 nothing †*naethin* †*naithen* (ne'then).
 froth †*froth*.
 heathen (hethen).
 oath (ooth).
 thing (thiq theq), rarely (tiq).
 thole †*thole*.
 thousand †*thoosan*.
 troth †*trath*.
 truth †*treuth*.
 without (ethuut).
 wrath †*wraith*.

IV. *th* = (dh).V. *d* or *t* = (dh) observed in Or. only.

both (bee[dlth]), (dh) touched lightly.
 mother *mither*.
 neither *naither*.
 weather *wather*.
 without (vdhuut) †*without*.

body *bothy*.
 bottom *bodhom*.
 lady *lethy*.
 shoulder *shother*.
 steady *stathy*, 88 in Ws.

Ch initial becomes (sh) in Sd. only, and not in Or., although the latter is much closer to Cs., where the change also occurs.

Th becomes (f) in Thursday (færzde) in both Sd. and Or., but some old Or. people use (t).

kn-, *gn-* have (k, g) pron. in both.

The intonation in both dialects is distinctly not L., but much more like English, so far as I could judge by hearing Miss Malcolmson of Sd. read. The intonation of Mr. Dennison of Or. was not so like English.

D 41 = s.II. = southern Insular Lowland.

Boundary and Area, those of the Or. Islands. On the principal island, Pomona, and the islands to the s. of it, dialect is nearly extinct, and fairly good book-English prevails. It is only in the n. islands that the genuine dialect is yet heard. Hence, properly speaking, perhaps these only should be included in D 41.

Authorities. My chief authority is Mr. Walter Traill Dennison's "The Orcadian Sketch-Book, being Traits of old Orkney Life, written partly in the Orkney Dialect," Kirkwall (Pomona, Or.), 1880. This is an excellent specimen of a dialect book, well spelled, as may be seen by the cwl. below, though not always quite free from ambiguity, but fortunately I was able to see the author in August, 1884, and June, 1888, and, although both interviews were inevitably hurried, I thus obtained the solution of nearly all my difficulties, and I was enabled to correct two long specimens given below from his dictation. I have also consulted Tudor's "The Orkneys and Shetlands," Stanford, London, 1883, kindly lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which contains an interesting account of the physical features of these islands, but neglects the language entirely.

Characters. The chief character of the whole group with respect to *th* has already been given, p. 789. The principal points in which Or. differs from Sd. are the use of (hɪd) for (it), the treatment of A- and A', and the absence of (sh-) for (tʃ-). Referring for particulars to the cwl. below, and using * to point out usages which are different in Sd.

A- generally *(ii, i, i) as (mɪd, tɪl, nɪm) made, tale, name, but occasionally (a, à) as (kɪcək, wad, sam) quake, wade, same.

A' generally (1) *(ii, i, i); (2) occ. (ee, è, ee, è'), but I do not use (ee è) forms, being uncertain about this; (3) rarely (aa, à). Thus, (1) (nii, miin) no, moan; (2) (see, leekjlt) so, low; (3) (whaa, raaren) who, roaring.

—E' generally (ee) as (leev, sweet) leave, sweat, but occ. shortened to (a), as (stadhi) steady.

E' generally (ii, i, i) also, as (fit) feet.

EA before L, when L is lost, is usually (aa), as (aa, aald) all, old.

EA' is usually (ii, i, i), as (did, lid) dead, lead (the metal), occ. (ee), as (teerz) tears.

EO' is usually (ii, i, i), as (tii) thigh, (trii) three, but occ. (æ, æ) as (shææ, jæj) she, yule, so that the combinations A-, A', Æ', E', EA', EO' are all usually (ii, i, i).

I: is possibly (i₁), but I have generally contented myself with writing (i). Mr. D. seems to use *i* in the north L. manner, see p. 767, for example *hid, in Sd. (hit) once only, but in *night* and such words I: becomes (â₁), as (nâ₁kjht) night.

O: generally (o), but occasionally varies as tap, drip, óus'n) top, drop, oxen.

O' regularly (æ, æ), which may be (yy₁, y₁); but *look* is exceptionally (læk), and the sound is delabialised in (bridher, fit) broken, foot.

U: is regularly (æ), and U' is (uu).

Among the consonants the principal usages have been explained, *suprà*, p. 790.

Illustrations. The story of *Paety Toral's Travellye*, from Mr. Dennison's book, my palaeotypic rendering of which was corrected in a vv. interview. This little story is comparable in many respects with *Tam o' Shanter* already given, but is superior as an illustration, because it is throughout written in dialect without any admixture of English, as in Burns's poem, and furnishes an insight into peasant life and superstitions, without any tincture of real supernaturalism. After my first interview with Mr. Dennison he translated John Gilpin into the Orkney of 50 years ago, and at my second interview we went over the whole of it carefully together and hence I add it here.

PAETY TORAL'S TRAVELLYE=PETER TORAL'S TUMBLE.

Written by Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, and published in his *Orkadian Sketch-Book* (Kirkwall, Pomona, Orkney, 1880). It is here printed in pal. as corrected from Mr. Dennison's dictation. There are so many dialectal words that the original spelling is not given, but a literal *translation* is added in the right hand column, and special difficulties are explained in notes at the end referring to the number of the lines. In the title *Paety* (:peeti) is short for Peter. *Toral* (:toorâl) is a common name. *Travellye* (trævæli) is a noisy tumble, accompanied with much force; the *tra*, which may be *through* indistinctly pron. (with *t* for *th* as usual, see v. 10), seems to be employed as an intensitive prefix, for *vellie* occurs separately, v. 187, and is translated 'force' in Mr. D.'s glossary, and may be related to Jamieson's "*Vile, veyl*, a violent current or whirlpool." In *traboond*, v. 85, we have the same *tra* prefixed to *boond*, see note there.

Generally, Mr. D.'s (a'i, a'u) sounded like (â₁i, â₁u), and have been so written. His short *o*, I appreciated as (o) rather than (æ), but I cannot be certain. It seemed to me that he used (ee) rather than (æ), and (e) rather than (E), but I was unable to ascertain exactly, and my ear is very likely to have been deceived. The (æ) is also doubtful, and may be (yy₁). The participle usually ends in (-en), written *-an*, and the verbal noun in (-in) written *in*, compare vv. 9, 11 (mogsæn, wirkin), but this distinction is not observed consistently. The short *i* sounded to me (i₁), between (i, e), but I have left it (i); it was not *i*. It was very often variable, like the n.L. *i*, see above, p. 767. The separation of the vowels into long and short is rather uncertain. In my second interview with Mr. Dennison it seemed to me that the vowels were generally of medial length, as in SL=D 33, and I have therefore so marked many of them. Much longer time and the hearing of genuine native *peasants*, instead of a highly educated native gentleman, would have been necessary for me to arrive at certainty. On the whole I fear that my transcriptions can only be considered approximations in the points just mentioned.

PALAEOTYPE.

TRANSLATION.

híd fel on v dee, ii tá'ín laq sá'ín, when bodhí en beest wí hāqer dād pá'ín	1	It fell on a day, one time long since, When man and beast with hunger did pine
i de Jiir v de laq snaa, (māni in deer biir leed dat jelles Jiir, :gād gee dem sliip, en fee wes kiip sik seer gaan Jiirz ewaa !)	2 4 6 8	In the year of the long snow, Many in their bier Laid that Christmasless year, God give them sleep And from us keep Such sore going years away !)
ut :pecti :tooral mogsēn beem vtrá'u de snaa, wí hāqgrí weem, fe warkín on-ka wark, wez gé'ili glāft, en seerli stānd. de snaa lee diip epōr de grānd, de líft wez āqkē dark,	10 12 14	That Peter Toral wading home All-through the snow, with hungry belly, From working job work, Was much frightened, and sorely astounded. The snow lay deep upon the ground, The sky was extremely dark,
v muur hed faan aa de hiil dee, an i de fiis o v stéi bree stād :pectiz huus in de lii, en híd wez feerli muurd vūander, see det te find híd—en nē wānder fu seerli paalt wez hii.	16 18 20	A snow-cover had fallen all the whole day, And in the face of a steep hill Stood Peter's house in the lee (shelter), And it was fairly snowed under, So that to find it—and no wonder— Full sorely posed was he.
hi mogzd vbut emaq de snaa wí loomes kaald híz hid wud klaa, dan wí dāmfānderd glá'uēr hí gānd erund hím i v stānís, tíl hii wez feerli i v fāmís, en neerlínz kiived á'uēr.	24 26	He waded about among the snow With hands cold his head would claw, Then with dumbfounded glower, He stared around him in a fix Till he was fairly in a fuss And nearly caved (toppled) over.
“:gād i me foorwéi bii !” ko hii, “:gād tak v siilfu grip o mii ! “:gād píti mii en má'ín. “de diil dād neer v siner duus “se sīkerli det hii híz huus “en aa itee)d sēd tá'ín !	28 30 32	“God in my foreway be !” quoth he, “God take a blessed grip of me ! “God pity me and mine. “The devil did ne'er a sinner gore “So severely that he his house “And all into-it should lose.
“hói ! :djiní lass, oo ! dās du hiir ? “oo ! ar du diid ? á'i niid nē spiir, “dhe tókht o't maks mi shak ! “en aa de beernz ! pær bits v tíqz ! “lá'ík de tēq o v bēl mi hert nuu diqz, “en sārli híd maan brak.”	34 36 38	“Hoy ! Jenny lass, oh ! dost thou hear ? “Oh ! art thou dead ! I need not ask, “The thought of it makes me shake ! “And all the bairns ! poor bits of things ! “Like the tongue of a bell my heart now dings, “And surely it must break.”

hiz een wá'if :djini, whin shə saa
 vrund de huus de muuren snaa 40
 ái há'ikjh en há'ikjher kām,
 shə tókht det hii v waf wad sii, 42
 en wipen her buuto tee de see-trii,
 shə reekt híd ap de lám, 44

en duun shə sat i de mǎrk huus,
 her beerz vrund, no vero kruus, 46
 her brat epo her iin.

“whiist, beer'nz, whiist! t)wad bi
 v shiim 48
 “tə eet de lempits or hii kāmz hiim,
 “de :best kenz whar hii)z giin.”

nuu :peeti sǎrli tókht hi saa sǎnin,
 hi tǎk híd fǎrst for de lǎqz o v
 kǎnin, 52

bít wafen i de wǎnd.
 en dan hi tókht it wuz :djini'z
 buuto, 54
 on glá'vǎrd en stǎd, híd i mǎk'l
 duut o,
 a piiri miin'it stǎnd, 56

en dan hi krá'iz on hiz :meckerz
 niim,

de griit i hiz kreeg, whá'íl sǎt
 teerz fiim 58
 se seer fe beeth hiz iin.

“oo, :djino, bǎdo! hiiv'nz lǎk on
 aa! 60

“en ar du feerli smuurd in de snaa?
 “en diid di hiiven liin? 62

“gín du bi liven, ruuz di, ruuz!
 “what temped di tə leev de huus, 64

“whái kam du hiir tə dii?
 “á'i)m feerd tə tatj di, gín dhu)r
 diid. 66

“las, gín dhu)r liven, tǎrn dhi' hiid,
 “oo :djino, speek tə mi! 68

“:gǎd bi wi mi, ez á'i tíqk lǎq.”
 wi dat hi gee v makil spaq, 70
 “dhu)r sǎrli diid or dǎm.”

dan wi v spret, glamd at de trii, 72
 whin duun híd giid, en duun giid hii,
 trave'li trá'u de lám. 74

His own wife Jenny, when she saw
 Around the house the covering snow
 Ever high and higher come,
 She thought that he a waving-signal
 would see,
 And wrapping her head-shawl to the
 pail pole,
 She thrust it up the chimney,

And down she sat in the dark house,
 Her bairns around not very cheerful,
 Her apron upon her eyes.

“Whisht, bairns, whisht! t-would
 be a shame
 “To eat the limpets ere he comes
 home,
 “The Best knows where he's gone.”

Now Peter surely thought he saw
 something,
 He took it first for the ears of a coney,
 Slightly fluttering in the wind.
 And then he thought it was Jenny's
 head-shawl,
 And glowered and stood, it in much
 doubt of,
 A little minute astounded,

And then he cries on his Maker's
 name,

The sob in his throat, while the salt
 tears stream
 So sore from both his eyes.

“Oh, Jemmo, birdie! heavens look
 on all!

“And art thou fairly smothered in
 the snow?

“And diedst thou wholly alone?

“If thou be living, rouse thee, rouse!

“What tempted thee to leave the
 house?

“Why came thou here to die?

“I'm afraid to touch thee, in case
 thou'rt dead.

“Lass, if thou'rt living, turn thy head,
 “O Jemmo, speak to me!

“God be with me, as I think long.”
 With that he gave a great jump.

“Thou'rt surely dead or dumb.”
 Then with a spring, clutched at the
 pole,

When down it went, and down
 went he,

Tumble through the chimney.

- duun :peeti kam wi s'ik v rali,
 hiz faa'n miid v mak'l spali, 76
 hi kam la'ik v gan shot!
 wi snaa en sot miist la'ik te war'i, 78
 en st'ik'id hiz hid, aa i hiz hari,
 duun i de lempit pot, 80
- dhat wi v eer v lempit bræ
 for k'it'jin wi ræthi brid te dæ 82
 wez hi'qen i de kræk,
 hiz mak'l hid geed s'ik v t'jund 84
 intee de pot wi v trebund,
 de krækul band hi bræk, 86
- see in de fá'ir de pot fel dun,
 b'it kam noo af o :peetiz krun; 88
 hi pat'ld i de fá'ir,
 en fark'id i de amerz see 90
 dat aa hiz fok bigan te pree,
 en tæk him for de gá'ir. 92
- ez on hiz r'igin hii fel á'uer,
 hi ilku n'ist v fá'ir dæd sá'uer, 94
 en lee flat az v flæk.
 hiz kleez wer wiit en wad noo lá'u,
 b'it dhe het amerz med h'm rá'u 98
 t'íl hi wan i de noök.
- de lempit bræ bigan te r'in
 etwiin hiz harn sark en hiz sk'in,
 hiz hid æp in v sk'u,
 atoo' hid wez noo skalden het, 102
 awiil á'i wat, hid miid h'm swet,
 for hid wez breev en líu. 104
- i de bad piis hi tókht h'insel,
 hiz s'iqun kleez miid s'ik v smel,
 de het as glaft h'm meest,
 hi tókht dhi trii had bin de trá'u.
 en fee hiz já'al'in wad no stá'u,
 b'it boog'ld la'ik v beest. 110
- wh'n :peeti fel wi aa d'is rali,
 hiz beer'nz miid v fiirfu brali 112
 en griped iin enidher,
 en ran, de kent no whar te r'in, 114
 wi l'open hert, en kwaken sk'in,
 en skriken, "mam!" en
 "m'idher!" 116

Down Peter came with such a rush,
 His falling made a great spoliation,
 He came like a gun-shot!
 With snow and soot most like to
 choke,
 And stuck his head, all in his hurry,
 Down in the limpet pot,

That, with a taste of limpet broth,
 For flavouring with mustard bread
 to do,
 Was hanging in the crook,
 His big head gave such a jolt
 Into the pot with a rebound,
 The hook-chain he broke,

So in the fire the pot fell down,
 But came not off of Peter's crown;
 He paddled in the fire,
 And jerked in the embers so
 That all his folk began to pray,
 And took him for the devil.

And on his back he fell over,
 He every spark of fire did scatter,
 And lay flat as a flounder.
 His clothes were wet and would not
 flame,
 But the hot embers made him roll
 Till he got in the nook.

The limpet broth began to run
 Between his harden shirt and his skin,
 His head up in a skew,
 Although it was not scalding hot,
 Well I wot, it made him sweat,
 For it was brave and lukewarm.

In the bad place he thought himself,
 His singeing clothes made such a
 smell,
 The hot ash frightened him most.
 He thought the pole had been the
 devil.
 And from his yowling would not cease,
 But bellowed like a beast [ox].

When Peter fell with all this rush,
 His bairns made a tearful uproar
 And gripped one another,
 And ran, they knew not where to run,
 With leaping heart and quaking skin,
 And shrieking, "Mammy!" and
 "Mother!"

- dee *i* v *sinlo* lep *lálík* fælz,
 kaad á'uer *de* kriqlöz *en* *dhe*
 stælz, 118
 en *gard* aald *gibi* spænder.
 de *krá'id*: "de *gá'ir*)z *kam* *trón*
 de *ræf*," 120
en *dunn* *de* *fel* *feerli* *i* *græf*,
 der *híd*z *de* *bed* *stree* *ænder*. 122
- nuu* :*djini* *gloomerd* *for* *de* *lamp*,
 too *shæ* *kud* *barli* *gaq* *v* *stamp* 124
 for *as* *upo'n* *de* *flær*.
en *dan* *te* *lálík*jht *de* *lamp* *shæ*
 ròkht, 126
shæ *wæz* *noo* *verø* *feerd* *shæ* *tòkht*,
 en *jet* *shæ* *wæz* *noo* *sær*, 128
- te* *tíqk* *on* *what* *kam* *trá'u* *de* *lám*.
mebi *her* *hert* *mísgeed* *her* *sám*, 130
 ez *on* *de* *kol* *shæ* *blæ*,
en *too* *twæz* :*peetiz* *taq* *shæ* *tòkht* 132
dat *miid* *sík* *miin* *lálík* *een* *uut*-
 mòkht
 shæ *wæz* *v* *liter* *græ*. 134
- shæ* *wæz* *se* *skaard*, *shæ* *dæd* *no* *hiist*
 her,
en *whín* *de* *kol* *bigurd* *te* *bliister*, 136
 shæ *wæz* *wiil* *bærsen* *wi* *blaa'n*,
shæ *lálík*hted *de* *lamp* *at* *de* *laq* *en*
 de *lent*, 138
bít *or* *shæ* *tærnd* *te* *tak* *v* *tent*,
 her *bak* *lag* *níided* *klaa'n*. 140
- shæ* *sæd* *en* *iir'sín* *fu* *luud*,
en *dan* *shæ* *tærnd* *her* *rund* *ebut* 142
 whaar *hii* *ín* *aavel* *lee*.
dhe *sálík*jht *her* *verø* *sá'ul* *dæd* *díq*,
for *whidher* *híd* *wæz* *en* *ertli* *tíq*
 nee *bít* *v* *her* *kud* *see*. 146
- shæ* *kent* *de* *rívlínz* *hii* *hed* *on*,
too *swiien* *lálík* *v* *gliiden* *skon*, 148
 shæ *tòkht* *híd* *wæz* *híz* *leg*,
bít *hor'nz* *on* *híz* *híd* *shæ* *saa*, 150
en *fint* *v* *bít* *o* *fíis* *evaa'*,
 det *gee* *her* *sík* *v* *fleg*. 152
- They in a huddle lapped like fools,
 Drove over the straw seats and the
 stools,
 And made old gibeat gallop.
 They cried: "the gyre's come through
 the roof,"
 And down fell fairly face downwards,
 Their heads the bedstraw under.
- Now Jenny groped for the lamp,
 Though she could barely go a step
 For ash upon the floor.
 And then to light the lamp she
 wrought,
 She was not very afraid she thought,
 And yet she was not sure,
- To think on what came through the
 chimney.
 Maybe her heart misgave her some-
 what
 As on the coal she blew,
 And though 'twas Patey's tongue she
 thought
 That made such moan like one ex-
 hausted,
 She was a little afraid.
- She was so scared, she did not hasten
 herself,
 And when the coal began to blaze
 She was nearly bursten with
 blowing,
 She lighted the lamp at the long and
 the length,
 But ere she turned to take a look,
 Her back ear needed clawing.
- She said an orison full loud,
 And then she turned herself round
 about
 Where he in helplessness lay.
 The sight her very soul did smite,
 For whether it was an earthly thing,
 No bit of her could say.
- She knew the hide-shoes he had on,
 Though scorching like a smouldering
 cake,
 She thought it was his leg,
 But hornz on his head she saw,
 And devil a bit of face at all,
 That gave her such a fright.

- beeth sæt e snaa lee on his djuupen,
de riik fiimd uut fee aa hiz kruupen,
de buulz haq á¹ur hiz briist,
duun fee de pot, te hiz wandjói, 156
djæst lá¹ik de djaa-strigz o v tói
haq laq intee dlu riist. 158
- hii pat¹ld wi hiz loomez laq,
en i de pot hiz ræfu saq 160
suunded see drol en há¹u.
de teez o de pot stæd ap á¹ur aa, 162
troth :djini tókht shə sərlɪ saa
de mak¹l horned trá¹u ! 164
- jit :djini tək hert whar shə dæd
staud,
shə kloozd her iin, her jak¹lz grand,
en lokt her handz on her briist,
“gin ji bi gæd, i :gædz niim kæn
on, 168
“en gin ji bi bad, i :gædz niim
bigon !”
kod :djini wi e kriist. 170
- “whaa)z jin et spak ?” ko :peeti
dan,
“æz á¹i)m e pæer en sinfu man. 172
“hid)z :djini, á¹i kæn sweer !
“oo, tel mi, :djino, bado, tel 174
“if di een :peeti)z faan i hel !
“en aar du wi him deer ?” 176
- :djini bigu¹d te draa v fee,
en dan shə tæk te laakhin see, 178
shi whiild her on a stæd.
“ji watles bodhi, wil ji ruuz ? 180
“du)r i de næk o di een huus,
“ji mak¹l gaapis fæd ! 182
- “taqks for)¹d, du)r hiim en hiir,
bii)z wæd,
“aato¹ du hiz no v hiil dæd, 184
“epo¹ di legz en kruupen.
“what ander de san on ert kud
tel di 186
“te kam tróu de lam wi sik v
vel)¹ ?”
sed :djini á¹uer him stuupen, 188
- Both soot and snow lay on his loose
coat,
The smoke foamed out from all his
body,
The hooks hung over his breast
Down from the pot, to his misery,
Just like the jawstrings of a cap
Hung long into the smoking place.
- He paddled with his hands long,
And in the pot his rueful song
Sounded so droll and hollow.
The toes of the pot stood up over all,
Truth Jenny thought she surely saw
The big horned devil !
- Yet Jenny took heart where she did
stand,
She closed her eyes, her teeth ground,
And locked her hands on her
breast.
“If ye be good, in God’s name
come on,
“And if ye be bad, in God’s name
begone,”
Quoth Jenny with a squeeze.
- “Who’s yon that spake ?” quoth
Peter then,
“As I’m a poor and sinful man,
“It’s Jenny, I can swear !
“Oh tell me, Jenno, birdie, tell
“If thy own Peter’s fallen in hell !
“And art thou with him there ?”
- Jenny began to draw a [conclusion]
from,
And then she took to laughing so
She seated herself on a stool.
“You witless body, will you rouse ?
“Thou’rt in the nook of thy own
house,
“You big uproarious fool !
- “Thanks for it, thou’rt home and
here, be [it] as would.
“Although thou hast not a whole
dud,
“Upon thy legs and body.
“What under the sun on earth could
tell thee
“To come through the chimney with
such a force ?”
Said Jenny o’er him stooping.

- “wīl du lál'i deer, tīl du bi
brānt ? “Wilt thou lie there, till thou be
burned ?
“du)r riiken lál'ik v wiit kiil “Thou’rt smoking like a wet cabbage
rant. stalk
190 “What makes thee lie so dull ?
“what maks di lál'i se daf? “But hast thou hurt thee, Peter.
boy ?
“bīt ar du hart di, :peeti, gili? 192
“az for mesel, ál'i mee bi sili,
“ál'i)m got'n sik v gláf.” 194
“As for myself, I may be silly,
“I’ve got such a fright.”
- :dʒini wi aa her hert, gəd did,
wad pūd də pot fe af hiz hid,— 196
shə lál'iked :peeti wel;—
She liked Peter well:—
bīt dan hiz fiis shə hed no
siin, 198
But then his face she had not seen,
for aa shə kent, hid mál'ikjht he
biin
A trick of the devil.
a plæk'i o de diil. 200
- shə weeted :peeti'z fiis tē sii,
az see anlál'ik hīmsel wēz hii, 202
se blak en bluū en tani,
me bii de :trə'u wēz in də pot, 204
en if hiz kləks on her hi got,
hid wad no bii so kani. 206
She waited Peter's face to see,
As so unlike himself was he
So black and blue and tawny,
May be the devil was in the pot,
And if his clutches on her he got,
It would not be so comfortable.
- pær :peeti harled tee him nuu,
too hii wēz narlīnz lál'ik tē spə, 208
wi sət epō hiz stamo,
hi fand hiz biinz aa merterd seer;
v wīlnes in hiz hid and meer,
a thraa i hiz rál'ikjht gamo. 212
Poor Peter dragged to him now,
Though he was nearly like to spew,
With soot upon his stomach.
He found his bones all martyred sore,
A dizziness in his head and more,
A sprain in his right foot.
- twa)r)trii taq-kál'uz vfoor' er him
lee, Two or three seaweed branches before
him lay,
i dem hi daq hiz rivilin tee, 214
en miid v nə kirmash.
In them he thrust the toe of his cow-
hide shoes,
tə pal hi gloomurd for v stə, 216
en skəandren, lál'ik iin fū i seel,
And staggering, like one drunk at
Christmas,
duun giid hii wi v klash. 218
Down went he with a clash.
- hiz hid tək ep on de bak stiin ;
de bodhem o de pot etziin 220
de bakstiin en hiz skəl,
seevd :peeti'z hid, lál'ik v bōtfender.
hi daq hidz bodhem kliin i splēnder.
en leed hād aa i krāl. 224
His head took up on the back stone ;
The bottom of the pot between
The back stone and his skull,
Saved Peter's head, like a boat
det-ender.
He struck its bottom clean in splinter,
And laid it all in pieces.

dan :dʒɪni saa hiz fiis wi glii,
 ko shəə: "oo :peeti, nuu hɪd)z dii,
 "oo :gəd bi taqkt du)r hiir!
 "en aa wɛr glɛf sal biɪ forgot. 228
 "diil kon di taqks for brakɪn dɛ
 pot!
 "de lɛ'ik o)d)z ɛ'ʊɛr diir!" 230

"oo :dʒɪno, las," koo hii tɛ her,
 "ɛ'i mak'l tɔkht hɪd v bin wɛr, 232
 "whɪn ɛ'i wɛr glɛft see seer!
 "ɛ'i tiqk mi harmz wɛr sɛərli deezd,
 "nuu dʒɔi bi taqkt! en :gəd bi
 preezd,
 "ɛ'i)m hiim wi dii iins meer!"

du)l tiqk mi tiil)z tiin laq tɛ tɛl,
 ɛ'i)m rɛvɛn ɛ'ʊɛr wi sliip misɛl, 238
 en meer ɛ'i sino tɛl di.
 ɛ'i dut no wiɔut mak'l strɛ'ɪf, 240
 i boosɛnz :peeti kɪst hiz wɛ'ɪf.
 see ended hiz travel'i. 242

Then Jenny saw his face with glee,
 Quoth she, "Oh! Peter, now it's
 thee,
 "Oh God be thanked thou'rt here.
 "And all our fright shall be forgot.
 "Devil give thee thanks for breaking
 the pot!
 "The like o' 't's over dear!"

"Oh, Jenno, lass," quoth he to her,
 "I much thought it had been worse,
 "When I was frightened so sore!
 "I think my brains were surely
 dazed,
 "Now joy be thanked! and God be
 praised,
 "I'm home with thee once more!"

Thou'lt think my tale's taken long
 to tell,
 I'm rolling over with sleep myself,
 And more I shall not tell thee.
 I doubt not without much strife,
 In bosoms Peter kissed his wife.
 Thus ended his Tumble.

Notes to Paety Toral's Travellje.

The numbers refer to the lines. Gl. Mr. Demmison's Glossary, Edm. Edmondson's, Jam. Jamieson's Dictionary.

1. *It*, retaining the old aspirate; as to (*i*) throughout it may be rather (*i*₁), and was sometimes difficult to distinguish from (*e*) or (*ə*) like the NL. (*i*₁₁). *One*, this is sometimes (*ii*) and sometimes (*ee*), but (*ii*) was the older form.

2. *Body*, used for the human body, or man.

3. *the*, Mr. D. used *the* much oftener than *de*, but it seems that *the* is a modern Scotticism, and *de* (*dɛ*) is the correct old form, and hence it is used throughout. Similarly (*du*, *deer*) thou, there, etc.

6. *God* is confounded with *good*, compare 'the Best,' v. 50.

9. *wading*, Gl. "implies, I rather think, the idea of wading through a soft substance as mud or snow."—*home*, often pron. (*hiim*), but as *wame* (*weem*) is never (*wiim*), the not uncommon pron. (*heem*) is selected.

11. *working*, *work*, written *wirkin*, *wark*, the vb. and sb. are frequently so distinguished; there seems to be a tendency to the Ab. "thick *i*."

Throughout, the verbal noun ends in (*-in*) and the participle in (*-en*), which Mr. D. illustrates by this example: "This is a muckle biggin, wur Tammy's biggan at hid noo; he was fishan lapsters i' the first of the summer, but the fishing paid pearly the year." This agrees with SL. = D 33, p. 712, No. 6.—*job*, that which he is 'called on' to do, in distinction from *bowman wark*, the bowman = ploughman, being a constant, the *on-ka'*, one called in, an occasional servant.

14. *sky*, in German *luft*, is the air generally, but it seems to be properly the sky or heavens which are 'lifted up.'—*extremely*, properly 'un-couth,' unknownly.

15. *snow cover*, a *moor* is a heavy and a dense cover of snow.

18. *snowed under*, or as we say *over*, the house being below.

19. *wonder*, written *winder*, another example of the NL. thick *i*, which here, as shewn by the rhyme, sounds (*a*).

20. *posed*, Gl. "in difficulty, without the possibility of extrication."

22. *hands*, Edm. “*loamicks*, the hands, a cant word,” Sd. The final *o* of the text is a termination which seems to vary as (*i*, *o*, *v*), compare Jenno 60, 68, 174, 231, generally Jenny; *buddo* = *birdie*, 60, 174; *gamo* = *foot* 212, *stammo* = *stomach* 209, *vero* = *very* 46, 127, 144, *sinlo* = *confused heap* 117, *cringlos* 118; *booto* 54 rhymes with *dubt o*, which ought to imply an *o* pron., I follow Mr. D.’s spelling.—*head*, spelled *hevd* 67, 79, 84, 150, 196, which implies (*hüd*) long, but *heid* 101, 122, 211, 219, 222, which implies (*hid*) short or (*hid*) medial.

24. *stared*, Gl. “*gan*, to stare with upturned face, eyes and mouth wide open.” Edm. “*gaan*, to stare, gaze vacantly,” Sd.—*fix*, Gl. “*stimonis*, that state of doubt and uncertainty which brings a person into what we call a fix.” Edm. “*stumst*, taken aback, stupefied with astonishment,” Sd.

25. *fuss*, Gl. “*finis*, a state of great excitement and irritation.” Edm. “*finnish*, a hurry, a perplexity,” Sd.

26. *toppled*, fell into a faint, evidently the slang “*eaved*,” or bent over.

27. *foreway*, the way before me, it is the prayer “*prevent us*,” that is, go before us.

28. *blessed*, Jam. “*seilfu’ seilfu’*, pleasant, but “*seile, seyle, sela*, happiness,” German *seligkeit*.

30. *gore*, so in glossary, it is to butt at with his head and horns, and hence *gore* like a bull. Jam. “*douss*, a blow or stroke,” comparing “*doyce*, a dull heavy stroke, Angus; the flat sound caused by the fall of a heavy body, Angus.”

31. *severely*, Gl. “*sicker*, severe, harsh; not *secure* as in Scotch.” Jam. “*sickerly*, firmly; smartly regarding a stroke.”

39. *when*, I think this is pron. (*whän*), but I keep (*whän*) as in original, which implied most probably the “*thick i*,” p. 767.

40. *covering snow*, see the note on *verse* 15.

42. *signal*, something that waves as a flag.

43. *head-shawl*, Gl. “*booto, boota, bootie*, a square woollen cloth worn by females, sometimes over the shoulders, but more frequently over the head,” called (*buut-o, -i, -ek*) in different islands. Edm. writes “*buitie buito*.”—*pail pole*, *sae* is a pail or bucket,

Fr. *seau*, and *tree* the pole by which it was carried, a large pail by two persons, but two small ones, one at each end of the pole, by one person passing the pole over one shoulder like the water carriers of Venice.

44. *thrust*, Gl. “*rakid*, to thrust in.”—*chimney*, *lum* is the regular L. word.

49. *home*, see v. 9.

53. *wind*, although (*wind*) was given me, the rhyme, v. 56, requires (*wand*), and that is the common L. form.

56. *little*, (*piirvi*) is a common IL. form, and is even found in NL., p. 788, No. 682.

58. *the sob in his throat*, that is, I presume, the hysterical sob, and though I find no authority for the sb. (*griit*), the vb. meaning ‘to weep’ is quite common.—*throat*, Jam. “*erag, erage, erag*, the neck, the throat.”—*stream*, Gl. “*feeman*, pouring, streaming; applied to the flowing of blood,” the pron. (*fiim*) shews that the word is *foam*, Ws. *fäm*.

60. *birdie*, a common term of endearment.

62. *wholly alone*, so Gl.; Edm. “*lief-on* quite alone,” in that case (*liiv-en liin*) seems to have a repetition in (*-en*) and (*liin*) one and alone. The phrase is obscure.

69. *as I think long*, Mr. D. translated to me “*help, for my need is great*,” possibly “*God help me, as for ever*.” Mr. D. also put it as “*in proportion to the terrible fear which I have*.” But after all, I don’t understand how the phrase comes to mean anything of the kind.

72. *spring*, Or. *spret*, possibly related to *spurt*, sudden effort.—*clutch*, Jam. “*glamp*, to grasp ineffectually, to endeavour to lay hold of a thing beyond one’s reach.”

74. *tumble*, “*travellye*, a catastrophe; a fall, accompanied with great force and noise,” see title.

75. *rush*, Gl. “*rullye*, a great rush.”

76. *spoliation*, so Gl., “*spoil, illegal meddling with moveable goods*,” Jam.

78. *choke*, Gl. “*wirry*, to choke.” Jam. “*worry*, to strangle, to choak, be suffocated,” also spelled *wirry, wery*.

81. *little*, Jam. “*air*, hair, used for a thing of no value.” Edm. “*air*, a peerie air, a mere tasting; *air*, a very small quantity; *air*, to taste,” both Or. and Sd.

82. *tastiness*, Jam. “*kitchen*, anything eaten with bread.”—*reathy bread*, Gl. “bread made from the seeds of the wild mustard; it was often the only bread in the houses of the poor; but was mixed, when possible, with corn meal.”—*to do*, to add to mustard bread to give it a flavour.

84. *jolt*, Gl. “*jund* (*u* as in *June*), a heavy blow; a strong push; a heavy fall; also a large piece of any substance. Mr. Dennison pronounced (tj) not (dj).

85. *rebound*, Gl. “*traboond*, rebound; but the word, as in the text, is also applied to a blow that moves the object struck out of its position.”

86. *hook chain*, Gl. “*ereukal band*—chain from which a cooking pot hangs over the fire.”

89. *paddled*, Gl. “*pattle*—to move the hands backwards and forwards through any yielding substance; the motion of the fins of a fish is the best illustration of the movement.”

90. *jerked*, Gl. “*ferky*—to hitch; to move the body in a jerking manner.”

91. *devil*, Gl. “*gyre*—a powerful and malignant spirit” which may or may not be different from “*trou*—the Trow, Satan,” mentioned v. 164; Jam. “*gyre carling*, Hecate or the mother witch of the peasants, a hobgoblin, a scarecrow.”

93. *back*, Danish *rygg*, old Norse *hrygg*, German *rücken*; compare *ridge*, otten (*rig*) in the n.

94. *spark*, Gl. “*nist*—a spark of fire; a live coal; a very small fire.”—*scatter*, so in Gl.

95. *flounder*, the old Ws. *floe* becomes naturally *fleuk*.

96. *low* is a flame.

98. *till he got* or arrived, ordinary northern sense of to *win*, in the *nook* or chimney corner.

100. *harden*, Gl. “*harn*, rough cloth made of the coarsest flax,” see pp. 736, 741, v. 171.

101. *in a skew*, Gl. “a twist; being turned from the proper position to one side.”

104. *brave and lukewarm*, fairly hot, though not boiling.

105. *place*, printed *piece*, meaning *place* or *room*, compare the French “un appartement de cinq pièces.”

106. *singeing*, Jam. “to sing to singe.”

107. *frightened*, Jam. “to *gliff*, *gloff*, *gluff*, to be seized with sudden

fear; to affright,” and as a sb. “sudden fear”; the hot ashes made him fear he was burning in hell.

109. *cease*, Gl. “*stow*—to stay; to stop speaking or eating.” Compare the English phrase “stow that!” have done! cease! Obs. the pron. different from English (*stoo’w*), but agreeing with the high German *stauen*.

111. *rush*, see v. 75.

112. *uproar*, Gl. “*brullye* (*u* as in *skull*), great confusion and turmoil; a fall or fight, causing breakage or disorder in a house.”

116. *mam*, child’s word for mother, contraction of *mummy*; for father they say *ded*.

117. *huddle*, Gl. “*sinlo*, a group of two or more persons entangled together, or huddled together, in very close proximity.”—*lap*, Gl. “*lep*, to lap with the tongue,” meaning here I suppose that they kept putting their tongues out like fools.

118. *drove*, that is, hurried; Gl. “*ca* in driving.” Jam. “to *call*; *ca* to move quickly, to go in or enter in consequence of being driven.” See p. 732, v. 25, and notes to John Gilpin, st. 55 below.—*straw seats*, Gl. “*cringlo*, a low round stool, formed by twisting straw into a very thick rope, which being coiled in a circular form, was sewn together with bent cords—‘bands.’”

119. *old gibeat*, castrated cat, see Shakspeare, Henry IV. Part i. 1. 2. 83.

121. *face downwards*, Gl. “*i’grouf*, in a prostrate position, face downwards.” Jam. “*grufe*, *groufe*, on groute, flat, with the face towards the earth.” Icelandic *grúfa*, same meaning.

126. *wrought*, worked hard, by blowing a live coal, see vv. 131, 136, 138.

133. *exhausted*, of power; Gl. “*oot-moucht*, quite tired out, exhausted; out of breath.” Compare German *Ohnmacht* swoon, *ohnmächtig* powerless.

134. *afraid*, Gl. “*grue*, afraid, suspicious of danger”; Jam. “to *groue*, *groue*, to shudder, to shiver, to be filled with terror, to shrink back, to feel horror; *grousome*, frightful.”

139. *to take a look*, Jam. “*tent*, care, attention; *to tak tent*, to be attentive.”

143. *helplessness*, Gl. “*aval*, (first *a* as last *a* in *papa*, last *a* as Aber-

donians sound [second] *i* in *shilling*), prostrate, in a helpless position." Jam. " *availl*, abasement, humiliation."

144. *ding*, is freely used for all manner of striking or piercing.

147. *hide-shoes*, Gl. " *rivlin*, a sandal or shoe made of raw hide." Jam. " *rowlyngs*, *rowlyngis*, *rillings*, shoes of undressed hides with the hair on them." Ws. *rifling*, sandal.

148. *scorching*, Edm. " *swee* (to), to singe, to scorch, Shetland, Danish *svide*, Gothic *svida*."—*smouldering*, Gl. " *gleed*, to burn slowly and without flame."—*cake*, cow-dung made into cakes for burning.

151. *devil*, fiend.—*at all*, literally of all *av aa*.

152. *fright*, 'fleg' seems to be the common L. *fleg*, *flee*, to frighten.

153. *loose coat*, Gl. " *joopan*, a coarse loose coat, approaching in shape to the modern sack coat." Chaucer says of his knight "of fustian he wored a gipoun"; modern Fr. *jupon*, a petticoat, said to come from the Arabic.

154. *body*, Gl. " *croopan*, the trunk of the body of man or lower animal."

155. *hooks*, Gl. " *bools*, two bent iron rods, hinged together at the upper ends, having the lower ends hooked, so as to fasten into ears of a cooking pot; the pot was suspended on, and lifted to and from, the crook by the bools."

156. *misery*, Gl. " *wanjoy*, sorrow, want of joy;" *wan*, Danish *van*, has the effect of English *un-*, *unjoy*, misery.

157. *jawstrings of a cap*, the strings which fasten on a cap by passing under the jaws; Gl. " *toy*, a woman's cap;" Jam. " *toy*, a headdress of linen or woollen, that hangs down over the shoulders, worn by women of the lower class." The word is used by Burns

"I wad na been surpris'd to spy
You on an auld wife's flainen toy."

Lines to a Louse, on seeing one on a Lady's Bonnet at Church.

158. *smoking place*, Gl. " *reest*, place where the fish, etc., are smoked." Jam. "to *reist*, to dry by the heat of the sun, or in a chimney;" Danish *rist*, a gridiron.

159. *puddled*, see v. 89.—*hands*, see v. 22.

166. *teeth*, Gl. " *yackel*, v. to gnaw :

n. a molar tooth." Elm. " *yackle*, a grinder, a double tooth."

170. *squeeze*, Gl. " *kreest*, v. to press, to squeeze; n. pressure," squeezing her words out like water from a nearly dry sponge.

175. "draw a conclusion from, have an idea of," Gl., so that by leaving out conclusion (*fi*), is made into a substantive!

179. *scated herself*, Gl. " *wheeld*, to sit down, to rest; Danish *hvile*, to rest;" Edm. " *wheleicence*, a churchyard; Orkney, from Icelandic *hvila*, bed, couch, and *króa*, to en-close."

182. *uproarious*, Gl. " *gapus*, one who is light and uproarious in folly;" Jam. " *gapus*, a fool; also *gilly-gapus*, *gilly-gourpy*, and *gilly-gacus*." Icelandic " *gapi*, homo rutilus, immodestus," Haldorsen. Compare *gaby*. All from *gaping*.

183. *be it as would*, Gl. " *bees will*, be as it will, be as it may, anyhow, however; also spelled *bees-wid*." This *wid* I take to be 'would.'

184. *dul*, Jam. "clothing especially of an inferior quality."

187. *force*, see title.

190. *stalk*, Jam. " *runt*, trunk of a tree, hardened stalk as a *hail runt*, the stem of the colewort; the tail of an animal; a contemptuous designation for a female, generally applied to one advanced in life, with *auld* prefixed."

191. *dull*, applied also to a blunt knife.

192. *hast thou hurt thee*, lit. art thou hurt thee, obs. the construction, similar to the Fr. *t'es-tu blessé*.—*boy*, Gl. " *gillie*, a familiar term of address used to both males and females. It is used by the humbler classes among themselves as *sir* is used among the higher classes, but implies no idea of respect, and is used indiscriminately to both sexes; it is not considered proper to use it when addressing a superior."

194. *I've gotten*. Obs. that *I'm gotten* is used.

195. *good deed*, in very deed, in reality. Mr. D. writes *giddeed* in one word.

196. Obs. omission of 'have,' and compare p. 733, v. 73.

200. *trick*, this is all that is said about *plunkie* in Gl. and Edm. But Jam. has "to *plunk*, to play the truant."

205. *clutches*, Gl. " *cleuks*, *clutches*; sometimes applied to the hands." Compare p. 737, v. 217.

211. *dizziness*, Gl. “*will*, to lose one’s way: to wander not knowing where: the state of having lost one’s way, hence *to gae will*, to lose one’s way.—*wilness*, dizziness, from *will*.” Jam. “*will*, *wyll*, *wil*, *wyl*, lost in error, uncertain how to proceed.” Icelandic *vila*, to lament, to doubt.

212. *sprain*, Jam. “*throw*, to wreath, to twist; to wrench, to sprain.” Mr. D. writes *thr-*, and I am uncertain whether (*thraa*) or (*traa*) is said.

213. *seaweed branches*, tang is large seaweed used for fuel, Gl. “*cow*, a branch or sprig of seaweed or heather.”

216. *get a purchase*, Edm. “*puat*, a post or pillar, a fixture against which

the feet are planted so as to afford a purchase in pulling horizontally.”

219. *took up on*, struck against.

222. *boat defender*, possibly wood placed on the sides of a boat to keep it off the rocks, or the pad let down from the pier or rock to prevent damage to the wood of the boat.

223. *splinter*, Jam. “*splendris*, splinters.”

224. *in pieces*, Gl. “*i’ crull*, in a crushed broken state.”

238. *rolling*, Gl. “*reuan*, nodding through sleep.” Jam. “to *row*, to roll.”

239. *shall not*, so Gl.

241. *in bosoms*, closely embraced, bosom to bosom.

JOHN GILPIN,

translated into the oldest form of the Orkney dialect which Mr. W. Traill Dennison had heard spoken, and pal. from his dictation 14th June, 1888, by A.J.E. Mr. Dennison has prefixed the following remarks:

“The writer when a boy began to collect old words used by the Orkney peasantry, and he has for well nigh half a century watched with interest the change which, during this period, the dialect of Orkney has undergone. The very old people with whom he was acquainted in his youth used many words which, though understood, were not used by the younger people. And, now that these younger people have become old, the young generation has dropped many words used by their parents, and a more modern pronunciation is attempted. There can be no doubt that during the last bygone half century the popular speech of these islands has undergone, and is now undergoing, an ever-accelerating change. Every improvement in popular education, every increase in trade, and facility of intercourse with strangers, cheap literature, and the multitude of newspapers, each of these has proved a wave before which much of the old language has sunk into the sea of oblivion, and all the influences of progress and modern civilization taken together, form a mighty current that will soon sweep away every vestige of the old speech. Anxious to preserve from the Anglican deluge the dialect of his native isles, the writer gives the following rendering of Cowper’s Gilpin:

“The writer thinks he can separate the Dialect spoken during the immediately past fifty years into three distinct divisions.

First, that spoken by very old persons at the beginning of the period, which he would call the *Scoto-Norse* form.

Second, that spoken during the middle of our period, which may be called the *Anglo-Scotch*.

Third, the present dialect, a sort of *Anglo-Provincial*.

It is not pretended that there exist any hard and fast lines of demarcation between these divisions. They dove-tail themselves into each other, but yet the difference is noticeable to an observant eye. Examples of the three divisions are given in the table below. [In this table the words of the third period are given entirely in received spelling, which “by no means indicates that they are properly pronounced,” says Mr. Dennison. In the first two columns the orthography in italics is Mr. Dennison’s, and the pal. when added gives his pron. when he specially assigned it. The key prefixed to the owl on p. 812 will generally suffice.]

Words illustrating the transition state of the Orkney dialect during the bygone fifty years, say from 1838.

FIRST PERIOD. <i>Scoto-Norse.</i>	SECOND PERIOD. <i>Anglo-Scotch.</i>	THIRD PERIOD. <i>Anglo-Provincial.</i>
<i>aloor.</i>	<i>alis.</i>	<i>alas.</i>
<i>alitto</i> [used by women and children].	<i>allit.</i>	<i>alus.</i>
<i>ato.</i>	<i>alto.</i>	<i>although.</i>
<i>dan.</i>	<i>than.</i>	<i>then.</i>
<i>dee.</i>	<i>thee.</i>	<i>thy.</i>
<i>brue</i> (bruu).	<i>brüg.</i>	<i>bridge.</i>
<i>doo</i> or <i>dee.</i>	<i>thü.</i>	<i>thou.</i>
<i>första.</i>	<i>förstand.</i>	<i>understand.</i>
<i>furkin.</i>	<i>willan.</i>	<i>willing.</i>
<i>Guth</i> (:goth).	<i>God.</i>	<i>God.</i>
<i>Guthaland</i> (:gudhaland).	<i>Canaan</i> [:kanaa'n].	<i>Canaan.</i>
<i>guthawather</i> (th = dh).	<i>gudwather.</i>	<i>thunder.</i>
<i>Guthayard.</i>	<i>God's ert.</i>	<i>God's earth</i> [churchyard].
<i>guthadä</i> (go-)	<i>gudday.</i>	<i>good day.</i>
<i>how dä</i> (ha'u di).	<i>hicht o' the day.</i>	<i>noon day.</i>
<i>how nort</i> (ha'u).	<i>hicht nort.</i>	<i>high north.</i>
<i>de howlans.</i>	<i>the heclans.</i>	<i>the Highlands.</i>
<i>itae.</i>	<i>intae.</i>	<i>into.</i>
<i>itae.</i>	<i>untae.</i>	<i>unto.</i>
<i>kinno.</i>	<i>kunno.</i>	<i>know not.</i>
<i>leivar.</i>	<i>rether.</i>	<i>rather.</i>
<i>rugface</i> (ragfis).	<i>rouch</i> [in behaviour and temper, not in material].	<i>rough.</i>
<i>gong.</i>	<i>gang.</i>	<i>go.</i>
<i>reed.</i>	<i>bey.</i>	<i>roadstead.</i>
<i>skrime.</i>	<i>skrie.</i>	<i>to discern at a distance.</i>
<i>skrogs.</i>	<i>treeents</i> (ræts).	<i>tree roots.</i>
<i>vellye</i>	<i>veelence.</i>	<i>violence.</i>
<i>travellye</i> } p. 791c.	<i>great veelence.</i>	<i>great violence.</i>
<i>wus.</i>	<i>wäs.</i>	<i>was.</i>
<i>wus.</i>	<i>is.</i>	<i>us.</i>
<i>is.</i>	<i>his.</i>	<i>has.</i>

“In the attempts already made by the writer to illustrate the Orkney dialect [p. 790c], his illustrations are meant to exhibit equally the first and second divisions of the above, his intention being to shew the transition state of the dialect in his own time. Now let it be clearly understood that the present attempt is intended to illustrate solely our first division, *i.e.* what has been called Scoto-Norse.

“In this rendering of Gilpin the endeavour has been to represent every word of the original by its equivalent Orkney word or in Orcadian pronunciation. Where words in the original do not exist in Orcadian, the rule has been to give the word which it is likely an old Orcadian would have used had he told the story. It will be obvious that both rhyme and rhythm have been ruthlessly sacrificed to this rule. In some verses the original construction has been altered, but only where such construction was unknown in Orcadian.”

As rhyme and rhythm have been sacrificed, I have thought it best to print the translation as prose, keeping the division of the stanzas and numbering them for reference in the notes, and to give the original in smaller type in parallel columns. Mr. Dennison appended a number of notes, which I reproduce on p. 810, referring to the stanza. Sometimes I add some observation of my own in [].

I regret that the time at my command for palaeotyping this long example, three hours, was far too short to carefully consider such minutiae as the differences

(*ee ee, e e, o o, ə ə*), the various sounds of *i* (*i, i₁, e, ə ə*), and especially to determine the lengths of the vowels, and differences may probably be observed between this rendering and that of *Pacty Toral*. The method I adopted was this: I first spent a whole day in writing out the version in approximate pal. to the best of my ability, then Mr. D. repeated the words in his pron., and I endeavoured to seize them. There was no time for any revision, and as Mr. D. returned to Or. the next morning, it was impossible for me to have another interview. Of course I was unable to mark every word every time it occurred, and hence I have had to assume analogies, where I am not certain that they are quite correct. Still more unfortunately painful circumstances which arose prevented me from making a fair copy till three months after the interview, so that I had no fresh memories to guide me. Nevertheless my source of information was so good, that making allowances for the difficult points just mentioned, I believe that this translation into palaeotype furnishes a very fair notion of Or. pron., and that greater accuracy has not yet been attained.

1. :djooni :gɪlpin wəz v
sɪtɪz'n, o kredhɪt en rɪnuum,
v trɛn-band kapten léikwuz
wəz hii, o feeməs :lanɛn tuun.

2. :djooni :gɪlpɪnz spuuz sed
tee her diir: "too wədɪt wi
he bɪn, dis twɛ'is ten laqsam
jiirz, jɛt wi nii helidi he sɪn.

3. "de morn is wɛr wədɪn
dee, wiɪl mak v vɪsti dan, vɛ
di :bɛl at :ɛdmɛnstuun, aa i v
tʃeez en peer.

4. mi sɪster en mi sɪsterz
beern, mɪself en beernz trii,
wiɪl fɪl dɛ tʃeez, see duu mæn
rɑ'ɪd on hors bæk efter wi.

5. hi anser mɪd, "á'i dɔ
admɪr v wɪmɛnká'ɪnd bɔt ɪn,
en duu ɛr shə, mi diɪrest diir,
deerfor hi d sal be dɔn.

6. "á'i am v lɔnɪn mɛrtʃunt
baald, ɛz aa dɛ waarld dɔz
kɛn, en mi gɔd frɪnd dɛ kleeth-
presɛr, 'l lend hiz hors tɛ
gjoq."

7. koo mæstrɪs :gɪlpɪn: "dat)s
wiɪl sed, en sá'ɪn dat wá'ɪn ɪz
diir, wiɪl bii prɔvá'ɪded wi
wɛr een, whɪlk ɪs beeth brá'ɪt
en kliir."

8. :djooni :gɪlpɪn kɪst hiz
loovɪn wá'ɪf, á'ɪntʃó'ɪd wɛz hii
tɛ fɪnd dat too on plɛzɛr shə
wɛs set, shə hɛd v frɔggɛl
má'ɪnd.

1. John Gilpin was a citizen
Of credit and renown,
A train band captain eke was he
Of famous London town.

2. John Gilpin's spouse said to her dear,
"Though wedded we have been
These twice ten tedious years, yet we
No holiday have seen.

3. "To-morrow is our wedding-day,
And we will then repair
Unto the 'Bell' at Edmonton,
All in a chaise and pair.

4. "My sister, and my sister's child,
Myself, and children three,
Will fill the chaise; so you must ride
On horseback after we."

5. He soon replied: "I do admire
Of womankind but one,
And you are she, my dearest dear,
Therefore it shall be done.

6. "I am a linendraper bold,
As all the world doth know,
And my good friend the calender
Will lend his horse to go."

7. Quoth Mrs. Gilpin: "That's well said;
And for that wine is dear,
We will be furnished with our own
Which is both bright and clear."

8. John Gilpin kissed his loving wife;
O'erjoyed was he to find,
That though on pleasure she was bent,
She had a frugal mind.

9. de mornin kàm, de tjeez wæz bràkht, bet jet wez noo vluur'd tē harl àp tee de duur, lest aa sud see dhat shəə wæz pruuđ.

10. see trii doorz af de tjeez wæz stéid, whar déi dæəd aa get in; sàks preeshəs saalz, en aa vlá'iv te derl trá'u tī,k en tī,n.

11. krak gid de whíp, ruund gid de whiilz, fook never wer se gləd; de stins dæd rat'l ander-nith, ez gín :tjeepsá'id wer mad.

12. :djooni :gilpín bi hiz horsez sá'id, græpəd fèst de flá'wen meen, en àp hi gid, in hiist te rá'id, bet shəən kam duun egèn.

13. te sèd'ltri hardli got'n hed hii hiz vī'sti te bigín, when tornen ruund hiz híd, hi saa trii kəstəmərz kə in.

14. see duun hi kàm, fer los v tá'im, atoo hī'd vekst him seer, jet los v baabiiz, fu wiil hi kent, wad tráb'l him mak'l meer.

15. hī'd wez laq afoor di kəstəmərz war sətəd tee der m'àind, whən :beti skriiken kàm dùn steerz: "de wá'in is left ehent!"

16. "vluur!" kə hii," jet fetj hī'd mi, mi ledhrən belt léikwəz, i whilk á'i beer mi trásti swerd, when á'i gjeq tee praktiiz."

17. nuu :māstris :gilpín, (keerfu saal!) hed twaa stiin pígs fānd, te haad de driqk, dat shi luud, en kiip hī'd seef en suund.

18. ilke stiin píg hed a kərən ləg, trá'u whilk de belt hi dʒuu, en haq v píg on ilke sá'id, tē mak hiz balens trʒuu.

19. dan á'uer aa, dat hii má'ikjht bi, buuníd fe tǎp te tee, hīs laq riid klòk, wil bresht end nət, hi manfuli dæd throo.

9. The morning came, the chaise was
But yet was not allowed [brought,
To drive up to the door, lest all
Should say that she was proud.

10. So three doors off the chaise was stayed
Where they did all get in;
Six precious souls, and all agog
To dash through thick and thin.

11. Smack went the whip, round went the
Were never folks so glad!
The stones did rattle underneath,
As if Cheapside were mad.

12. John Gilpin at his horse's side
Seized fast the flowing mane,
And up he got, in haste to ride,
But soon came down again.

13. For saddletree scarce reached had he,
His journey to begin,
When, turning round his head, he saw
Three customers come in.

14. So down he came, for loss of time,
Although it grieved him sore:
Yet loss of pence, full well he knew,
Would trouble him much more.

15. 'Twas long before the customers
Were suited to their mind, [stairs,
When Betty screaming came down
"The wine is left behind!"

16. "Good lack!" quoth he, "yet bring
My leathern belt likewise,
In which I bear my trusty sword
When I do exercise."

17. Now Mistress Gilpin (careful soul!)
Had two stone bottles found,
To hold the liquor that she loved,
And keep it safe and sound.

18. Each bottle had a curling ear,
Through which the belt he drew,
And hung a bottle on each side,
To make his balance true.

19. Then over all, that he might be
Equipped from top to toe, [neat,
His long red cloak, well brushed and
He manfully did throw.

20. nuu sii him muunted ins
egen epoo: hiz tit gjaan bist,
fu slooli pikin á'uur de stinz,
wi kaashun en gød hid.
21. bät finden shæn e
smædher gèt, enith hiz wil
shod fit, de snorten bist bigud
te trot, which tit'ld [tjet'ld]
him i hiz seet.
22. see "feer en saftli"
:djooni hi krá'id, bät :djooni
hi krá'id i veen, dat trot bikàm
a spænder shæn i spá'it e vîte
en ren.
23. See luuten duun ez hii
maan dæ, whaa ki_{ne} sët
aprá'ikjht, hi grasped de meen
wi beeth hiz ha'ndz, léikwez
wi aa his má'ikjht.
24. hiz hors wha niver i
dat wéi had hand'ld bin
ufoor, what tíq hi)d got'n upo:
hiz bak, dæd fârlí meer en
meer.
25. ewaa gid :gilpín, hàs
ur nokht, ewaa gid hat en
wig, hi lít'l driimd wh'ín hi
tæk wéi, e ranen sic a rig.
26. de wínd dæd blaa, de
klok dæd fíi léik striimer
laq an géi, til luup en bat'n
feelen beeth et last híd fluu
ewaa!
27. dan má'ikjht aa fòk wil
skrá'im, de stiin pígz hi hæd
haqd, e stiin píg swíqen et
ilke sá'id, ez bez bin sed er
sæq.
28. dæ tá'iks dæd bark, de
beernz skreekjht, ap flzuu de
wíndez aa, en everi saal krá'id
uut: "wil dæn!" iz luud iz
hii kúd kaa.
29. ewaa gid :gilpín, whaa
bat hii? hiz feem shæn sprèd
erúnd: "hi beerz e wekjht!"
"hi rá'idz e rees!" "hí)dz for
a thuuzen pænd!"
20. Now see him mounted once again
Upon his nimble steed,
Full slowly pacing o'er the stones,
With caution and good heed.
21. But finding soon a smoother road,
Beneath his well-shod feet,
The snorting beast began to trot,
Which galled him in his seat.
22. So "fair and softly" John he cried,
But John he cried in vain:
The trot become a gallop soon,
In spite of curb and rein.
23. So stooping down, as needs he must
Who cannot sit upright, [hands,
He grasped the mane with both his
And eke with all his might.
24. His horse who never in that sort
Had handled been before,
What thing upon his back had got,
Did wonder more and more.
25. Away went Gilpin, neck or nought,
Away went hat and wig:
He little dreamt, when he set out,
Of running such a rig.
26. The wind did blow, the cloak did fly
Like streamer long and gay,
Till loop and button tailing both,
At last it flew away.
27. Then might all people well discern
The bottles he had slung;
A bottle swinging at each side,
As has been said or sung.
28. The dogs did bark, the children
[screamed,
Up flew the windows all: [done!"
And every soul cried out: "Well
As loud as he could bawl.
29. Away went Gilpin,—who but he?
His fame soon spread around:
"He carries weight!" "he rides a
race!"
" 'Tis for a thousand pound!"

30. en stíl *i*₁z fest *i*₁z hii kam niir, hi₁d wes farli₁fu te s₁, huu *i* v hent, de grínd-kiiperz, der gríndz wá₁id aap'n thrúu.

31. en nuu *i*₁z hii gíd buuen dùn, hiz riken hi₁d fu leekjh, de stiin pígz beeth vhent hiz bak, wer spelderd at v t₁und.

32. dùn ran de wá₁in *i*tee de gét, meest píti₁fu te bi sin, whilk mid hiz horsez flaqs te rik ez déi hed flamed bin.

33. but stíl hi lak₁d te beer wekjht wi ledhren gerd'l bünd, for aa má₁íkjht s₁i de pí-g-neks stíl dáqlen et hiz má₁l.

34. des aa trá₁u meri :izliq-tùn d's pretíkenz hii dád plee, etíl hi kam etee de :wesh v :edmentùn se géi.

35. en dar hi thrúu de :wesh ebút on beeth sá₁idz v de wéi, t₁st léik etee v patlen map, vr v wá₁id g₁as et plee.

36. et :edmentùn hiz loovin wá₁if fee de bal₁tizen skrá₁im d her tender hazben, farli₁en mak'l te s₁i whuu (fuu) hii kú₁d rá₁id.

37. "stop, stop, :djooni :gilpín! hiir)z de huus!" déi aa et ins dád krá₁i; "de dener wets en wi₁ vr t₁gd." sez :gilpín, "see em á₁i!"

38. but jet hiz hors was noo v bít farken te stéien deer, for whá₁i? hiz á₁uner hed v hús fu ten má₁idz af at :weer.

39. see léik v éro tiit hi flúu, shot bec v bá₁umen straq, se dád hi flíi,—whilk taks ni tee de mid'l o mi saq.

40. ewaa gíd :gilpín, uut v breeth, en seer egín hiz wíl, tíl at hiz frínd dhe kleeth preserz, hiz hors et last stæd stíl.

41. de kleeth preser fú₁míst te s₁i hiz niiber *i* sík trim, led dùn hiz pá₁ip, flúu tee de jét, en dás speek t₁ hím.

30. And still as fast as he drew near,
'Twas wondrous to view,
How in a trice the turnpike-men
Their gates wide open threw.

31. And now, as he went bowing down
His reeking head full low,
The bottles twain behind his back
Were shattered at a blow.

32. Down ran the wine into the road,
Most piteous to be seen, [smoke,
Which made the horse's flanks to
As they had basted been.

33. But still he seemed to carry weight,
With leathern girdle braed:
For all might see the bottle necks
Still dangling at his waist.

34. Thus all through merry Islington
These gambols he did play,
Until he came unto the Wash
Of Edmonton so gay.

35. And there he threw the Wash about
On both sides of the way,
Just like unto a trundling mop,
Or a wild goose at play.

36. At Edmonton his loving wife
From the balcony spied
Her tender husband, wondering much
To see how he did ride.

37. "Stop, stop, John Gilpin! Here's
the house!"
They all at once did cry;
"The dinner waits, and we are tired."
Said Gilpin, "So am I."

38. But yet his horse was not a whit
Inclined to tarry there;
For why!—his owner had a house
Full ten miles off at Ware.

39. So like an arrow swift he flew,
Shot by an archer strong;
So did he fly—which brings me to
The middle of my song.

40. Away went Gilpin, out of breath,
And sore against his will,
Till at his friend the calender's,
His horse at last stood still.

41. The calender amazed to see
His neighbour in such trim,
Laid down his pipe, flew to the gate,
And thus accosted him.

42. "what n̄uuz, what n̄uuz? j̄er ankenz tel! tel mi, ji maan en sal! see whá'i beer-hided duu er k̄am, er whá'i duu k̄amz evaa?"

43. nuu :ḡilp̄in had e pleezent w̄it, en luud e tá'imli f̄an, en d̄as v̄tee de kleeth pres̄er i meri w̄éi hi sp̄ak :

44. "á'i k̄am bik̄az j̄er hors wad k̄am, en gif á'i wel bòd, mi hat en w̄ig wil sh̄æn bi hiir,—d̄éi aar epoo· de ḡet."

45. de kleeth pres̄er rá'ik̄jht gl̄ed te f̄ind h̄iz fr̄ind i meri m̄æd, rit̄arnd h̄im noo e s̄iq̄g'l w̄ard, bet tu dhe huus ḡid in.

46. en uut hi kam w̄i hat en w̄ig, e w̄ig dat fl̄á'ud eh̄int, e hat noo m̄æk'l de wars for weer, beeth koomli i der ká'ind.

47. hi h̄ad̄id dem ap, en i h̄iz t̄arn, d̄as shaad h̄iz red̄i w̄it: "mi h̄id iz twaa tá'imz ez big ez dá'in, d̄éi deerfor niidz m̄ast f̄it.

48. "but let ni skreep de d̄art ewaa, dat h̄iz apoo· d̄i fees, en bá'id en it, fer wil du mee bi i e h̄æq̄ri kees."

49. sed :dj̄oni: "h̄id iz mi wad̄in dee, en aa de warld wad gl̄á'ær, gif wá'if s̄ud dá'in et :edmentun, en á'i s̄ud dá'in et :weer."

50. see tornen tee h̄iz hors hi sed: "á'i am i h̄ist te dá'in; h̄id w̄az fer d̄ii pleezer duu k̄am hiir, duu sal gjog bak for má'in."

51. okh! lakles spiit̄j en fekles b̄ost! fer wh̄it̄j hi peed fu diir; fer whá'il hi sp̄ak e breejen às, d̄əd̄ siq̄ meest luud en kliir.

52. wharat h̄iz hors d̄æd snort, ez h̄ii h̄ad hard e lá'ien ruut, en sp̄anderd af w̄i aa h̄iz má'ik̄jht, ez h̄ii hed d̄ə'n efoor!

42. "What news, what news? your tidings Tell me you must and shall! [tell! Say why bareheaded you are come, Or why you come at all?"

43. Now Gilpin had a pleasant wit,
And loved a timely joke;
And thus unto the calender
In merry guise he spoke:

44. "I came because your horse would
And if I well forbode,
My hat and wig will soon be here,—
They are upon the road."

45. The calender, right glad to find
His friend in merry pin,
Returned him not a single word,
But to the house went in.

46. Whence straight he came with hat and
A wig that flowed behind,
A hat not much the worse for wear,
Each comely in its kind.

47. He held them up, and in his turn
Thus showed his ready wit:
"My head is twice as big as yours,
They therefore needs must fit.

48. "But let me scrape the dirt away,
That hangs upon your face;
And stop and eat, for well you may
Be in a hungry case."

49. Said John: "It is my wedding-day,
And all the world would stare,
If wife should dine at Edmonton,
And I should dine at Ware."

50. So turning to his horse, he said:
"I am in haste to dine;
'Twas for your pleasure you came here,
You shall go back for mine."

51. Ah! luckless speech, and bootless
boast!
For which he paid full dear;
For while he spake, a braying ass
Did sing most loud and clear.

52. Whereat his horse did snort, as he
Had heard a lion roar,
And galloped off with all his might,
As he had done before.

53. ewaa gid :g'ilpìn, en awaa gid :g'ilpìnz hat en wìg! hi tínt dem shæner or efoor, fer whá'í? déi wær á'æer big!
54. nuu :mæstris :g'ilpìn whan shə saa her gə'dman pōsten dūn itee de kjæntri faar ewaa, shə pūd ùt hāf o v krùn,
55. en das etee de haaffìn shə sed, dat kaad dem tee de :bel: "dís sal bi dá'in, whi'n duu taks bak mi gə'dman seef en wiil."
56. de haaffìn rēd, en shən də'd mit :djooni koo'en bak egen, whaa in v hent hi trá'id te stéi, bi glamen at his reen.
57. but noo perfá'i'ten what hi má'íkjh't, en blá'idli wad he d'n, de fleged bíst hi fleged meer, en meed him fester ran.
58. ewaa gid :g'ilpìn, en awaa gid hāflìn at his hiilz, de hāflìnz hors rá'íkjh't blá'id te mís de dilderèn o de whiilz.
59. saks djent'lmen apoo de gèt das sii'en :g'ilpìn flii wì hāflìn skari'en at hiz teel, déi rōz'd de "jhú en krá'í."
60. "stop tif! stop tif! v rober man!" noo in o dem wez dām, en aa en ilke in dat past dat wéi də'd tjoín i de persə't.
61. en nuu de gèt-gründz egen flzau aap'n in v glísk, de gründ men tíqken ez afoor dat :g'ilpìn reed v rees.
62. en see hi də'd en wan híd tæ, for hii kām ferst te tuun, nor stéid tìl whaar hi ferst gid ap, hi də'd egen koo dūn.
63. nuu let wez síq laq lív de :kəq! en :g'ilpìn laq lív hii! en whan hi niist də'z rá'id fee hiim, mee á'í bi deer te sii!
53. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went Gilpin's hat and wig:
He lost them sooner than at first,
For why?—they were too big.
54. Now Mistress Gilpin, when she saw
Her husband posting down
Into the country, far away,
She pulled out half a crown;
55. And thus unto the youth she said,
That drove them to the "Bell,"
"This shall be yours when you bring
back
My husband safe and well."
56. The youth did ride, and soon did meet
John coming back again;
Whom in a trice he tried to stop
By catching at his rein.
57. But not performing what he meant,
And gladly would have done,
The frightened steed he frightened more,
And made him faster run.
58. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went postboy at his heels,
The postboy's horse right glad to miss
The lumbering of the wheels.
59. Six gentlemen upon the road
Then seeing Gilpin fly,
With postboy scampering in the rear,
They raised the hue and cry.
60. "Stop thief! stop thief! a highway
Not one of them was mute;
And all and each that passed that way
Did join in the pursuit.
61. And now the turnpike-gates again
Flew open in short space;
The tollmen thinking, as before,
That Gilpin rode a race.
62. And so he did, and won it too,
For he got first to town;
Nor stopped till where he had got up,
He did again get down.
63. Now let us sing, Long live the King!
And Gilpin long live he!
And when he next doth ride abroad,
May I be there to see!

Notes to John Gilpin, by Mr. Dennison, with remarks in [] by A.JE.

1. *John*. The *o* in this name is pron. long, approximating somewhat to *ou*. [This gives (oo) exactly.] [*train-band*, of course this is not an Or. word, and as there were no train-bands even in London in my time, the expression used to puzzle me as a child. He would have been a volunteer captain in these days, I suppose.]—*eke*, not in Or., and hence *likewise* substituted.

2. *tedious*, the Danish *langsam* is still in common use.

3. [*our*, *wer*, common].—*repair*, not in Or., hence make a visit or short journey, is used.—*then*, given as (dan), a Danishism.—*unto*, reduced to (tètè).

4. *my*, both *me* and *mae* are used for *my*, *me* being the most emphatic [but Mr. D. pron. (mī) in both cases: similarly he wrote *wae* for the last word in the stanza, but said distinctly (wī). Of course the construction *after we*, which Cowper used for its ludicrous effect, is not Or.].

5. *one*, now often pron. (èn), but (in) is oldest. {Observe the vowels are generally medial as in L. usually; I have not always so marked them, however. The *i* is the deep (i₁), and often (ə), as in *bat*}, written *bit*, like the NL. sound, see p. 767, but I have generally been satisfied with writing (i). In *hid*, it, with the old aspirate, it is very marked.]

6. *liven*, *i* here has a sound which I find it impossible to represent: the tongue strikes the top of the mouth further back than when pronouncing *liven* in English. [It is the NL. *i*, see p. 767, but it sounded to me like (ə), and was slightly nasalised, which was probably an accident.]—*druper*, not in Or., and hence *merchant* substituted.—*doth*, not in Or., hence *does* used.—*calendar*, not in Or., and hence translated. [The final *th* in *cloth* was curiously pron. almost tʃ, but *th* was intended, and is hence written.]

7. *furnished*, not in Or. [hence *provided* is substituted.]—*both*, there was the same curious final (th) as heard in 6, cloth presser.

8. *but* [could not be used in this sense in Or.].—*frugal*, the very word that an old Orcadian would have used.

9. [*drive*, to *haul*, is used in the sense of to *whirl* in Scotland.]—*proud*, the (i) was clear.

10. *stayed*. "I cannot represent this *ey* sound in English." [It was the common (éi).]—*agog*, not in Or.

11. [*whip*, Mr. Dennison wrote *whop*, but said (whip), which is unusual in L.].—*were never folks so glad*. The construction of this line is inadmissible in Or.

12. *flouring* [observe the pron., Mr. D. said *ow* as in *hour*].

13. *come*, the form *co'* is frequent.

14. [*peace*, the Scotch *ba'bees* are halfpence.]

16. *good luck*, (alunr) means alas.—*exercise*, this word could not be used, because in Or. it meant a religious service, such as family worship, and was pron. (eksersii-zj).

17. *stone bottles* could not be used, because in Or. *bottle* applies to glass vessels only, and stone bottles or jars are called *pigs*.

19. *equipped*. The word *boonyed*, in complete order, from the word *boon*, is pure Norse, and is also still used here, or, I should rather say, was used.—*throw*, [the (th) was especially dictated].

20. *nimble steed*, neither word exists in Or. I give *tot*, which has the same meaning as *nimble*.—*Beast* [which Mr. D. wrote *baest*, but pron. (bist)] is used for horses as well as cows. [Compare Tam o' Shanter, p. 733, v. 70, they say (káli bist, hors bist).]—*paring* [here again Mr. D. wrote (pāckan), but pron. (piken)].

21. *road*, (gèt gate, but the gate of a field, etc., is (jèt).—*began*, be good is the oldest form.—*galled*, [the word *titled* is explained in Mr. D.'s glossary "tickled, amused; sometimes [as here] slightly irritated"].

22. *gallop*, [for which the Or. word is *spander*].—*curb*, *curb* being unknown in Or., I have employed *vitta*, a wooden bit used in old times.

23. *as, cannot*, have this same n.L. vowel, see (i₁₁), p. 767.

24. [*What thing upon his back had got*, Mr. D. has made it, *what thing upon his back he'd got*, which has a different meaning, and is not so ridiculous.—*wonder, fairly*. Compare "Me bitel a ferly," Piers Pl. v. 16.]

25. *neck*, "*hass* sometimes, and properly, *hurs*), the neck of the human body"; Mr. D.'s Glossary; Norse; German *hals*.—[*set out* not being Or.

is translated into *take way*.—*running* such a *rig*, the phrase is merely reproduced, not translated in the Or. version, *running* has the n.NL. (*i*), which here sounded (*æ*) to me.]

30. [*turnpike men, gates*, as there are no turnpike roads in Or., Mr. D. has substituted keepers of the grinds or gates to fields.]

31. *bowing*, (*buuu*) is used here as (*luuten*) was before (st. 23) to shew that both words were used in Or.

34. *these gambols*, here I have used the singular *this* [instead of the plural *these*], because proper in Or., however improper in English grammar.—*preti-kins*, besides meaning gambols, also means tricks of leger-de-main, and acrobatic feats.

36. *balcony*, not used in Or. [the word *balcony* used always to have the accent on the second syllable as here, from the Italian *balcone*, a big beam or balk].—*spied*, Or. *skrimed*.—*how*, both *whoo* and *foo* are said. [It is the only *wh* so changed in LL.—*did*, altered, perhaps accidentally, to *could*.]

37. [*tired* (*ti gɔd*), Mr. D. gives “*tigsam*, tedious, wearisome,” in his glossary.]

38. *inclined*, Or. *furkin*. Edmondstone gives this as an Or. word with an entirely erroneous meaning. It properly signifies to be willing, inclined, or disposed to.—*owner*, *ow* as in *how*.

39. *an arrow*, the indef. article is always *a*, never *an*, in Or.—*archer*, archery is unknown in Or.

41. *gate* means in Or. the outer gate of a house, while *grind* (st. 30) is a field gate.

42. [*tidings*, the word *uncans* probably means things un kent, or unknown, hence tidings.]—*at all*, (*ɛvva*) of all, with the same meaning.

46. *whence*, *each*, neither word occurs in Or.

47. *is*, *as*. These two words are pronounced identically in Or. [Mr. D. writes *as* as *is*, but to my ear the n.L. *i* had here two different sounds in *is*, as (*i*) or (*i*) almost, in *as* it sounded to me like (*ɛz*). See p. 767.]

48. *stop*, *bide* is not given as its correct rendering of *stop*, but because it is the word that an Orcadian would have used in the circumstances.

50. *go* (*gjoq*), some would write *geong* as in the old word *geo*, meaning

a cave. [The *g* is simply palatalised.]

52. *snort*, rhymes *hurt* [this would give (*snart*), but I marked his pron. as (*snort*).—*roar*, translated (*runt*). Gloss. “*root* to roar loudly; often applied, but not confined, to the cry of a cow”].

53. *than*, (*or*) is the regular Or. equivalent.

54. *posting*, pronounced something like the *au* in *clouse*. [I marked (*ò*) the Italian *o aperto* medial length. I had great difficulty in knowing when Mr. D. used (*oo*) and when (*oo*). The pal. will hence probably be found inconsistent.]

55. *youth*, in Or. *halfling* is applied to a lad too young to do the work of a full-grown man, and who was considered half man and half boy.—*drove*, in Or. (*kaad*). The word is used in many senses in Or., such as *to ca on*, to cry on [shout for], to make a call on, *to ca* to cry, to drive a flock of sheep, cattle, or whales, hence ‘*cain whale*’: to drive horses, as *he eas a couple*, he drives a pair of horses; to strike with a hammer, as *cain nails* driving notes. [See for the last *Tom o’ Shanter*, v. 25, p. 732 above.]—*husband*, in Or. *goodman* is still used as well as husband.

57. [*peperforming*, in Ork. *perfecting*, in the older form *perfitan*, compare Chaucer’s *parfit*, taken direct from Fr. *parfait*; *perfect* is quite a modern form. But the place of the accent on the second syllable, and consequent diphthongising of its sound, are noteworthy.]

58. *lumbering*, *dildering* is only an approximative rendering of the original, because *lumbering* in this sense does not occur in Or., for *lumber* in its ordinary sense *ramel* is used. *dilder* means to jolt, to shake by concussions.

59. *rear*, not in Or., hence *tail* used. [*hue and cry*, the phrase and custom is unknown in Or., hence there being no corresponding phrase the English words are simply retained.]

60. [*thief*, there is the same peculiarity as in L. (*thit*) medial, sing. (*thiivz*) long plural, on account of the following consonants *f*, *v*.—*highwayman*, they had no Or. word for.]

61. [*short space*, or *glusk*, “a glimpse, an instant,” Dennison Gl.]

ORKNEY CWL.

from Mr. Deunison's Orcadian Sketch-Book, retaining his orthography in italics.

In this orthography *ae* = *ay* in *day*. *ee* = *ce* in *see*. *oa* = (oo).
eu = *eu* in *amateur*, *hauteur*, "pretty nearly," -*in*, verbal noun, -*an* part. See examples, p. 798, note to v. 11. The pal. and notes were from vv. information. I have also added many words from John Gilpin, giving both Mr. D.'s orthography and my pal. transcription.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — *quack* [quake]. 6 *meed*. — *wad* [wade]. 15 *a'fo'* [awful]. — *ba'k* [balk]. 19 *teel*. 21 *neem*. 23 *sam'*. 24 *sheem*. 25 *mane meen*. — *get* *gèt* [road, n. gata]. — *keel* [kail]. A: 38 *is ez* [unaccented NL. *i*]. 39 *cum' kàm*. 41 *tank*. 43 *han's* [hands]. 49 *hing hiq*. 55 *ass*. 56 *wesh* [name of a piece of water]. A: or O: 58 *f'ae fee*. 60 *lung laq*. 61 *among*. A'- 67 *geng ga'n geen geed* [go going went], *geony g'joq* [to go], *gany g'jeq*. 70 *tæ tee*. 72 *wha* [used for relative, both nom. and acc.]. 73 *sac*. 74 *twa twaa*. 79 *ain een*. 80 *heliday helidi*. 82 *eece ins*. 83 *meen mane*. 84 *mair meer*. — *raran reerun* [roaring]. 85 *sair seer*. 86 *aets*. 89 *baith beeth*. 90 *blaw blaa*. 95 *throw throo* [with (th)]. 97 *sa'l saul saal*.

A': 105 *rude rëd*. — *lethy ledhi* [lady]. 109 *laich leekjh*. 110 *nokht*. — *feeman* [foaming, streaming]. 115 *heem hiim*. 117 *aen een*, in, *ce* [last common]. 118 *been*. 122 *i. neen*, ii. *nee*. 123 *naethin nithin* [last common]. 124 *steen stin*. 126 *airs* (eerz). 130 *boat* [this should be (boot), but I heard (baat)]. 132 *haet* (hi₁t).

Æ- 138 *faither*. — *a't'egither* [altogether]. 148 *fair feer*. — *stairs steerz*. — *suet sect* [seat]. Æ: 155 *t'aik*. — *spak'* [spake]. 156 *gled gled*. 159 *his*. 169 *whin when* [unaccented NL. *i*]. 173 *wus*. 175 *fest fest*. 177 *dot 'at*. — *wraith* [wrath]. — *stathy* [steady]. Æ'- 182 *wee*. 195 *minny*. Æ': 209 *niver niver*. 214 *naiter needher*. 221 *f'ure*. 223 *derw air*. 224 *whar' whar*. 226 *maist meest*. — *wassel* [wrestle]. 228 *sweet sweet*. 229 *braith breeth*.

E- 231 *de*. 233 *spackan* [speaking]. — *wather* [weather]. — *neers* [(miivz) fists]. 243 *plee*. 244 *wel*. 246 *ii. quine kwá'in*. — *aet* [which should represent (æ)t, but Mr. D. said (it)]. 254 *leatheran ledren* [leathern]. E: — *wab* [web]. — *haeve* [have]. — *waddin* [a wedding]. 262 *wey wëi*. 263 *awa ewaa*. 265 *strakht*. 266 *wel wil*. 269 *hidsel* [itself]. — *dellan* [delivery]. — *speil speel* [spell]. 276 *tink*. — *twinty* [twenty (*i*)]. 281 *lent'*. 282 *strent'*. 284 *t'resh*. — *he'rtý* [heartý]. — *at'wart* [athwart]. — *wast* [west]. E': 305 *hich heich* (há'ikjh). 306 *hicht*. 310 *heel hil*. 314 *h'ard*. 315 *fit fit*. 316 *neest nist*.

EA- — *el'* [ale]. — *shawed shaad* [shewed]. EA: — *kuff* [chaff]. 321 *sa saa*. 323 *foucht* (faakht). 324 *aucht* (aakht). — *sall sal* [shall]. 326 *uuld aald*. 327 *bāuld baald*. 330 *haud aad*. 332 *ta'd* (taad). 333 *callow* [to calve]. 335 *a'* [sometimes (l) is pron.]. — *ha'* [hall]. 337 *wa'*. — *ma't* [malt]. 342 *erm*. — *hairm* [harm]. 346 *yett jët*. EA'- 347 *heed hid*. 348 *e'e*. EA': 350 *deud deid*. 351 *leed*. 352 *reed riid*. 353 *breed*. 354 *shav's* [sheaves]. 357 *t'o* to too *a'to* [although]. — *tare* [a tear]. 368 *deeth*. 371 *stree*.

EI- 372 *aye éi*. 373 *dey déi*. 374 *na'*. EI: 380 *dem*. 382 *der deir*. EO- 383 *seeran*. 384 *heeran*. 386 *yow*. EO: 390 *s'ul sùd*. — *siller* [silver]. 392 *yin jen*. 394 [never used]. 397 *swerd sword sward* [NL. *i*]. EO'- 411 *t'ree trii*. 412 *sheu*. 413 *deil*. 414 *flee flecan*, *flii flüen* [fly flying]. 415 *lee*. — *held* [held]. — *yeul* [yule, Christmas]. 416 *dear diir*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 420 *flower*. 421 *foorty*. EO': — *t'ief*

tif [thief]. 423 *t'ee*. 426 *fecht*. 429 *fiend*. 430 *freend* frind. 433 *breest*. 436 *true* truu. 437 *truth*.

I- — *gaean'* [giving], *geen* [given]. 441 *si'r'*. 448 *dis* dis [sg. used for pl.]. I: — *t'ick* t'ik [thick]. 457 *nicht* má'ikjht. 458 *nicht* (má'ikjht). 459 *apricht* aprá'ikjht. 460 *wiecht* we'kjht. 464 *whilk* whalk [NL. *i*]. 468 *chielders*. — *ahint* ehent [behind, most probably NL. *i*]. 480 *ting* t'q. — *rinnan* ranen [running NL. *i*]. 484 *dis*. — *rash* [a rush]. 489 *hid* [(h)id] almost (het)]. — *sar* [six]. I'- 490 *bae*. 492 *side* sá'id. — *t'rice* [thrive]. — *tretty* [thirty]. I': — *leck* [a corpse in (lik waak) like-wake]. 500 *likewis* léikwes [likewis NL. *i* in last syllable]. 508 má'il. 509 *whill*. — *linen* lə'nun [linen]. — *dee* [thy].

O- 518 *bothy*. — *sheul* [shovel]. 519 *ower* á'uur. 522 *ápen* aap'n. — *drip* [drop]. 523 *hup*. 524 *warld* waarld. O: 525 *ii*. *aff*. 528 *t'ought*. 529 *braucht* brá'kht. 531 *doachter* [(daakhter) almost (daakhter)]. 534 *hol'* [how hollow]. 536 *gowd*. 538 *wad* wí'd wad. 544 *don*. — *tap* [top]. — *scor'* [score]. — *nort'* [north]. — *botham* (hodhem) [bottom]. — *owseu* [(óus'n) oxen]. O'- 556 *tæ atæ tæ* [unto], *i'tæ* [into]. 557 *teu tæ*. 558 *luck* læk. 562 *meun*. 564 *seun* sheun shə'n shə'n. — *smoother* smə'dher [smoother]. 566 *ither*. 568 *brither*. — *flow* flá'u.

O': 569 *beuk*. 571 *geud* gə'd [confused with God]. — *heud* [hood]. 572 *bleud*. — *sneud* [snood]. 575 *steud* stə'd. — *gliv* [glove]. — *soft* [soft]. — *reuf* [roof]. 582 *ceul* kə'l. — *pou* (pou) [pool]. 586 *deu* deuin's [doings]. 587 *deun* də'n də'n. 589 *speun*. 590 *fleur*. 592 *sueur*. — *geus* gə's [goose]. 593 *maan* maan. 595 *fit*.

U- — *knock* [knock, (k) pron.]. 600 *loovin'* loov'in [this is an adj. not the participle which would be loov'n], *loed* luud. 603 *co* kə [frequent contraction]. 605 *sin*. 606 *door* door. U: — *sh'uther* [shoulder]. — *po'd* pūd [pulled]. 612 *sumin* [something]. 615 *pund* pə'nd. 616 *grund*. 617 *soond* suund. 619 *f'und* fə'nd. — *wiulir* [wonder (*i*) or (*æ*)]. 632 *ap* a'p. — *apo'* [upon]. — *brough* (brokh) [borough]. 634 *t'rou* trá'u. 635 *wirt'*. U'- 640 *coo*. 641 *hoo* whuu fuu [both used]. 642 *th'u* [t' du]. 643 *noo*. — *toom* [thumb]. 648 *wur*. wɜr. 649 *thuusan* thuuzen. 650 *aboot*. 653 *bit* bɪt [unaccented, i.e. with the NL. *i*]. U': — *boosam* [buxom]. — *book* (buuk) [bulk, distinct from 569]. 658 *doon* duun dūn. 659 *toon* tuun [town]. 663 *hoose*. 667 *oot* uut. 668 *prood* prund. 671 *mooth*. 672 *sooth*.

Y- 673 *muckle* mæk'l. 674 *deud* də'd də'd. — *steer* [stir]. Y: 683 *mudges* [pl.]. 690 *kind* ká'ind. 691 *mind* má'ind. — *tin* tɪ'n [thin]. 700 *waur* wɜr. — *t'irst* [thirst]. 702 *wi'd* [with it]. Y'- — *fi'fteen* (fá'itɪn) fifteen. Y': — *wiss* [prob. (wɛs) wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *trapple* [thrapple thropple]. — *heest* hiist [haste]. E. 743 *skreek* skrik. — *t'raep* t'reep [threep]. — *velved* velvet. I. and Y. — *kick* [kick]. — *weck* [wick, side of the mouth, used by Salesbury, see Part III. p. 756b]. 753 *tittle* tít'l tɪt'l. — *preen* [pin]. — *firt'* [firth]. O. 761 *lod*. — *scald* [scold], *scowlding* [scolding]. — *cummin* [(ɛ) coney, rabbit]. — *wint* (wɪnt) [wont]. — *coor'd* [cowered]. — *ceut* [coot = ankle, a very common word]. — *trath* [troth]. — *scroon'* [surround]. U. — *dook* [duck]. — *dook*. 808 *pit* pɪt, *pat* [pt.], *pitten* [pp.].

III. ROMANCE.

A. 810 *fees*. 811 *piece* piis. 820 *gey* géi. 833 *pair* peer. — *p'aceable* [peaceable]. 834 *chaise* tʃɛz. — *aisy* [easy]. — *plaisr* plɛzɜr [pleasure]. 837 *mistress* mɛstrɪs [Mrs.]. — *mesterfu'* [masterful]. 839 *ba'*. 840 *chaun'er*. — *deem* [dame]. — *famis* fɛmɪs [famous]. — *hunch* (haunch). — *cheepel* cheepel [chapel]. 857 *case* kees. — *nati'rd* [natured]. — *haakhty* [(haakhtɪ) haughty]. 865 *fauler* faaler [defaulter]. — *cāshan* kaashen [caution]. 866 *peur*.

E. — *praech* [preach]. — *crethid* kredhit [credit]. 874 *rein* rɛn. 885

vero [occ. (*vere*) very in the various islands]. 890 *baest beest* bist. — *hour* (*uur*).

I.. and Y.. — *feurce* [fierce]. — *vild* [vile]. — *cemage* image. — *meenit* [minute of time]. — *veclant* [violent]. — *admeer* admirr [admire].

910 *ceetizen* sitiz'n [citizen]. — *veved* [vivid, very common].

O.. — *pooch* [pouche]. 919 *choin tjoín* [join]. — *puishan pooshan* poison. — *ooman* [omen]. — *coont* [count]. — *renoon* rinuun [renown]. — *croon* [crown]. — *bannet* [bonnet]. — *erison* [orison]. 941 *jeul*. 944 *alood* eluud. — *coort* [court]. 952 *turn* toorn [turn]. — *preev* [prove]. 955 *doet*. — *poow'er* [power]. 956 *cower* [to recover health]. — *dizzen* [dozen].

U.. 965 *entie*. 967 *seut sœt*. 969 *seur*. — *firry* [fury]. — *yeus* [use]. 970 *jeust tjo'st* [Mr. D. always pron. in Or. initial *j* as (tj)].

D 42 = nIL. = northern Insular Lowland.

Boundaries and Area. The whole group of the Shetland isles. The separate islands of Foula and Fair Isle belong to this district, and their languages are varieties, but I have failed in procuring any information concerning them.

Authorities. 1. Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Leog, Lerwick, wrote an article in Danish on Shetland and Orkney in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1860, pp. 190–201, to which article there were additions by R. J. Lyngby, pp. 201–216. This paper, lent to me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, led to a long correspondence with Mr. Laurenson, who has been very obliging in giving me all the assistance in his power, and especially translated for me a Shetland letter, said to be from Unst, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte lent me a copy, and subsequently it was found to be partly printed in the Zetland Directory, 1861. It is an excellent specimen, but I have not felt sure enough of the pron. to give it here. Mr. Laurenson also revised for me his translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, given in the above-mentioned Danish paper, and it has been added below. He also gave me a lw. and numerous newspaper cuttings in the Shetland Dialect.

2. Mr. Robert Cogle of Cunningborough, Dumrossness, Mainland, Sd., on a peninsula running s., gave me a cs. in his Dumrossness pron., and sent me "Shetland Fireside Tales, or the Hermit of Trosswickness, by G. S. L." (George Stewart of Leith), Edinburgh, 1877, pp. 239, because they gave such an excellent representation of the s. form of the dialect.

3. Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, native of Lerwick, in Oct. 1878, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Laurenson, kindly read to me Mr. L.'s Parable of the Prodigal Son, and his lw., and Mr. Cogle's cs., and from this dictation they are here reproduced.

4. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte procured Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, in Unst pron., given below. He also put at my service notes made during a visit to Orkney in 1858; and lent me the MS. of Dr. L. Edmondstone's pronouncing glossary of Unst, which, being confined to unusual words, has not much assisted me; also a specimen of Mr. William Alexander Grant's glossary of

“2000 words peculiar to Shetland, and not in use in any part of Scotland, chiefly old Norse and kindred tongues,” which necessarily did not further my inquiries.

5. Dr. Thomas Edmondstone’s “Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect,” published by the Philol. Society, 1866, has, for the same reason as the others, not helped me, although interesting for other purposes, see notes to *Pactie Toral*, pp. 798 to 802.

As far as actual pron. is concerned I have therefore but one authority, Miss Malcolmson, to whose kindness I am so much indebted.

Characters. The peculiar alterations of *th*, the main feature of pron. of the district, have already been given, p. 789.

Initial *ch*, generally (tʃ), becomes (sh) in D 42, as in D 40, but remains (tʃ) in D 41, which is nearer D 40, thus (shapter, shans, shiild, shil, sheer, shiiz) chapter, chance, child, chiel, cheer, cheese. But the initial (tʃ) is by no means impossible to a Shetlander, who says (tʃop) for shop, as in Ab. On the other hand, final (tʃ) usually remains, except in (stʃk, reek) stitch, reach, and perhaps a few other words, where it does not become (sh) but (k). And (dʃ) remains unaltered in Sd., though Mr. Dennison used (tʃ) for it in Or.

Initial (wh) remains and does not become either (kʷh) as in SL. or (f) as in NL. On the contrary, (kʷ-) *qu*- initial frequently, if not generally, becomes (wh).

R is distinctly trilled, *wr*- is (wʳ- wer-) and is sometimes written *wir*, meaning, I believe, the same thing, that is (wi₁₁r), p. 767.

In *kn*-, *gn*- initial the (k, g) are heard.

The aspirate is strong, except in unaccented pronominal words. The guttural varies as (kh, kjh) according to the preceding vowel, as in German.

The vowels form a main difficulty, and many fine distinctions may have escaped me or been wrongly appreciated.

The (a) certainly tends to (a^h), and in the diphthong (á'i) seems to be exclusively used. In some cases Mr. Laurenson had marked (æ), which Miss Malcolmson sounded as (ɛ).

The (ɛ, ɛɛ) was a prominent feature, as (lɛm, shɛm, nɛm) lame, shame, name, as distinct from Or. use. It sometimes occurred long as (hɛɛl, snɛɛl) hail, snail.

The (i) constantly occurs purely short or medial, as (trid, did) thread, dead. Our short (i) may remain, but is much superseded by (i₁), which I expect is frequently the thick NL. *i* or (i₁₁) that has caused so much trouble, see p. 767. At any rate my appreciation varied as (i, e, ɛ) as in NL.

The (o, oo) seemed pure, not (oo) nor (aa), neither of which probably occurs, although I seemed at times to hear (oo). But certainly (aa) is absent, as it is in all the NL., and is replaced by (aa), which in Unst Prince L.-L. Bonaparte hears as (aa).

The (u) seemed pure as in all L., and not to become (u). It generally stood for (uu), which however occasionally occurred.

There were at least three of the (y) vowels (y₁, ə, œ), and I may have confused the two first as (dy₁, shəə) do, shoe, and (gy₁d, ly₁v) good, love, but (spən, mən) and (rœt, kœp) root, cup. Whether or no, three distinct vowels are really used and confined to particular words, I am unable to say.

The diphthongs seem to be (á'i), but (áu, óu) and occ. (á'u, ɹ'u) perhaps. While (ío, íu) occ. occur for O' before a guttural, as (tíokh) tough. We find also few of the Ab. (á'i) words (see p. 766) as (kwá'in, whá'i, tá'izd'i) quean, whey, Tuesday.

These correspond with Ws. roughly thus :

A- is (E. aa), as (lem, draa) lame, draw.

A' (ee, EE, E), as (see, SEE) so. (BEE) no, adj. (hem, ben) home, bone.

Æ' varies between (ee, e), apparently the normal sound, and (i) which looks like a refinement, as (leev) leave, (klin) clean.

E is (e, E), as (spek, weev) speak, weave.

E' regularly (i, ii), as (hii, dii, fit) he, thee, feet.

EAL usually (aa), and the L. occ. dropped, as (aa, aald) all, old.

EA' usually (i, E, e), as (grit, det) great, deat, rarely (i), as (did) dead.

EO' regularly (ii, i), as (bii) bee, exceptionally (ə), as (shəə) she.

I' is regularly (á'i), without distinguishing a broader form (ái).

O' becomes (y₁, ə, ə, œ, ío, íu), all variants of the usual alteration of O'.

U is regularly (ɹ), but sometimes (œ), as (sɹn, œp) sun, up.

U' is regularly (u, uu), as (nuu, tun) now, town.

For particulars, refer to the cwl. below, p. 818.

Illustrations.

1. *Dunrossness* es. by Mr. R. Cogle, the last of the 8 es. in the introduction to L., p. 684, as read by Miss Malcolmson, and hence with Lerwick pron.

2. *Lerwick*, Parable of the Prodigal Son, as written by Mr. Laurenson, and read by Miss Malcolmson.

3. *Unst*, the Parable of the Sower as written by Dr. L. Edmondstone, with a conjectural pal. version by AJE.

4. General cwl. from Mr. Laurenson's lw. as read by Miss Malcolmson, together with words excerpted from Nos. 1, 2, 3.

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, Luke xv. 11-32.

Translated into the Shetland dialect by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Leog, Lerwick, Sd., originally published in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 198, corrected by himself for the present edition, and pal. by AJE. from the dictation of Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 29 Oct. 1878.

11. a sɛrtun man hed twa sɛnz.

12. en de jɛqest o dɛm, sɛd tɛl hɪz fɛddɛr: fɛddɛr, gi mɛ de peert o de gy₁dz ɛt faaz tɛ mii. en hi peerted kɪz livɛn utwiin dɛm.

13. en nɔ moni deez ɛfter de jɛqest sɛn gadɛrd aa tegɛdɛr, en tuk de geet tɛl ɛ faar kɛntri, en spɛnt aa deer ɪn bad livɛn.

14. en whɪn hi hed spɛnt aa, der kam ɛ grɪt fɛm'ɪn ɪn dat laand, en hi biguud tɛ bii ɪn want.

15. en hi gɔd en fiid wi ɛ man o dat kɛntri, en hi pɛt him ut tɛ kip swá'in.

16. en hi wîd fEE'n he felt hîz bel' wi de broks de swá'in et, en NEE man gee óukht tel hîm.

17. en whî'n hi kam tel hîmsel hi sed: háu moni fiid sárvants o mi FEEDERZ hee brêd eníokh en te speer en á'i faant wi haqer.

18. á'i'l rá'iz en geq te mi FEEDER en 'l see tel hîm: FEEDER á'i hee sînd egenst hiv'n en dîi,

19. en á'i'm NEE meer wárdi te bi KEED (kaad) dá'i sán, mak mi ez iin o dá'i fiid sárvants.

20. en hi REEZ en kam tel hîz FEEDER. bî't whî'n hi wez jî't e grî't wá'i af, hîz FEEDER saa hîm, en fel apen hîz mîk, en kjest hîm.

21. en de sán sed tel ín: FEEDER á'i hee sînd egenst hiv'n en ín dá'i sáikjht, en en NEE meer wárdi te bi KEED (kaad) dá'i sán.

22. bî't de FEEDER sed tel hîz sárvants: brî'q fort de best kleez en pat dem apen em; en pat e raq on hîz haand en shæn en hîz fit.

23. en brî'q hiir de fat'ed kaaf en kel i'm, en lat wez et en bi mæri.

24. fer das má'i sán wez deed en i's liven egen; hi wez lost en iz fon, en dee biguurd te bi mæri.

25. nuu de aaldest sán wez i de fiid en az hîi wez komen heem tel de hus hi heerd mæzik en dansen.

26. en hi KEED (kaad) iin o de sárvants, en akst what das wez.

27. en hi sed tel i'm: dá'i brî'der iz kám: en dá'i FEEDER hez kelt de fat'ed kaaf, bikæz hi hez got'n hîm bak see'f en sund.

28. en hi wez tarn, en wî'd ne geq ín: see kam hîz FEEDER ut en entreted hîm,

29. en hi ansæren sed tel hîz FEEDER: nuu das moni jûrz de á'i serv di, neder bruk á'i dá'i komaandz et on'í tá'im, en jî't nî'yer gee du mi e kid, i't á'i má'ikjht mak mæri wi má'i frindz,

30. bî't az shæn az das dá'i sán wez kám, et hez divuurd dá'i liven wi hærz, du hez kel'et fer hîm de fat'ed kaaf.

31. en sed tel em: sán du'z ever wi mi, en aa et á'i hee iz dá'in.

32. it wez rá'ikjht dat wi sud mak mæri en bi gled: fer das dá'i brî'der wez ded en iz liven egen; en wez lost en iz fon.

Notes to the above Parable.

15. *hîed*. fiid cattle, money, wages, (te fiid) to hire for wages.

19. *ow* iin.

28. *angry* tarn). Jam. "to *tirr*, to snarl; *tirvæce*, fit of passion: *tir-*

wier tirwíring, habitually growling."

Edm. "*tirran*, cross, ill-natured, enraged; Danish *tirre*, ags. *tyron*, to exasperate, irritate." Ettmüller gives the forms *trian*, *tirian*, *tirigau*, *tyrwian*.

PARABLE OF THE SOWER, Matt. xiii. 3-9.

Translated into the dialect of Unst, the northernmost isle of Sd., by Dr. L. Edmondstone, 1859, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, by whom it was presented to the Philological Society 20 June, 1873. Here printed in the original spelling, thus explained by the Prince: "The pronunciation of *a* long and grave in *pître*, indicated by *aw*; that of *eu* in *peu* by *ö*; that of [Fr.] *u* mixed with a slight shade of *ou* by *ü*; that of German *ch* in *nacht* by *χ*." This is printed in Italics, with an interlinear translation into pal. by AJE.

Dr. Laurence Edmondstone d. 1874, aged 84. He was the younger brother of Arthur Edmondstone, of Bunes, Unst, d. 1813, and uncle of Thomas Edmondstone, who compiled the "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," printed in the Trans. Philolog. Soc. 1866, Part III.

3. *behold, a saar güd furt ta saa;*
bihoold v saar gy'd furt te saa;
4. *an whin he saad, some seeds fell be da rod side, an da fools*
en whin hi saad, sam sidz fel bi de rod sa'id, en de fuulz
cam an devoord dem up.
kam en divuur'd dem əp.
5. *some fell uppo stany places, whar dey hedna muckle airt;*
sam fel əp'v stani pleesez, whaar dee hed)ne mak'l eert;
an at ance dey shot up becaas dey hed nay deepness o' airt;
en et ans dee shot əp, bikaas dee hed nee dipnes o eert;
6. *an whin da sun wis up, dey wir scooderd; an becaas dey*
en whin de san wiz əp, dee wer skunderd; en bikaaz dee
had nay röt, dey widderd awaa.
hed nee röt, dee wi'derd əwaa.
7. *an some fell among torns; an da torns shot up, an shokit dem.*
en sam fel əməq tornz; en de tornz shot əp, en shokit dem.
8. *bit udder fell intill güd grund an broxt furt fröt, some a*
bi't ədər fel inti'l gy'd gränd, en brokht furt fröt, sam v
hunderfaald, some saxtyfaald, some tirtyfaald.
hənderfaald, sam sakstifaald, sam tərtyfaald.
9. *whaa hes airs ta hear, let him hear.*
whaa hez eəz te hiir, let hem hiir.

NOTES. 6. *scooderd*, scorched.

7. *shokit*, choked.

SHETLAND cwl.

Composed of most of the words in

Mr. Cogle's Dumrossness cs.

Mr. Laurensen's Parable of the Prodigal Son and wl.

Both pal. by me from dictation of Miss Malcolmson.

Together with words from G. Stewart's Shetland Tales, in his own orthography, and from Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, also in his own orthography in italics preceded by †.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tæk. — *shack* [shake]. 5 mæk mak. 7 seek. 8 hee
[(hed) had]. 14 draa. 17 laa. 20 lem. 21 nem. 22 tem. 23 sem.
24 shem. — geet [gate, road]. 33 reder. 35 ául. 37 klaa. A: —

gee [gave]. 38 vs. 39 kam kæm ke'm. 40 kem †cam. 41 tank. 43 haand, haand'. 44 laand. 46 kaand'l. 47 waander. 49 heqen [hanging]. 50 teqz, tainges. 51 man. 52 wen. 55 ash, ase. 56 wash. A: or O: 58 fEE, fae. 59 kem. 60 heq. 61 emaq, amang. 62 stroq. 64 wbra'q w'ra'q. 65 sæq. A'- 67 geq GEEH gaen gæd gød †güd ganc [go, going, gone, went]. 72 who wha, †whaa. 73 see SEE. 74 twa. 79 ain EE'n. 82 ance †ance. 84 mair. 85 seer. 86 ets. 87 kleez. 89 beedhth. 91 maa, mar. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 96 saa †saa [(†saa) sower]. A': 102 aks. 104 rod, †rod. 108 dookh. 111 óukht. 112 hel. 113 heel w'hoel. 115 hEM HEEM hame. 117 ii iin. 118 ben. 122 i. nen nane, ii. no nee NEE, †nay. 123 ne thun naithen. 124 sten stane, †stany [stony]. 125 ónli. 126 oor. 127 hærs. 129 gost. 130 biit. 133 w'rot.

Æ- 138 feeder feder feader. — gader [gathered]. — tegeder [together]. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 egen. 150 lest. 153 setterday seterde. Æ: 154 bak. — spak [spake]. 156 gled. 158 eftir E'- efter. 161 dee. 165 sed. — w'haal [whale]. — sma' [small]. 169 when when whan whi'n whin, †whin. 170 hairst. — speer [spare]. 172 gars girs. — gles [glass]. 173 wez wiz, †wis. — et úte [ate]. 177 dat. 179 what fat. Æ'- 182 sii. — rake [reach]. 183 tiitj. — reedi [ready]. 187 leev laev. 189 wá'i. 190 kii. 192 min. 193 kliin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 †wir. 199 blit. 201 hethen. Æ': 204 did. 205 trid †reed. — †seed. 206 ri'd. 209 nid'l. 209 ni,ver. 212 whá'i. 214 ne'der neder. 216 decl. 218 ship [a ship=(shep)]. 221 faer. 223 deer. 224 whaar w'haar, †whar. 226 miest. 227 wit. 228 swet. 230 fâted [fatted].

E- 231 de du, †da. 232 braak [brakwast breakfast]. 233 spek speken spækn [speaking]. — wadder [weather, †widdered withered]. 235 weev. 236 fiver. 244 wiil weel. 246 i kw'in, ii kwá'in. 247 ween. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer [(anserun) answering]. — et [eat]. 251 meet. 252 ket'l. E: — nek [neck]. 256 s'tretjt. 261 sez seen [says saying]. 262 wy wá'i. 263 w'aa awa, †w'aa. 265 streekjht. — fiild [field]. 269 demsel [themselves]. — twalmont [twelvemonth]. 270 beli. 271 tel. 273 me'n men. 276 teqk. 281 lent. 283 mari. — best [best]. E' 290 hii. 291 dii. 294 fid. 296 biliv. 298 il. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 †hear. 302 mit. 303 swit. E': 308 mid. 309 spid. 310 hil. 312 hiir. 312 heerd herd. — blissen blessing. 315 fit fit. — ticht tight. 316 miest neist.

EA- 320 keer. EA: 321 see saa. 322 laaf ljaakh laakh. 326 aald auld [(aaldest) oldest]. 328 caubl. 329 †faald. 330 he'd [†behold]. 331 saald. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 338 kaaz keez [calls]. — saut [salt]. — sheer [share]. 340 jeerd. 342 eern. 343 waarm. 344 beern. 345 dar. EA'- 347 heed. 348 een in. — †air [ear]. 349 fua. EA': 350 deed deid. 353 brod. 355 def. 356 lef. 357 too altoo. 359 neeghbour. — draem dream. 363 shep. — jir. 365 miir. 366 gre't gri't. 367 tret. 368 deth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 straa. EI- 373 †dey, da'r [they are]. EI: 380 dem. EO: 384 hiv'n. 386 jau. 387 nuu. EO: 388 maik. 390 sud. — yellow yellow. 392 jon. 395 jaq. 396 wark. 398 starv, †sterve. 400 eernest. 402 leern. 403 faar. 404 starns. — hert [heart]. 406 †cart. EO'- 409 bii. 411 trii tri. 412 shə shə shü. — †shockit [choked]. 413 dev'l dveril. 415 lii. — shøt [short]. 417 sháu. 418 bruu. EO': 422 sik. 423 lá'ikjht. 427 bii [(biin) being]. 428 sii. 429 find. 430 frind [not (i)]. 432 fort. 433 brist †breest. 435 juu. 436 truu. 437 træth. EY- 438 deiz [dies, pron. (diiz)]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wiik ouk. — gü [give]. — liven [living]. 446 ná'in. 447 har. 449 got'n [pp. gotten], firyatten [forgotten]. 450 tá'izdi. I: 452 a á'i. 455 lá'i. 457 má'ikjht micht. 459 rá'ikjht. 462 sá'ikjht. 463 tí'l tel, †intill. 465 sek sie. 466 shiild. 467 wá'ild. 468 sheels. 475 wind. 477 fínd fin'. 478 grínd. — hídmost hímmost [hindmost]. 479 wínd. 480 theq thú'q. — raq [ring]. — brí'q [bring]. — shep [ship]. 483 his. 484 das. 488 jí't. 489 hit [only one instance found]. — kí'd [kid]. — sacty [sixty, common]. I'- 490 bi be. 491 sá'ikjht. 492 †side. 494 tá'im. 497 rá'iz. 498 w'rit. I: 500 lek leklí [likely]. 502 fá'iv. 503 lá'if. 505

wá'if. 506 wumen. 507 wámen. 508 má'il. 509 whá'il. — di [thy], dá'in [thine]. 510 má'in. — swá'in [swine]. 513 weer. — blide [blithe]. — sey [scythe]. — †tirty [thirty].

O- 519 óuer. 523 hoop lup. 524 warld warl'. O: 527 báukht. 528 táukht tocht. 529 bráukht. 530 w'raut. 532 kol. 534 hol. 535 tok. 537 mald. 538 wí'd. 546 fír. 547 boord. 550 wárd. 551 storm. 553 horn. — †torns [thorns]. — fort [forth]. O'- 555 sháwn [pl. shoon]. 556 t. 558 luik liuk. 559 mider mídder. 560 schúle. 562 mán mún. 564 sáwn sháwn shúne. 566 idder ider. 568 brí'der. O': 569 biuk. — huik [hook]. 570 tuk tíuk. 571 gy'd guíd. †gú'd. 572 bly'd blú'd. 573 fléd. 575 stéd. 579 eníukh eníokh enúck. 580 tíokh. 582 ká'd cúl. 583 tíul. 584 stá'd. 586 dú dā dā dū'ins [doings]. do'ne dō'ne [don't]. 587 dān dýn dū'n'e. 588 efternoon [afternoon]. 589 spān. 590 flór. 591 mār. 592 swār. — hār [whore]. 594 bēt. 596 rú't rēt.

U- 599 ubān. — wíd [wood]. 600 ly'v. 601 fuul, †fool. 602 suu. 603 kem. 604 sámer sámm'er. 605 sán. 606 door. 607 bē'ter. U: 609 fu. 610 uu. 612 sām. 613 drák'n. 615 páund. 616 grand, †grund. 617 sund. 618 wúnd. 619 íon. 621 wō'nd. 622 óender. — †húnder. 626 hāqer. 627 sánde. 629 sán, †sān. 631 fázde. 632 óep, †up [æp], uppo upon]. 633 kēp. 634 tru tro. 635 wirt [(wá'di) worthy]. 636 fúrder. 637 tōsk. 638 bōsk. 639 dēst. U'- 640 óo. 641 íuu. 642 du. 643 nuu uoo. 646 bun. 648 wír. 650 áboot. 651 vthúut. 652 kud. 653 bí't bat bí't †bit. U': 655 ful. 656 rum. — toom [thumb]. 657 brān. 658 dūn dun doon. 659 túm. 662 wez. 663 huus hus hóose. 664 lus. 667 ut óot. 668 prud.

Y- 673 mak'l †múckle. 674 dí'd dí'd. 675 drá'li. 679 kirk. Y: — felt [filled]. 693 sí'nd [sinned]. 694 wārk. — wír'm [worm]. 700 wārs wāars. 701 fārst. — lās'n [listen]. — kjest [kissed]. — kíst [chest]. Y'- 705 skjá'li. 706 whá'li. Y': — wíss [wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 717 jaad. 736 las. 737 mí't. — shald [shawl]. I. and Y. — kel [kill]. O. 761 lod. 768 nóis. — bruk [broke pt.]. — pōw [poll, the head]. — bigu'rd [begond = began]. — lōst [lost]. 781 bodér. 783 puut'ri. 790 gum. — †scóoder [scowder, skoldir = scorch]. U. 798 whiir. 803 jump. 808 pí't pat, pæt, pí'tten [prt., pt., pp.].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fees. 811 †plāce. 815 faks. 816 faad. 824 sheer sheir. 826 ígl. 827 ceger. — saúnted [sainted]. — plāse [please]. 835 recz'n. 838 tlee't [(entreted) entreated]. — fēmin [tamine]. 841 shans. 844 truncher [tranche]. — graúnd grand. 850 dans. 852 eepren. — shapter chapter. — máirried [married]. 857 kes. 859 shees. — natur [nature]. 862 seef seef. 864 bí'kēz bí'kálz. 865 faut. 266 pār pūir. — ill faured [ill-looking].

E.. 867 tee tae. 869 veel. — rael [real]. 872 sheef. 875 faant. 876 fēent. 885 veri. 888 sarten. — seiv sair [serve]. 889 sees. 890 beest best. 891 feest. — oor [hour]. 893 fluur. 894 díscov. 895 riseev.

I.. and Y.. 897 delícht. 898 ná'is. — ínferdel [infidel]. 901 fá'in. 908 advá'is. — meesery [misery]. — veesably [visibly]. 912 rá'is.

O.. 914 brootj. 920 póint. — fá'ir [a fair]. 925 vóis. 926 spóil. — soúnd [sound]. — múntens [mountains]. 935 kjantri. — †devoor [devour]. 938 kórner kóorner. 940 kot. 941 fál jūle. 944 aluu'. 945 vuu. 947 bóil. 948 bául. 950 sápp'r. 952 íi coorse. 953 kēz'n. 955 duuts. — pōw [power]. 956 kōver.

U.. — subjek [subject]. 963 whá'iet. 965 óil. 968 óister. 969 shāw sí're. — úse [use]. — excúse excuse. — mōzik.

A FEW RESULTS.

The long investigation which is now closed still leaves much to be desired, though the reader may deem that it already enters into too many unnecessary particulars. But as the points to be investigated were not only numerous, but transitional in their character, great minuteness was required in recording the discoveries made in the present phonetic examination of a large district. Our object was to discover the traces of the past in the present, and to account, if possible, for the great phonetic changes which strike the most cursory observer. An endeavour has been made in the great majority of cases to get information either directly from the mouths of dialect speakers, or indirectly from the mouths of those who were familiar with dialectal speech, and to record the result in a uniform notation with the utmost attainable accuracy, trusting as little as possible to written accounts, except from the pens of informants whose phonetic knowledge and manipulation of my written systems had been tested by myself in personal interviews, such as TH., JGG., CCR., Dr. Murray, Mr. Elworthy, and Mr. Darlington. In the Preliminary Matter, No. VIII., I have endeavoured to describe my palaeotype, but I am painfully conscious that without the living speech, all such expositions are only approximative, and that even with the advantage of actual audition, but few can imitate all the sounds with facility and correctness. I hope, however, perhaps too sanguinely, that the conclusions as to the sounds actually used and heard will be sufficiently well appreciated to make their study useful and effective towards the elaboration of a hitherto unwritten chapter in the great science of language. Dr. Sweet's enlarged and improved edition of his "History of *British* Sounds," p. 16*, under the title of "A History of *English* Sounds from the Earliest Period," did not reach me till May, 1888, when nearly 300 pages of this treatise were already in type, and the first draft of the first five Divisions, embracing all England, was already completed in MS. Moreover, his work required more study than the exigencies of passing this part through the press would allow. I regret therefore that I am compelled to leave Dr. Sweet's valuable work almost altogether unused.

The first result of the present examination of the *existing* phonology of English dialects is that there are really a large number of *local* varieties of speech, all related, while at the same time in many respects strangely different (compare the five Ruth versions, p. 698). But the relations are much more definite than we had any reason to expect, considering the rude shocks to which local habits have been subjected, and the present exterminating

influence of school boards and railways. We have then in England many local forms of speech, not merely 42, the number of districts here formed by neglecting minor differences, but many hundreds, (recognised by dialect speakers themselves, who will pick out the village that owns the speech,) and these, we have seen, can be further grouped again into six large divisions, which by joining the W. and E. to the S., and the L. to the N., can be further reduced to three, Northern, Midland, and Southern, which have been recognised from the earliest times. But these three parcels are not within the limits of each homophthongous, and to attempt their exact filiation to the oldest local speeches is probably beyond the reach of present investigation, and certainly beyond the limits of the task here undertaken.

By a *dialect* we here only mean, *first*, a local difference of speech, the existence of which has been here abundantly established, and, *secondly*, an evident relation of all these forms of local speech to one another. Now the earliest local speech with which we have complete literary acquaintance is the Wessex or that spoken by the West Saxons. We have many remains of the Northymbrian, but none, of any consequence, of the Midland. Hence Wessex is the one form of early speech with which we should compare all others. But even at the times when the Wessex speech was cultivated, and existing Ws. books were written, old Norse was inextricably mixed up with it, and in the cwl. words from that language have been frequently introduced as 18 cake, 25 mane, 54 want, etc. Hence we have to supplement Ws. with x. (Norse).

Now the large collection of cwl. already given, in which the mode of replacement of Ws. or x. sounds by local English is clearly shewn so far as the vowels are concerned, in a number of words, all or by far the most of which, allowing for such differences, are common to all speakers of English, to my mind establishes a local definite relation between the early form and the particular local form, with great diversities as to what that particular local form may be, and many differences in the effects produced on the vowels by adjacent consonants. The exact determination of these relations must be left to future scholars; I am myself too old even to attempt it. It has been my work to furnish the materials as faithfully as I could, without any preconceived theory, and I am only too happy to have been enabled to deliver them in an orderly form to future investigators, and must content myself with drawing only a very few conclusions.

It is pertinent to inquire to what extent do our oldest documents represent the sounds that their writers actually heard in speech? We cannot suppose that the oldest writers were supernaturally gifted with the power of perfectly appreciating sounds, and registering them by means of a very imperfect instrument,—the mediævaly enlarged Latin alphabet, with two or three runes. Nor do we know the exact sounds which these scribes gave to their letters, or how many different sounds they attributed to each. I am not now perfectly satisfied with the key to Ws. given in Part II.

p. 534. I do not feel quite sure of *æ, ea, éa, eo, éo*, and even of the exact sounds of *i, e, a, o, u, y* (where Dr. Sweet recognises two sounds of *æ*, two of *e*, and two of *o*, and there may have been two of *i, a, u*). The *r* was possibly (r), entailing (r, d, n, l), while *þ, ʃ* cannot be fixed as (th, dh) with certainty. As to the shade of sound that *y* expressed we could not hope to determine it. At what time *g ʒ* were really distinguished, or *ʒ w* became simply used diphthongally, it would be difficult to say. This makes the starting-point very doubtful. But I think that for the purposes of the present comparison, it would be sufficient to assume the following values :

Ws. *a á æ æ' aw b c eg ew d ʒ e é ea éa*
 pal. *a aa æ ææ áu b, k kj, g kw d, dh th, e ee éa éaa*

Ws. *eo éo f g ʒ h hl hn hr i í ie iu l m n ng o ó*
 pal. *éo éoo, v f, g j, h_l kh, lh xh rh i í ie iu l m n q o oo*

Ws. *p r s sc t þ u ú w wl vr y y'*
 pal. *p r, z s, sk skj, t, th dh, u uu w lw rw y₁ yy₁.*

Here (v, z) initial and perhaps (f, s) final seem guaranteed by existing usage in D 4, and similarly the series (r d l n r) seems established first by the existing usages in D 4 (pp. 51 to 54), and the descent of the general English coronal (t d l n r) from them as opposed to the (t d l n r) of the continent, of which (t d r) are occasionally found in M. and N., and perhaps, but not with certainty, in NL and IL. The (éa éo) seem justified by the regular practice of dialectal fractures, and the occasional lengthening of the second element is a common feature of our diphthongs. I am still very doubtful as to 'æ,' but it is most probable that it was a simple vowel, as the medieval Latin 'æ,' from which the sign was borrowed, was, at that time at least, and for long before it, a simple vowel (EE), whence (ææ, æ) is a natural development.

If we merely examine dialectal vowels which replace the literary Ws., the confusion at first appears immense,—the maze is mighty, and the plan unseen. The first approach to orderliness is made by remembering that, except in a small part of the south-west of England, say about D 4 and 5, the sounds cannot be considered as engendered by the Ws.; they are relatives, not descendants.

Now the first thing that strikes us is, that although many of the short vowels are occasionally considerably different from the presumed Ws. in received speech,—an artificial product,—they are (omitting EA, EO) all to be found in some one or other of the dialect districts, in closed and stressed syllables, with what have here been assumed as their original sounds (*i, e, æ, a, o, u*).

The I is, very rarely, (i) or (i'), at least in the North, and sometimes falls to (i₁) or even (e). But (i) is its general sound. Indeed (i) is in closed syllables a difficult sound to most Englishmen, who are even apt to replace (ii) by (i, i), although in many districts a genuine short I becomes diphthongised, as in 444

stile, 446 nine, 458 night, 477 find; yet the short vowel, sometimes prolonged to (*ii*), but not diphthongised, is found in the first two words *stile*, *nine*, and with its proper quantity in 477 find, while 458 night, appears as (nekjlit) in L., the vowel being only lowered, but then the speakers think they say (nikjht) and write *nicht*.

The E in close syllables is almost invariably (ɛ), except among educated southrons, who do not count. Where it has been written (e), it was, I think, generally a confusion, easily explained.

The E final of Middle English, replacing the various Ws. final vowels which, as explained in I. 318-342, III. 646-648, certainly existed, at least in poetry, so late as the time of Chaucer and Gower, has entirely disappeared in the dialects as well as in received speech. No trace of it has been found. The High German final E remains even in common conversation, the Dutch final E exists in a few uses, the French final E has disappeared, except before two following consonants, in prose and in speech, and even in declaimed verse, but exists metrically and in verse set to music, being distinctly heard at the present day from French singers, and even often provided with a long note. The English final E has absolutely ceased to exist.

Generally E in an open syllable follows the fortune of E'.

The Æ in close syllables is very seldom (æ), and generally follows the fortunes of A.

The A in the south and east, when used in close syllables, is fine (a¹) approaching and in rec. sp. quite reaching (æ), but in the M. and N. and L. varies from (a) to (ɑ). The A- in open syllables will be considered under A'.

The O is, I believe, normally (o), but it is very frequently confused with (ə) by my authorities, and pronounced of course as (ə) by rec. speakers, who have generally a difficulty in distinguishing (o ə). But where it really occurs, (ə) seems to be as much a modern invention as (AA).

The U remains (u) over only a very small zone, comprising Li., Yo., Cu., and We., and on the borders of this zone becomes (u_o) in the s., and (œ₁) in the north, sounds difficult to distinguish, and leading to the S. (æ), and the probably identical L. (ɑ). The S. form is raised in rec. sp. to (ə), which seems to be also occasionally found dialectally, but this is liable to doubt. The difference between (ə, æ), like that between (e, ɛ), seems to be unimportant, and is seldom recognised. Dialect writers also confuse the five sounds (ə æ u œ œ₁) under one sign u.

The Y is never distinguished from I, the dialectal sounds approaching (y ə œ) having arisen in a different manner. The confusion of the sounds of I, U, is probably very old.

The long vowels I', E', Æ', A', O', U', Y' (the last confused with I' as Y is with I), are seldom given pure, but are generally *fractured*, that is, really form diphthongs of the old sort, or of a peculiar kind, arising from beginning to pronounce the vowel with a wrong position of the organs, and then gliding to the right position.

The I' and Y'=I' remain in very few words of Teutonic origin, but in many Romance words as pron. in L., see D 33, p. 720c. In Part I. pp. 284-297, tabulated on Part I. p. 291, a number of instances were collected for the purpose of shewing that "long i" was originally (*ii*). The consequent dissertation (although it took the form of the older or dialectal pron. of words which are in rec. sp. diphthongised like the pronoun I) gave rise to the present investigation. As the words collected in I. 291 are rarely to the point of the pron. of I', it will be better to consider them separately, and for convenience they will be taken in the alphabetical order of I. 291, and when they occur in the cwl. the number will be prefixed, which will make reference to the various cwl. easy.

500 *alike*. Mr. Shelly gave me this as being (blì'k) in Dv., but in his cwl. p. 165, I find "(lò'ik), rarely (lek)." Now (lek) is heard in L., Part I. p. 288, note 3, and p. 782, No. 500. It is not a case of I' retained, but of I' being shortened to I, and then lowered to (è), a very different case.

briar, Ws. *brér*, and hence is only the common case of E' becoming (ii), and is not in point.

399 *bright*. If we take this for Ws. *borht*, it is not a case in point, Dr. Sweet assumes a later form.—*brihht*. This was given me as (ii) from Cu., Kendal, La., South Shields, and We. It is generally so assumed to be, but that is only approximate, the usual form in Cu. and We. is (brì'it, see p. 588, second word, a delicacy seldom appreciated by writers, of which more presently. It is, however, at most, a short vowel lengthened, and hence not in point.

490 *by* L., Dr. Murray gives p. 718 (bái) of place, (béi) of agency, so that the form (bii) is not reached emphatically. (bì) unemphatic is common.

466 *child*, given as (tríel) in Du., p. 163, but as the plural *children* shews this is not a case of I', but of I lengthened under the influence of a following *l*, hence it is not in point.

438 *die*, often called (dii), is from s. *deija*, and hence not in point.

675 and 677 *dry*, in North Shields (dxií), p. 674, No. 675, but this is only a short vowel *y* in *drygan*, lengthened, and hence is not in point.

dyke. Miss C. Day gave me (diik) from Nf., p. 276a. It is a genuine instance, but I did not get it elsewhere.

348. *eye* is very commonly (ii), but as it is an EA' word it is not in point. In *eyesight*, the *sight* has a short I and hence is not to the point.

414. *fly*, sb. fléoga, vb. fléogan, is evidently not in point.

886. *frar*, Fr. frère, is also not in point.

fright, Ws. fyrhto, -u, with a short *y*, is also evidently not in point.

445. *to hie*, Ws. higian, has again a short vowel and hence is not in point, see I. 289, note 3.

305. *high*, Ws. héh héah, is in either case not in point.

hind, Ws. hindan, has a short vowel, prolonged.

Idc (2 sw.Exeter), called (iid) I was told, but I do not know whether St. Ida had I or I'.

I'll, the pronoun is sometimes called (i) when unaccented and placed after the verb, but as the word was *ie* with a short vowel, it is not a case in point.

kindly (kiinli) in s.Dv. (p. 165, after No. 689), but this is from Ws. *cynde* with a short vowel, and hence is not in point.

kite, Ws. *cyfta*, is said to be *kiit* in Yo. and would be a good case, and certainly *sky* (skii) was found near Bradford, p. 393, No. 705.

lie, we find 415 *to lie* mentiri regularly (lii) in L., but this is from Ws. *leógan*, and hence not in point, and 676 *a lie*, Ws. lyge, had a short vowel.

425. *light*, Ws. leóht, is not in point, and *lightning* belongs to *light*.

712. *mice*, Ws. my's, like 711 *lice* ly's, is often called (miis, liis) in various districts, as in Danby Cleveland, p. 528, and Southwold St. p. 283, (miis) in Faversham Ke. p. 140, and it is a case in point.

457 *might*, Ws. milit, a short vowel.

510 *my* as a contraction of *mine*, Ws. mín, often becomes (mi) unemphatic, as (mi laad) my lord.

458 *night*, Ws. niht, a short vowel again.

311 *next*, called (niüst) in sw.Dv., p. 164, is not a long I', but was taken to be *nighest*, and 307 *nigh* itself is in Ws. néh néah, and hence not in point.

459 *right* and 462 *sight* had short vowels and are not in point.

sly s slægr was given me as (slii) from many places, but it is not a case in point.

444 *stile*, Ws. stigel, has a short vowel and hence is not in point, (stíil) is not unrequent, but often assumes the forms (stíil, stéil), which would be taken as (stíil) and lead on to the usual (stáil).

423 *thigh*, Ws. þéoh, is often (thii), but is not a case in point.

thy, a contraction of ðin, occurs only unaccented and shortened as (dhi) see *my*.

tie (ti) is said in Part I. p. 286a to be heard in Kendal, Cu., and La., but I

have no other record of it; Prof. Skeat refers it to Ws. *teág teáh ty'ge*, a rope, and the last form would be a case in point.

706 *why*, Ws. *hwý'*, was given me as (whii) from many places, but there seems to have been some mistake, it is so seldom used, thus on pp. 367, 502, 563, 684, it is generally replaced by *what for*, and is used for argumentative *well* on p. 580.

699 *wright*, Ws. *wyrhta*, has a short vowel, but becomes (*riit*), p. 393.

498 *write*, is given as (*vréit vrit*) in D 39, p. 782*d*, and is a genuine example.

Thus in the great majority of cases these were not instances of the retention of long I', but were sometimes the prolongation of short I, and at others the equivalents of E', EA', EO', none of which are to the point. They shew, however, the simultaneous occurrence of (ii, a'i) in many words as replacers of the same Ws. vowel.

Long vowels are treated in two ways. They are either shortened and then preserved in quality, or fractured and then greatly altered in quality. Sometimes, apparently through the action of a following consonant, the short vowel is lengthened, and sometimes both long and short vowels occur in different derivatives of the same word, thus in rec. sp. we find *child children*, *wild wílder wílderness*, *hínder hínder*. In names of places we find frequently a shortening, as *Wíd-combe,-ford*, *Wíck-ham,-ford*, *Whít-combe,-church,-by*, *Wíg-more,-ton,-thorpe*, *Swín-burn,-dale,-combe,-don*. Similarly *tén, néxt* are preserved with short vowels, as *tĕn, nĕxt*, and *rúm* room shortened to (*rum*) still very frequently heard, has been again lengthened to (*ruum*) without falling into (*ra'um*), as has happened in Germany, and so on. But fracturing is the principle almost universally in use.

There seems to have been an original tendency to fracture vowels among the Saxon speakers. EA, EO, IE (the last so rare that I have not considered it further) are called fractures (*Brechungen*) by J. Grimm, because they replace a short vowel by two short vowels which remain short, forming a group. He considers EA, EO to have been (*éa, éo*), and to have arisen from (*ía, ío*), which are often written IA, IO in MSS. The EA arises from A chiefly before L and R. EO arises from I, and is used more freely. In our dialects these particular fractures do not occur, at least in this way, but (*ie, ée*) are constantly found replacing what was open short A, as (*ním, néum*) name, and even occasionally replacing A'. But there is nothing like EO. The fractures EA', EO' are considered by Grimm as diphthongs. They are not treated as diphthongs in the dialects, and they are very variously replaced. We will postpone the consideration of these fractures till later.

The passage of I' from (*i*) into (*a'i*) is given on p. 293 as being strongly developed in M. districts. The process consists of lowering the commencement of the vowel so that (*ii*) becomes (*ii, iiii*), sounds which an unaccustomed ear hears as (*ii, ii*). I believe (*ii*) is what Dr. Sweet means by his *ij* in living speech. The lowering of the commencing element then continues, and we get (*ei, éi, e'i*), but then the second element is often, or rather generally (*i*); it is however often lengthened as (*ëii ëii*), and then

the speaker is still not conscious of having departed from (ii). It is *his* form of (ii), and the pure vowel sounds to him erroneous. When the sound of (ɛ'i) is reached, Southrons recognise a "thin" pron. of their own (a'i). Generally in the North a thin (e'i) and a thick (a'i) are distinguished, and are usually determined by the following consonant where there is one. The diphthongisation therefore proceeds to (æ'i, á'i, ái ái) and rarely (A'i). But there is another set of these diphthongs, of which the first element is (ə, ɛ), or even (ɔ). These are common, especially in D 4. Whether they were derived through a progression similar to the former, or came from an original (ɔ'ii) form of (ii) parallel to (éii), it is not easy to say. There is often great difficulty in determining what is the first element of these diphthongs, and to say whether we hear (a'i, ái) or (A'i), great attention and much practice is necessary. Ordinary hearers at most recognise two diphthongs (éi, ái), which they identify with the English school pron. of Greek *ei, ai*, generally (á'i ái). There is however a still further alteration of this diphthong, by taking the second element less close than (i), thus (áɛ), and then omitting it entirely and lengthening the first element to (aa), thus (laak) like, see pp. 525 and 528; this is very distinctive of D 30. Dr. Sweet also says (his p. 276) that "before (l) it [the second element] is almost completely absorbed in Vulgar English, *mile* being confused with *marle*," that is, both called (maal), which I have not observed.

Long U' is fractured, and then diphthongised after the same fashion as I'. The first element is depressed as (úu) slightly in the M. (which is possibly what Dr. Sweet means by his *uw* in living English), and more so in D 31, where it becomes (u₁u), which is difficult to separate from (óu, óu). The last form of the diphthong is common, and is not readily distinguishable from (a'u), of which (ɔ'u, á'u) are finer forms used in rec. sp., and (áu), the German *au*, a coarser form. Now (áu) varies as (áa) as in D 27, and this, with the second element rendered less definite, becomes first (áɛ), and finally (aa), as in D 24, p. 399. So that we have the strange phenomenon of I' and U' at the two extremities of the vowel scale both sinking in different, but not far distant, places (York and Leeds, both in the same county, and only twenty miles apart), into the middle sound (aa). This (aa) for U' is still further degraded in sw.La., when it becomes (aæ), dialectally written *eaw*. And the degradation of (áu) is not yet complete. Instead of changing the second element into (ɛ), and then omitting it, the (ɛ) becomes (i), and we thus get (áí) to represent U' in D 25, as well as generally I', though in D 25 the form (ái) is used for I', and kept distinct from (áí). The form (á'u) has still finer varieties, as (æ'u, ɛ'u), which are very common in different parts of England, as in D 10 and D 19, while in D 9 and in London it is still further refined to (éu).

The U' is heard as pure (uu) in D 30 and in L., but in D 31 it is usually (ú₁u), and even in some parts (éuu), p. 625, and (ɛ'uu, ɔ'uu), p. 636-7, all of which are regarded by the speakers as pure

(uu), and indeed are generally written *oo* in all dialect books. All these sounds represent U'.

A' is seldom preserved unfractured, although the received (braad), which is *occ.* (braad) in dialects, may be so taken; but the custom is to fracture with a prefixed (u) or (o) in the south and (i) or (e) in the north. Thus *Ws.* *án*, one, which was (oon) unfractured even in Shakspeare's rec. sp. [Two *Gent.* ii. 1, 2, pun on *on* and *one*], became normally in the sw. (úan, úun), and from these came (wien, wæn), the last of which has been adopted in rec. sp. But in the n. it became (ían ían jæn jæn jæn), the Scotch *ane*. This (ue) had often an alternative form (óe), whence probably came the rec. (oo), as (tóbd, tood) toad. But the (ír) led at once to (ii), and it is an old joke that an Ab. man falls on the (stíinz) stones and breaks his (bíinz) bones, p. 780, Nos. 118 and 124. Thus as I', U' both become (aa) in some districts, A' may become (ii), and is, if not (un), at least (oo) very generally. It is to be observed that short open A- falls into (év) or (ív) in the south, of which (év) occupies the s. portion as *Do.*, and (ív) the n. portion as *Wl.*, and that even in *Wl.* in the towns, and still more in *Gl.* and the town of Gloucester itself, the (v) falls away and (ii) alone remains (p. 54, No. 3, and p. 64 note). It would have been quite possible for the modern (ee) to have been derived from A- through (év) in the same way. In the east the A- having fallen in (év) is further altered to (éi) by the very common and in this case recent substitution of (i) for (v) (see p. 202, No. 852). This (éi) form growing to (e'i, á'i) has become very distinctive of *Es.* (p. 221) and n. *London* (p. 226), but it is a mere form of the very common (éé), as (ái) for U' is a form of (áé), p. 826*d*.

The intermediate vowels E', O' seem to have passed at a comparatively early time into (ii, uu). The link for the first may have been either of the forms (ív, éii), both of which are still found. Of these the first becomes (ii) on dropping the (v), the second on swallowing the very short initial (e); but both are conjectural. The changes which occur are changes of (ii) into (íi, í₁i, éi, éii). The sound (ee) seems reserved for more frequent use for E-, see various *cwl.* under E-, Nos. 231 to 255.

The O' has a singular fate. The fracture (úv), which still exists for short O-, probably made it turn into (uu). As (uu) it was fractured both into (ú₁u) and (íu), each of which forms occurs in the same dialect (*North Craven*, p. 622, *NW. Horn of Yo.*, p. 625). Then (ív) may arise for (íu), but it is evidently the northern form of fracture which replaces the southern (úv). In the *M.* counties, however, the (uu) sound at times reached its fractured form through speakers beginning it with the mouth too widely open, producing (o'u), p. 292, much resembling (o'u). This is a very unstable compound, and would serve to generate (íu, o'u), or (o, y₁), and seems to be the source whence the latter forms, or the French *eu* in *peu* and nearly French *u*, arose in *D* 10, *D* 11, *D* 19, *D* 33, and other *L.* forms. The existence of a sound resembling French *u* or (y) in all these districts is generally acknowledged, yet *TH.* did

not find it in D 19 (p. 260*c*), but on the contrary found (*a'u*). In D 24 the short O seems to have developed into (*óí*), as (*kóíl óíl*) coal hole, while O' becomes (*úí*), as (*súin, múin*) soon, moon, p. 393; but these are only forms of (*óu, úu*), the (*u*) becoming (*i*), as we have seen to be very common (pp. 827*d*, 828*c*).

As regards *Æ'* nothing very definite can be said. The replacing values are generally (*ii, ee*), and sometimes (*e'i*), but the rule for the distribution of the words among the signs has not been made apparent. My owl are here rather deficient, for although there were plenty of words in the original, my informants gave but few of them, possibly because they found nothing peculiar, that is, differing from rec. pron. in them. Perhaps an exhaustive examination of the words might lead to some general result, but I must leave this to others. The combination *Æ'G* will be considered presently.

As respects EA, EO, which are merely fractures, they must be referred first, if possible, to the vowels of which they are fractures. Now EA is clearly a fracture of A or A', and EO is possibly a fracture of E or E'.

EA is replaced very differently according to the following consonant, but it seems to act rather as A' than as A. Thus 322 *hlcahhan laugh* has mostly (*aa*), but sometimes very short (*ä*); 323 *feahht fought* has usually some form of (*a'u*), and 324 *eahhta eight* some form of (*ái, e'i, ee*). The words in EALD have sometimes (*aa*) or (*oo*), diphthongising into (*óu, a'u*), but EAL, followed by F or L, has (*aa*). In all these there seems to be no trace of an original short A.

In the case of EO, we must separate GEO, CEO where GE, CE may probably be merely the palatalisation of G, C, so that *geolca, geond, geong, yolk of eggs, yon, young*, and *seolde should*, do not belong to the series. Also *beorht* seems to be an alteration of *brilht*, as Dr. Swéet assumes (*History of E. Sounds*, p. 308, No. 700). Omitting these my series of EO: words has chiefly EOR, which seems to fare as ER, becoming (*aar*) when (*r*) is pron. The word 388 *meole milk* has sometimes a singular pron. as (*mə'lk*), p. 154, but it has generally (*i*). Whoever listens to the peripatetic vendors of milk may however readily appreciate the original fracture.

Of EA' I have the same complaint to make as of *Æ'*. Its replacers vary as (*ii, íe, ee, e, e'i*). Much evidently depends on the following consonant, but I have not been able to formulate the rule.

EO' seems to follow the fortunes of E', and usually becomes (*ii*). This also requires additional work.

Ws. *diphthongs*, as distinct from fractures, are usually expressed by an added *g, w*, as *ÆG, Æ'G, EG, AW, EOW, EO'W, IW*. See Consonantal Index, p. 30*, under G and W. In the sw. of England, especially in D 4, the first three become some form of (*a'i*). This still exists very markedly, but is on the way to (*ee, ee, ee*), which also frequently occur in D 4, and the forms (*éi, ée*) are

likewise found. The change of (ái) into some form of (ee) is common to many languages (see Part I. p. 238), and we cannot be surprised at the prevalence of the (ee) forms at the present day. They render the descent from an original (ái) form almost undoubted. But were ÆG, Æ'G, EG, really distinct from each other? Most probably, at the time this orthography came into use, but it seems to me that they were not distinguished in the time of Chaucer, Part III. p. 637 fl. The present degradation of A- and ÆG into (ee) confuses two distinct set of words, as *tale tail*, see Cooper, in Part I. p. 126. It is remarkable that in some parts of Ch. both should have further changed to (ii), see p. 409. That both *tale tail* should be changed would seem simple after they had reached the (ee) stage, the process being similar to that by which E' became (ii), but the remarkable point is that in other parts of Ch. (ee) remains in *tale*, but becomes (ii) in *tail*. In SL. the reverse takes place, for the vowel in *tale* becomes (úv, í'), and *tail* has (ee) (p. 710, No. 3, and DSS. p. 106).

The AW diphthong loses its W, that is, its (u), altogether. Even in D 4 it becomes (aa), in D 33 or SL (aa), and elsewhere it is mostly (AA), for which *aw* is the rec. spelling. Of course A'W follows the fortunes of A', and is occ. (aa), but more usually (oo, oo).

The EOW, EO'W, and IW forms are comparatively rare, but see the different cwl. under 386 *cowe a ewe*, 387 *neowe niwe new*, 408 *eneow. he knew*, 417 *ceówan to chew*, 418 *breówan to brew*, 419 *eówer your*, 420 *fcówer four*, 421 *feówertig forty*, 435 *eów you*, 436 *treów true*, 437 *treówð truth*. The sound varies as (óu, æ'u, í'ú), while the action of the (r) in the last two words sometimes produces curious but important changes, such as (uu, æ'u, yy₁).

The *Consonants* which have not been specially grouped in the cwl., but are distributed among the vowel groups, are collected and referred to the Ws. and Norse words containing them, with their numbers in the cwl. on p. 30*, so that any medial and final consonants with some of the initial may be studied throughout the cwl., while the ordinary initial consonants are given in the English index, p. 25*.

The letter R occasions the most trouble. In all the S. div. R is more or less reverted, that is, the tip of the tongue points to the throat and its underpart is turned to the hard palate; this is written (r). The hollow thus caused at the back of the tongue produces a very peculiar resonance, which makes the effect of (r), when once heard and understood, immediately recognisable. The effect is rendered milder by making only the outer margin of the tip instead of its underpart approach the middle of the hard palate, leaving a spoon-shaped hollow behind. This is JGG.'s retracted r written (r). It is rendered still milder by advancing the raised tip of the tongue nearer to, but not quite to reach, the gums. This is the buzzed (r_o) when not trilled or flapped, the tongue being still turned up, but the hollow at the back being

almost obliterated. The true (r) is however discernible right through the s. of England from Co. to Ke., and is conspicuous in Wl. Sm. Do. and Dv. This (r) is probably the original Ws. form of the consonant. Our language is derived from North or Low German and Danish, and in Germany and Denmark at the present day the *r* is very peculiar, the first commonly uvular (*r*) and the second glottal (r̥).

The effect of this reversion upon a contiguous (t, d, l, n) is evidently to revert it also and produce (ʈ, ɖ, ɺ, ɳ), and it seems to me most probable that this reverted form is the original (see pp. 51, 53). It is known as the cerebral series in Sanscrit (Part IV. p. 1096). These consonants seem to me to be the progenitors of the common coronal English (t, d, l, n). These are quite distinct from the alveolar (t̪, d̪, l̪, n̪), where the tip of the tongue touches the gums, producing the continental and Sanscrit "dental" series. The natural flapped (r) seems to be also coronal, so that (tr- dr-) are proper combinations. In the North Midland and N. districts, however, an alveolar (t̪, d̪) are heard, but only before *r*, which obliges the position of the tongue for it to be also alveolar, as (t̪r-, d̪r-), and this occurs even when an (v) is interposed, as (-t̪vr, -d̪vr), indeed the (t̪, d̪) still remain when the (r) is lost, as (-t̪v, -d̪v). The Indian alphabet has two forms of *t*, *d*, namely (ṭ ṭ, ḍ ḍ), the English is perhaps the only language which has three forms of each letter (r̥ t̪, ɺ d̪).

But the forms of the English *r* are not exhausted. In the M. counties TH. recognises a very mild, but still in his opinion, trilled *r*, which I write (r̥). At the same time JGG. recognised a northern *r*, which I write (r^o), and he considers (r̥ r^o) to form a series, p. 294. Of course it is very difficult to recognise such fine distinctions, except after long hearing and careful analysis of native utterances. To a mere Southron's ear they sound like his own gentle *r*, or as completely vocalised.

The southern (r) after passing to (r_o) often becomes lost after (aa, AA), or considered as a mere symbol of the change of *a*, *o* into these sounds, and is identified in other cases with a vowel somewhat like (ə, u, ə, əh), but probably different from all of them, as the tip of the tongue is certainly a little too much raised for any real vowel to be uttered, see p. 222. This "vowel *r*," or (v) as it may be written, prevails all along the east coast of England from Ke. to Nb. as far as North Shields at any rate, when not before a vowel. When preceding a vowel it is possibly generally (r_o), but I think I say and hear generally (r̥), a mild and real trill. All over the E. div. and D 20 in the M. div. and the e. coast of Yo. and Du. in the N. div. this vocalisation of *r* prevails. At North Shields in Nb. before a vowel it seems to become (r̥), see top of p. 665, really a trill or trembling of the lips, often confused with (w).

The varieties of English *r* are, however, not even yet exhausted. In D 14, comprising m.Sh., the trill of the tongue tip is always distinct both before and after a vowel, almost like the Italian *r*,

but not so forcible. It seems to be a remnant of Welsh *r*, see p. 182. In several places in England, and especially in Sh., a difficulty is felt with (shr-) initial, for which the un-English (sr-) is used in better speech, the (r) being vulgarly entirely omitted, p. 183. In Scotland the *r* is also distinctly trilled with the tongue only, as I think, more conspicuously than in Italian, but I believe not so strongly as in Ireland, where, I am told, the whole of the tongue, and not merely the tip, participates in the flapping action (Part IV. p. 1232*c*). In Nb., on the contrary, the tongue does not flap at all, but only the uvula, and the result is often complicated by a partial closure of the lips, see p. 641*c*.

In my opinion *r* is essentially an intermittent interruption of the voice, imitated in Faber's speaking machine by rapidly revolving a disk with radiating perforations in the way of the vocalised current of air. These interruptions in natural speech are made most naturally by the flapping tongue in different positions, sometimes by the uvula or the lips, and each mode of interruption by modifying the resonant cavity of the mouth, produces different effects in passing from interruption to free passage of the voice. When, however, there is no intermittence, when the tongue or lips remain in one position, with no more trembling than the passage of the voice (that is, undulating breath) naturally produces as in prolonged (z, zh, w), there is, as I conceive, only a vocalisation, a buzz or rough voice, as all consonant positions, being unfavourable to a clear passage of sound, naturally produce. Mr. Melville Bell and Dr. Sweet, on the contrary, separate the flapping from the position of the tongue or lips, and it is necessary that this radical difference in our views should be borne in mind.

In the S. div., especially in D 4 and D 11, initial *s* and *f*, as a general rule, become in Ws. words (z, v), but are sounded as (s, f) in Romance words. See particulars on pp. 38 to 41. As the initial (z) at least is common to all German dialects, high as well as low, it must be considered the original, and (s) a generated sound. The (v) seems to be also original, compare Dutch, and compare the Welsh *f, ff*, for (v, f). We find also that even (sh, th) occasionally become (zh, dh) when initial in the sw. of England, p. 41. But here (sh, zh) were not original sounds, and hence this development must have been recent. On the contrary, (dh) was probably the original sound and (th) derived, as Dr. Sweet supposed, see Part II. p. 541, note 2. The use of (d) for (dh) in Ke. in *this, that, the, there, their, theirs, them, then, these, those, they* (p. 131), is sufficiently remarkable, and becomes more so when we remember that it is a temporary modern pron. introduced subsequent to the time of Dan Michel in the xivth century, and, though still known in the present day, is rapidly disappearing. That in Orkney and Shetland (d) is also found for (dh), although fast dying out, is attributable possibly to Norse influence. But this e.Ke. substitution is not.

In connection with (dh) we may observe the various forms of

the definite article, (dhe) in the S. div. and up to D 20 inclusive, (th) mainly in w.M. as D 21, 22, 25, and even in part of Yo. (p. 500, No. 6), but occasionally assimilated by a previous (n) to (t'). But this suspended form, independently of any assimilation, is prevalent over D 30 and D 31, though it again becomes (dhe) in D 32, and in Cs. D 40 drops to (e'), losing the initial consonant altogether, while in Holderness even the (t') vanishes and no definite article is left.

Ws. F seems to have been (v) and W to have been (w). There always has been a Teuton difficulty with these letters, which Germans as a rule cannot pron., using their own *w* or (bh) for both of them. Over a portion of the e. coast from Ke. to Nf. at least extends the "land of *W̄ee*" or the territory of (w) to the exclusion of (v), see p. 132, and 221*d*. Although (v) for (w) is commonly attributed to cockneys and Folkestone fishermen, I have not been able to observe the first in serious use and the second is at least doubtful (p. 143). I have seen the use of *r* for *w* attributed to the advent of the Huguenots into England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but I know no authority for the statement, see pp. 229*a*, 230*d*. The true (wh) is rare; it is practically unknown in the S. W. E. and M. div., being replaced by (w), a proceeding analogous to the S. use of initial (v) for (f); thus to pron. *wheel* as *wéal* is precisely similar phonetically to pronouncing *feel* as *real*. Those who strongly reprobate the latter, mostly commit the former sin with calmness, and find (whiil) uncouth. In D 39, or NL. on the contrary, the (wh) initial falls consistently into (f), at least it is so generally received, but quite possibly it may be (ph), without the action of the teeth, which much more closely resembles (wh). Mr. Melville Bell conjectures it to be (fh) or (f), with the back of the tongue raised as for (u). The doubt is whether the teeth are used at all.

In Ws. W occurs before L and R. Of WL I find no trace, unless a magnificent *flunkey* be a remnant of Ws. *wlanc*, *wlanc*, *wlene*, *wlonc*, *splendid*. But WR still exists in several places, see *wrong* on p. 578 and p. 688, also p. 726, par. 3, and elsewhere in L.

The Ws. CN initial generally becomes simple (n), but is occ. represented by (nh) or (tnh), see *know*, p. 566, and compare Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Lediard, Part IV. p. 1046*a'*.

The Ws. H is generally very badly treated. In Ws it had presumably the value (nh) or strongly jerked out flatus (Part IV. p. 1130, col. 2), and when doubled or final, was probably a guttural. It is known to every one of education how very widely the absence of (h) extends. I got the most contradictory accounts from different regions. Glossary writers put in the *h* as a matter of habit, even where they know that no dialect speaker uses it. For my own part, I feel very uncertain of any (h) south of the Lowland line 10, north of it (h) is omitted only, but not always, in (*it*) it, for (h) remains there in D 39 to 41; and (h) is inserted only, but not always, in (*haz*) us, and (*hulet*) owlet (p. 734, v. 88). In the M. div. certainly (h) has no existence, and very little in the N. div.,

except in each case perhaps as a mark of emphasis even when unhistorical. Its present home is in the L. div., and there also the guttural prevails, in all the three forms (kh, kjh, kwh). The guttural is, however, occ. met with further south, and has been heard from old people even in La., p. 341, parts of Yo. (Part I. p. 289, note 4, and Part I. p. 311, note 1), Cu., and We. But in L. it is habitual. The general substitute for the guttural, when not entirely ignored, is (f), which in some words, as *laugh tough*, prevails in rec. sp., and in *dwarf* habitually, and *draft* recently, has crept into rec. spelling.

The 10 transverse lines (described pp. 15 to 22) divide the whole country into regions where certain pron. are prevalent. The six great divisions, S., W., E., M., N., L., give the largest groups that I have been able to form, and the distinctive characters are succinctly stated at the beginning of each. Next, I have made a number of minor groups, as Celtic Southern, p. 24; Mid Southern, p. 36; the Border of Southern against Midland and Eastern, p. 110; the East Southern, p. 130; the West Southern, p. 145; the South Western, p. 175; and North Western, p. 181; the West Eastern, p. 189; the Mid Eastern, p. 195; the South Eastern, p. 225; the North Eastern, p. 248; and the East Eastern, p. 259; the Border Midland, p. 296; the North Midland, p. 315; the Mid Midland, p. 408; the East Midland, p. 447; the South Midland, p. 451; the East Northern, p. 495; the West Northern, p. 537; the North Northern, p. 637; the South Lowland, p. 709; the Mid Lowland, p. 723; the North Lowland, p. 755; and the Insular Lowland, p. 788; to each of which is prefixed a brief account of its characters. The last portion of each name shows the division to which each group belongs, while the names of the groups themselves are placed as current headlines of the pages. Each of these groups is, when feasible, subdivided into smaller districts, and each is at the commencement properly characterised. The characters there assigned, which it is not necessary to repeat here, form the principal result, and were the most difficult part of this investigation, the difficulty being greatly increased by the necessity of completing it in all its details before a page of the book could be printed, or the maps drawn.

Among these characters a very few points of construction and vocabulary were noticed (see p. 25*), for it was my purpose not to enter upon matters which have occupied other investigators.

The most striking of these is the form of the verb substantive *I be* in the S., getting mixed with *I are* in Kent, and chiefly *I are* in the E., mixed with *I am* which prevails over the M. But in D 30 and 31 *I is* is the usual form, which may indeed sometimes be heard in Df., but is possibly imported; for in D 32 and L. generally *I am* is the form always heard. Of course the vowels are not heard after *I* except where there is much emphasis, as I heard an old woman say to me, *I are to wait* (ái :aa t̄w wee'jt), meaning that she had been ordered to wait where I found her. Usually (ái)v, (ái)z, (A)m), etc., are heard. In the S. also *we am*, *you am* may be found as *we-m*, *you-m*.

In D 4 and 10 the periphrastic form, as *I do love*, without any intention of emphasis, is used for *I love*, and the past participle has the augment, as *I have a-loved*. Also the nominative form is much used for the object, as *I saw she*.

In the west M. as in D 21, 22, 25, 26, the verbal plural in *-en* is regularly used in the present tense, as *we love-n, you ha(ve)n*. This dies out eastwards, and is nearly extinct in Le. and Nt.

In the E. the plural verb is often used for the singular, as *it do* (pp. 197*d*, 249*e*).

In High Furness La. and in parts of We. *at* is at least occasionally used instead of *to* before the infinitive (p. 550). In Ch. *to* is regularly omitted in such cases, and *for* is used for *for to* (p. 410*e*).

In the Black Country, D 29, V ii*b*, but not V ii*a*, p. 461, occurs regularly a peculiar form of the negative with auxiliary verbs, the *not* itself being omitted, as *I doh for I don't* (instances collected, p. 461). It is, I believe, sparingly found elsewhere.

Peculiar words, which have been the main objects of glossarists, I have not sought at all, but a few naturally occurred.

The use of *en* or (*en*) unaccented, representing the Ws. acc. *hine*, still exists in the S., though received speech has confused it with the dative *him* (p. 43), it must not be confounded with *'un = one*.

The first personal pron. occurs as *uteh* (*atɪ*) in a small district near Yeovil (p. 84). It is the only remnant of the *ich 'ch* so common in writings of the xvi th century to represent clownishness.

The form of address to companions or fellow-workers varies much. As I have introduced it into my dt., I have had a curious set of words given me. (1) *Mates*, which was the word in the original (p. 8*), is found 43 times, but is always suspicious, as it was thus suggested. (2) *Lads* occurs 25 times, only once in S., the rest in M. and N. (3) *Chaps* runs it hard with 21 occurrences, of which 2 were in the S., 1 in the E., and the rest M. or N. Other varieties are very much more uncommon. (4) *Boys* occurs 5 times. (5) *Marrows* (the word properly means matches, equals, *pares*, 4 times (once p. 617*d'*, and three times p. 656), all in N. (6) *Butties* is found three times (pp. 117*d*, 255*c*, 472*e*): and the singular address, (7) *Together*, also occurs 3 times (pp. 250*d*, 263*c*, 272*e*, all in E.); the rest occur only once. (8) *Comrades*, p. 169*d*. (9) *Maties*, p. 250*b*. (10) *Bo's*, p. 278*c*. (11) *Old Fellows*, p. 285*e*. (12) *Neighbours*, p. 656. (13) *Callants*, p. 656, and I think in 4 cases the word was skipped altogether.

In connection with (10) *bo'* (*ba*), a Nt. word for young man, occurs *mauther* (*maadhə*), young woman or young girl, then usually abridged to *ma'ur* (*ma'v*). The word for girl is *maid* (*maid*) in the south, *wench* in no bad sense in M., and *lass* generally in N.; *girl* is rather an educated word; *she* is *hoo* (*w'u*, *ɜ'u*) in w. M., as La., Ch., Db., and *shoo* (*shu*, *shoo*, *shə*) in D 24, but (*shə*) in D 41 and 42, and constantly (*ɜ*) assumed generally to be *her*, especially in M.

Here I stop. Time and space fail me, and my long task must come to an end.

END OF PART V.



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